

Imre Garai

AN ELITE TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTE



The History of Eötvös József Collegium
1895-1950

ELTE Eötvös College
2019

The History of Eötvös József Collegium 1895–1950

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INSTITUTE

The History of Eötvös József Collegium 1895–1950



**100th anniversary of Roland Eötvös
(1848-1919), physicist, geophysicist,
and innovator of higher education**

Commemorated in association with UNESCO

ELTE Eötvös Collegium

Budapest, 2019

Felelős kiadó: Dr. Horváth László, az ELTE Eötvös Collegium igazgatója

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FOREWORD TO THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDITION OF THE BOOK

This book summarizes the history of a Hungarian institution whose establishment was based on a French model. On several occasions in the 20th century, unfortunately, sometimes voluntarily and at other times due to the compelling power of circumstances, the Hungarian people confronted France being in an opposing military and/or political block, but even in those difficult times Eötvös Collegium maintained its relationship with the French culture and its distinguished representatives. However, it is not only towards Paris that the institute opened a window for Hungarians, but also, thanks to its language proofreaders and other foreign contacts, people from several European countries and even from overseas, including the Far East visited the Budapest based boarding school.

This work has been published in Hungarian twice. The manuscript of the first edition was based on my doctoral thesis. Due to the great interest, just a year and a half after the publication of the book, the second edition was published containing a number of minor changes, mainly those related to errata, and also major changes related to the closing part. Already at the time, my publisher asked for a foreign language version, but unfortunately that was not possible due to technical obstacles. Providence compensated for the failure to publish the new edition as I had the opportunity to present the basic concept of the volume in a visualized form to a wider audience in the framework of a permanent exhibition. The importance of this is evidenced by the fact that the „Day of Memorial Sites” organized in Hungary by the National Heritage Institute was also included in the programme of national events. In addition, the exhibition, hosted in the Collegium building, was also visited by the Ambassador of the French Republic and the Director of the French Institute. The scenario prepared for the exhibition and the related collecting work made it possible to publish a

Hungarian-French chrestomathia for the second edition (Garái–Horváth 2015: 4), a newer version of which was published in 2016. In addition to the wider audience, the Hungarian academic community also acknowledged the publication that offers a summary of the Institute's history, which is well illustrated by the fact that the number of works in which both editions were referred to increased, that is, it became part of the academic discourse. It is gratifying that, in addition to researchers in the field of education history, representatives of other disciplines also found it worthwhile to use the results contained in the previous editions. Hopefully, this process will be reinforced by the third, English language edition of the volume, which also includes new results.

The English language volume also fundamentally follows the original concept of the Hungarian version both in its structure and in its approach to the history of the institute. At the same time, in seven blocks, further minor and major additions were made to the findings included in earlier versions, the publication of which seemed necessary in view of recent research. The new findings offered in these additions are mostly related to the Collegium's international network.

I would like to express my acknowledgements to my publisher, the ELTE Eötvös József Collegium and its director László Horváth who encouraged the preparation of the earlier editions and the foreign language volume. I would also like to thank the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest for its financial support provided in the preparation of the English version of the book and, of course, I thank all those who were involved in the preparation of the English version.

It is a rare privilege, especially for a researcher in the initial phase of his or her career, to have one of their works published several times. There can be two circumstances that explain repeated reprints: the interest of the audience and the importance of the subject matter examined in the work. I can only hope that these circumstances are present simultaneously in relation to this book. Because this book not only provides an overview of the history of a teacher training boarding school, but – through its students and its extensive embeddedness in the Hungarian culture – also of the challenges that 20th century history heavily burdened with numerous hardships posed to the functioning of an institution tailored to the needs of civil society.

Budapest, 1 March 2019

Imre Garai

2.1.

Introduction

“...Eötvös Collegium is one of the least known educational institutes in Hungary, its structure and general functions are hardly familiar even to most Hungarian teachers; its only the name that is mentioned occasionally, in connection with Hungarian intellectual achievements. However, few Hungarian institutes get more international recognition than this very college, not due to any official propagation of course, but much rather because of the international studies and international relationships of its members as well as the visits several renowned international scholars have payed to our Collegium” – states director Miklós Szabó in a discussion paper published in 1942 (Szabó 1942: 8).¹

Ever since, this situation has not changed a bit; apart from its former and present members, this renowned special college is known only to a small fraction of Hungarian intellectuals despite the remarkable results it produced regarding the training of teachers and scholars over its first great period, generally referred to as the “old College” era. Located originally in Csillag Street, Budapest, the institute later moved to Ménesi Road. Up to 1950, the Collegium accepted a total of 1204 applicants, 730 of whom were able to complete their university studies until 1945. Out of all graduates, 115 became professors at colleges or universities and 25 were employed as ministry officials. 60 graduate alumni conducted researches at various scientific institutions, 18 were employed abroad, and 58 alumni became directors of various institutions of secondary education all over Hungary. Having achieved the original objectives of Collegium founder Loránd Eötvös, 400 of graduate alumni became secondary school teachers, while 20 graduate alumni worked as writers or artists. As a further appreciation of the Collegium’s high standards, 44 alumni became members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences till the end of WWII (Lekli 1995: 41).

The term “elite teacher training”, used in the title is by no means an exaggeration. Firstly, the above data demonstrate that a considerable number of Collegium alumni went on to work in either higher education or at the uppermost levels of state administration. As a result of a professionalization process completed by the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Collegium alumni assumed positions at the top of the institutional hierarchy, from where they were able to control the redistribution process of intellectual and social capital (cf. Kende–Kovács 2011b: 99–101; Nagy 2013: 43). Secondly, as the original goal of the Collegium was to supplement and further enhance university studies, it released highly qualified secondary school teachers who were able to considerably improve the level of secondary education all over the country, and thus belonged to the elite of Hungarian secondary education (cf. Kosáry 1989: 23).

Apart from the late history professor Domokos Kosáry, a former president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, nobody has ever assembled a comprehensive history of this

¹ Szabó, Miklós. 1942. “Köd az iskola körül”. [“Mist around Schools”] in: *Híd* 3/31: 7–11 (1 November 1942) Dénes Mednyánszky Library and Archive (henceforth MDKL) box 89, file 185/a.

renowned institution. However, without a thorough analysis of the Collegiums's history, it might be impossible to fully understand the process through which the profession of Hungarian secondary school teachers was institutionalized. Initiated by the Ratio Educationis (Education Act) in the last third of the 18th century, the development of teacher training was completed by Act 27 of 1924 of Parliament.² Legislature expressed its wish that the structure of teacher training that had by 1899 formed at the Budapest university become the model at all other universities throughout the country (Garai 2011: 202). As it is clearly stated in the ministerial explanatory memorandum to the Act, the training of a new, scholar type of secular secondary school teachers requires the establishment of institutions similar to the Báró Eötvös József Collegium, which had achieved outstanding results in the preceding 29 years.³

By writing this monograph, I venture to fill in a gap in the written history of Hungarian culture and education. During summarizing the history of the Collegium, I am going to rely on the principles set in Kosáry's paper. That is the first and only work to have attempted to present the history of the first three generations of Collegium students.⁴ Kosáry's narrative is structured around generational changes. To this perspective I have added the context of remarkable events in public history, as well as the most significant turning points in the life of the Collegium, thus creating a framework for a comprehensive study of its history.⁵ Each of the seven generations is studied in a separate chapter with subchapters focusing on the social background of both accepted and rejected applicants, the number and main features of international students, the changes regarding Collegium teachers and the training system itself, and the relationship between the Collegium and the Ministry of Religion and Public Education (henceforth MRPE). The major changes in the life of the Collegium shall also be discussed in each chapter respectively. Newspaper appearances, debates, or politically motivated assaults on the Collegium shall also be addressed together with the Collegium's relationship with sister institutions (the École Normale Supérieure of Paris, the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa, or the Eötvös Loránd Collegium of Szeged, Hungary).

By presenting a comprehensive history of Eötvös Collegium between 1895–1950, I hope not only to commemorate several generations of notable alumni, but also to draw more focus on an institution that, by training both scholars and teachers, was dedicated to one of the most significant issues in the history of 19–20th century Hungarian higher education. It set an example that could and most probably should be followed in contemporary Hungarian higher education as well.

² Act 27 of 1924 of Parliament. *A középiskolai tanárok képzéséről és képesítéséről* [On the Training and Qualification of Secondary School Teachers].

³ Explanatory memorandum to the Act of Parliament in 1924. Published in Mészáros–Németh–Pukánszky 2003: 479.

⁴ Kosáry's work has inspired the author of this monograph in several ways. (Kosáry 1989: 9–41).

⁵ 1895–1910; 1911–1918; 1919–1927; 1928–1935; 1936–1944; 1945–1948; 1948–1950.

2.2.

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This book would not have been possible to write if I had had to work on the chosen topic alone, without any professional and human support. Therefore, I shall thank all those who provided support in this work. Among them I shall highlight my supervisor András Németh who provided support throughout the long research process that lasted for more than five years with his significant contribution made to the preparation of my doctoral dissertation that served as a basis for this book. I would also like to thank my opponents, Éva Szabolcs, Katalin Kéri and Viktor Karády who, through their critical reviews, provided assistance in avoiding numerous flaws and contributed to writing a mature version of my work.

Throughout the research process I received support from László Horváth, the director of the Eötvös Collegium, and Zoltán Farkas, former head of the Eötvös Collegium's Historian Workshop. The unrestricted access I had to the archives of the Institute provided invaluable benefits: I had the opportunity to process the archival materials in line with my schedule, regardless of the opening hours. I would also like to express my thanks to all members of the Regestrator research team of the Historian Workshop who digitized the whole material, which made it possible for me to research the digital version of the archive, greatly accelerating the process.

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I am grateful to Krisztina Laczkó, Lajos Berkes and Nikoletta Oláh for their help provided in the technical questions related to the book and in all phases of writing the book; furthermore, I would like to thank Rudolf Paksa for other professional comments and that, in addition to his advice, in his Collegium history class held in 2007 he raised my interest in the history of the institute; furthermore, I would like to thank Péter Tibor Nagy who provided me with the data of the 1930 census and provided valuable advice on the sociological parts of my thesis, and I also express my thanks to István Papp.

Finally, of course, I am grateful to my family for providing their support even when I sometimes had doubts that I would be able to successfully complete the research and to write the thesis.

3

RESOURCES AND RESEARCH METHODS⁶

The *first research aspect* is the descriptive statistical analysis of the personalised database of admitted and rejected students as defined below. 1204 students were admitted in the period of 1895 to 1950 of the Eötvös Collegium's history. Their personal documentation⁷ usually includes the application that consists of a curriculum vitae and the motivation for the application, as well as the admitted collegium student's rating sheet that, in addition to the most important personal information (name, place and date of birth, religion, name of the legal guardian, legal guardian's occupation and address of residence, the secondary school's headquarters and exact name, results of the graduation and the last four years of secondary school, scholarships before the membership in the Collegium, other higher education studies, language skills), contains a record of the subjects covered and the results of the Collegium and/or university studies: the marks received at examinations and pedagogical exams. In many cases the documentation contains personal correspondence that students had with their family members or their teachers. In addition to their geographic distribution, I also examine their social status at the moment of admission through the occupation of their legal guardians. For this, I used the main and sub-categories of occupational and corporate statistics in the questionnaire for the 1930 census digitized by Péter Tibor Nagy (Nagy 2010). I chose the statistics for the year 1930, because its system of categories was more sophisticated than that used at the beginning of the century, making the social changes of the end of the 19th century and of the mid-20th century well comparable. In addition to

⁶ Some of the findings made in Chapter 3 can also be read in: Garai 2013: 42–45.

⁷ See in MDKL box 1, file1, lot 1 – box 23, file 25, lot 70; according to my findings, until 1950 the Collegium had 1204 admitted students. For references to archival sources I use footnotes in the book. References to monographies, or writings published in journals or other periodicals are made in the main text.

the sociological analysis, I also examine the secondary schools of the admitted students: the type of secondary schools the successful applicants came from and who the schools were maintained by and which schools released the most graduates who later became collegium students.⁸ In addition, I also analyse the circumstances that may have forced to give up, or due to which they were deprived of, their membership. The total number of rejected students⁹ was 1692, however, only the name is known of 368 of them, as their personal documentation has not survived, thus I will examine the data of only 1324 rejected students. They will fulfil the role of the control group; examining this group will be similar to that of the admitted students, with only one difference: in their case, instead of examining their unsuccessful studies in the institution, I shall examine the reasons why they did not become members, whether in different sub-periods the Collegium had a conscious selection among certain social groups. The possibility for this is provided by the fact that their documentation is similar to the documentation of those who were admitted, that is, the preserved rating sheets contain the most important sociological data and the reason for their rejection.

After the analysis of the personal documentation, I shall review the personal materials of the institute's heads and academic staff for each period: that of curators,¹⁰ directors,¹¹ regular, appointed¹² and paid teachers,¹³ and of foreign-language lecturers.¹⁴ Therefore, the *second research aspect* is the changes that occurred in the Institutes' heads and academic staff between 1895 and 1950. Throughout its existence, the Collegium always strived to receive the title of a college, but this happened only in 1946. Thus, with the rules regulating salaries introduced by Act IV of 1893, which, however, were somewhat modified between 1923 and 1926, it became possible to institutionally appoint ordinary teachers between the 9th and 6th remuneration category and their career opportunities were similar to those of secondary school teachers'. After 1946, following the „reorganization” into a college, teachers

⁸ For examining the rankings of secondary schools, I obtained guidance from similar analyses by Gábor Kende and Gábor I. Kovács (Kende–Kovács 2011a: 87–95).

⁹ Materials contained in MDKL box 24, file 26, lot 1 – box 33, file 49, lot 58.

¹⁰ MDKL box 39, file 65. Correspondence between Loránd Eötvös, Curator and Géza Bartoniek, the headmaster. MDKL box 40, file 69. Documentation related to Pál Teleki, curator.

¹¹ Documentation relating to Géza Bartoniek can be found in MDKL box 38, file 63, which contains, in particular, his correspondence, or one relating to his person, which either he himself, or Loránd Eötvös had with the MRPE. Géza Bartoniek's correspondence can also be found in MTAKK Ms. 492/2–74. Documentation relating to Zoltán Gombocz can be found in MDKL box 39, file 66/a–b. This documentation contains documents related to his scientific career. Documentation relating to headmaster Miklós Szabó can be found in MDKL box 40, file 67, which offers for examination documents related to his career as a teacher and the period when he was headmaster. It should be noted that, in addition to personal advancement, in this correspondence the researcher can often find information that contains guidelines for the institute's educational system.

¹² MDKL box 40, file 70/1–11 and box 40, file 71/1–11 contains documentation on the regular, appointed teachers who worked in the Collegium between 1895 and 1945. Documentation on regular teachers after 1945 can be found in MDKL box 41, file 73/a. In the latter case, the materials of regular and paid teachers were arranged in a common file.

¹³ Their files are stored in MDKL box 41, file 72/1–5 in alphabetical order, systematised until the year 1945. Documentation related to paid teachers and regular teachers after 1945 was placed in a single file.

¹⁴ The use of foreign-language lecturers in the institute was typical already in the early period after the foundation. In addition to the language teaching tasks, after the First World War their home country often gave them other tasks related to diplomacy. The English, American, Estonian, Finnish, French, German and Italian language documents of lecturers can be found in MDKL box 46, file 84/1 – box 47, file 84/b/4.

worked as college teachers at the institute, but their career opportunities did not change significantly. Their documentation includes mainly appointment requests written to the competent minister of religion and public education (hereinafter: MRPE), salary coupons, appointments into payment categories and promotions. Thus, through their professional life and through their position in society, the issue of the Institute's prestige can be examined in different sub-periods. Paid teachers were usually appointed for one academic year. Their documentation includes an invitation to teach and the amount of the fee. These data provide a possibility to examine the changes in the financial possibilities of the institute.

This issue is closely linked to the granting of senior positions. Starting from 1936, graduated collegium students who had scientific ambitions could receive a senior status through an application. This collaboration was mutually fruitful for both the collegium students and the institution: for the former it was a special form of care for talented students as they could use the Collegium's infrastructure for another year or two to write their dissertation and for the latter it meant that it was able to make up for the decreasing number of paid teachers with the graduate members, thus maintaining the smooth operation of the Institute's scientific education.¹⁵

Although not in the discussion of the history of every period, I do analyse the role played by non-academic staff, junior officers¹⁶ and wage-worker groups¹⁷ in the operation and internal life of the Collegium. Among them were individuals who, during the long time spent at the institute, became part of the community, thus part of the old Collegium's legend. But occasionally it also happened that some of the valets, kitchen maids or laundresses disturbed the work carried out in the institute with their scandalous behaviour or by committing a crime.

The *third dimension of the research* examines the paradigm shifts in the institute's educational system. It is closely related to the changes in the academic staff, as changes in educational objectives often triggered a change, or changes, in the composition of the teaching staff. Teacher's reports provide help in the research.¹⁸ Their structure became final in 1927; they included the precise name of the class, the list of students according to grades, the

¹⁵ MDKL box 47, file 85.

¹⁶ The junior officers formed a transitional group between the lower social groups and the middle class. In most cases, they finished a civic school or the first two or three classes of a *gymnasium*, after which they hired themselves out as junior officers to a public institution to serve as receptionists, operators or caretakers (Gyáni 2006: 305–306). Until 1923, there were two administrator and two other junior officer regular jobs in the Collegium. After 1923, following the downsizing of the public sector, class I and class II junior officer regular jobs were created in the Institute. These jobs were running the reception service and operating the heating system, as well as performing various types of repair work. The monthly salary of the former after the second half of the 1920s was 120 pengos and of the latter - 90 pengos. Their documentation can be found in MDKL box 42, file 74/1–5.

¹⁷ The wage-workers were contracted for one year for a fixed wage. They belonged to the ranks of servants, their legal status was regulated in Act XLV of 1907, which, in addition to regulating their duties, also established personal dependence on their employer. The Collegium had one housekeeper, one cook, three kitchen maids, two washers, two heating mechanics, one waitress and seven cleaning women on a regular basis. With the exception of the cook, their monthly salary remained below 90 pengos. Fluctuation among them was very high. Their documentation can be found in MDKL box 42, file 75/1.

¹⁸ MDKL box 52, file 101/a. – box 54, file 101/10/b. Study reports between 1895 and 1950. Reports on classical philology and Hungarian linguistic lessons can also be found in MTAKK Ms. 4270/1.

processed curriculum and the detailed assessment of students' performance in the given semester, occasionally comparing it to their previous work. The semi-annual reports were read out by specialist teachers at the mid-year staff meetings held in December and at the end of May. It was at these meetings that the fate of the students' status was determined, whether based on their performance they could, or could not, keep their college membership. Before 1910 and 1927 the semester structure was not applied in all disciplines and before 1910 an annual report was typical. It should be noted, however, that in the period between 1948 and 1950 the prestige of the professional type of assessment decreased and public activity and political affiliation and reliability became more prominent. Among the documents of the curators and the directors, those that contain information about the management of the institute and the principles of their training system are analysed in the same research phase.

The *fourth research aspect* focuses on the changes in the relations between the faculty of arts of the University of Budapest, the Collegium and the MRPE. Their relationship with each other was greatly influenced by the prevailing social and political circumstances. These disclose the reasons behind the changes in the relationship between the boarding school and the authority that supervised it, the Ministry of Culture, in the various historical sub-periods. The MRPE regulations kept in the Institute's archives as well as descriptions and responses¹⁹ can be used as a source. These include ministerial decrees, direct instructions and submissions addressed to the Collegium's Board of Directors, as well as approvals from the Institute's current semester curricula, which clearly show that after 1948 the boarding school's educational system gradually became drained. It is partly in relation to this issue and partly in relation to the connections between the Collegium and the Faculty of Arts of the Budapest University of Sciences (after 1920 Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences) and the teacher training institute that the documents archived under the title "Leadership and Education" can be used as a source.²⁰ On the one hand, this documentation offers a possibility to examine the role the Eötvös Collegium played in the history Hungarian higher education in the 19th and 20th centuries, what attempts it made to receive college title and how the university or the teacher training college tried, from time to time, to limit or eliminate its academic autonomy. On the other hand, it may also become clear how the MRPE's departments reacted to these efforts.²¹

Documentation of the MRPE's 4th University and College Department (renamed as the 6th Department after 1945) that is related to the Collegium can be found in the Eötvös Collegium Foundation of the National Archives of Hungary.²² In addition to the submis-

¹⁹ MDKL box 50, file 96/1–6. Submissions of the MRPE to the University and College Department and regulations of the MRPE Minister in the period between 1895 and 1945. The documents of the period between 1945 and 1950 can be found in MDKL box 50, file 96/a/1–8.

²⁰ MDKL box 50, file 95/1–4.

²¹ MDKL box 88, file 185/1–5. Documents on the history of Eötvös Collegium between 1895 and 1950. These documents are a source of information also on the history of the Institute's internal history as well as the relations maintained with the MRPE, the university and the teacher training institute.

²² Section K 636 of the National Archives of Hungary for the period before 1945 contains the following documents arranged by yearly circles: Box 49, item 25 (1919); box 85, item 25, lot 79 (1920); item 25, lot 138 (1922); box 161, item 25 (1923); box 181, item 25 (1924); box 195, item 25 (1925); box 224, item 25 (1926); box 243,

sions, they include comments and remarks of the department's staff in relation to individual regulations or instructions. Thus, the sources highlight the changes in the position Eötvös Collegium had in different historical periods. In order to identify documents concerning the second dissolution of the Institute in 1950, I similarly researched the materials of the period of 1949–1951 of the MRPE's University and College Department of the National Archives of Hungary,²³ as well as the legislative drafting documents of the MRPE²⁴ and those of the Presidential Department of the Ministry of Public Education.²⁵

Of course, after 12–14 June 1948, one of the peculiarities of the totalitarian political system that emerged after the formation of the Hungarian Workers' Party (hereinafter referred to as 'MDP') was that the independence of state bodies became formal (Gyarmati 2011: 136–139; Romsics 2004: 338); the various issues were actually decided in individual bodies of the one-party state. Therefore, the possible political statements related to the dissolution were examined not only in the documents of the MRPE, but also in the records of the meetings of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the Central Bureau of the MDP.²⁶ The reason for this was that József Révai, the most influential politician of the time in the field of culture, as the chairman of the committee regularly informed its members on the position of the narrow elite of the party leadership on certain cultural policy issues. With the help of the guides prepared for the resources,²⁷ I only examined the documents of meetings where the issue of university reform, the introduction of postgraduate education or the issue of nationalisation of canteens and dormitories through the establishment of a National Company for Training were on the agenda.²⁸

The *fifth dimension of the research* is the history of the Institute's internal life for each period. For this, I examined the minutes of the staff meetings, which provide an unparalleled source of resources for examining the institute's training system and selection mechanisms,²⁹

item 24, lot 279 (1927); box 293, item 22, lot 253 (1928); box 656, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936); item 44–2, box 883 (1937–1941); box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1). Documents related to the Eötvös Collegium can also be found in Section K 592 of the National Archives of Hungary among the documentation of the Secondary School Department: lot 143, item 18 (1920); lot 172, item 18 (1921); lot 196, item 13 (1922).

The ministerial documents of the post-1945 period can be found in section XIX-I-1-h of the National Archives of Hungary under ref. nos. box 112, item 90–3 (1946–1947), as well as in XIX-I-1-h. 1515./1949–1950 of the MNL OL (box 358), which contain documents related to the history of the Collegium for the years 1945–1947 and 1948–1950.

²³ MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1400-52/1950 (box 249) and 1400-74/1950 (box 252).

²⁴ MNL OL XIX-I-1, 1011/1949 (box 213), the legislative drafting material for the MRPE Law in the period between 1949 and 1951 and the general documents of the University and College Department at the National Archives of Hungary, MNL OL XIX-I-1-h/1949-1950 (box 336).

²⁵ MNL OL XIX-I-1 1012/1949–1950 and XIX-I-1 1011/1950–1951.

²⁶ The documents of the MDP KV Agitation and Propaganda Committee can be found in MNL OL M-KS-276.f. lot 86.

²⁷ Here I wish to thank Réka Haász, desk officer of the National Archives of Hungary for her assistance in finding the relevant materials.

²⁸ Thus, I examined unit 11, 12, 34, 37, 50 and 54 stored in lot 86 of the MNL OL M-KS-276, which contain minutes of the meetings held on 28 December 1948, 4 January 1949, 29 September 1949, 11 November 1949, 9 July 1950 and 15 August 1950.

²⁹ Minutes of the teacher meeting held in 1895 can be found in MDKL box 88/1, file 185/1. Minutes taken between 1897 and 1950 can be found in MDKL, box 52, file 102/a–d.

and I also analysed the archival resources for the institute's internal history³⁰ and juxtaposed them just as in the case of resources for other sub-chapters. This is complemented with the memoirs of the former students of the boarding school, as well as news articles published in the press about the Collegium in order to gain an overview of the public atmosphere surrounding the institute, in addition to the social and political climate.³¹

The Collegium's training system was also complemented by elements that made it possible to broaden the scientific knowledge, or to place it in an international context. Both domestic and foreign study trips,³² as well as foreign scholarships served this purpose.³³ The presence of foreign students at the institute was important from the aspect of cultural diplomacy (between 1910 and 1918 the objective was to educate pro-Hungarian intellectuals with the admission of Bosnian, Serbian, Romanian and Turkish students while after 1920 – by admitting American, British and German students – the MRPE wished to demonstrate the results of Hungarian scientific life and Hungarian culture) and, on the other hand, it increased the opportunities for collegium students to practice foreign languages and to get to know other cultures. In addition, during the period of the first two generations (1895–1918), the internal life of the institute was also influenced by the fact that scholarship holders of various churches also took part in the scientific training. A scholarship was established by the canon of the Order of Prémontré of Csorna, by the Reformed Church District of the Transtisza Region, by the Naszód-Region Scholarship Fund, the Gozsdu Foundation and by the Greek Orthodox Bishopric of Sibiu.³⁴ Their presence in the Collegium is interesting in two respects: on the one hand, the institute, which was established with the objective to start secular teacher training, accepted members of various church denominations whose lifestyle differed from the lifestyle of other students in the boarding school and who were openly committed to returning to the field of denominational education after finishing their education at the institute. On the other hand, the winners of the two foundation scholarships were usually Romanians living in Transylvania. Their co-existence with the Hungarian members of the Collegium, especially during the First World War, was not entirely seamless. In addition, in relation to the internal life of the institute, I shall examine the documents concerning disciplinary cases, which also provide information about the selection mechanisms and peculiarities of cohabitation.³⁵

³⁰ In relation to the history of the seventh generation (between 1948 and 1950), documentation contained in MDKL, box 88, file 185/5 was also used, which contains information on the connections between the university, the teacher training institute and the Collegium between 1919 and 1949. This can be explained by the fact that, following the university reform, the internal life of the institute was significantly influenced by the ideas developed in the university or the teacher training institute about the future of the institute.

³¹ MDKL box 89, file 185/a. Articles about the Collegium, 1895–1950. Articles in the press about the Collegium can also be found in MTAKK under ref. no. Ms. 5207/82; Ms. 5207/91 and Ms. 5207/99.

³² MDKL box 36, file 56. Documents on study trips in Hungary and abroad between 1895 and 1950.

³³ MDKL box 36, file 55. Documents on foreign scholarships between 1895 and 1950.

³⁴ Information on foundation scholarship holders in MDKL, box 36, file 54/a–e. A study about foundation scholarship holders written by András Kovács (Kovács A. 1995: 49–58).

³⁵ Theft issues between 1895 and 1950, in MDKL box 50, file 98/1/a/1–2. Information on disciplinary issues, in box 50, file 98/2. The document entitled "Organisation, Policy and Disciplinary rules of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium" can be found in MTAKK Ms. 5207/80. It was amended in 1923. Information that reveals the reasons for the amendment and the revised policy can be found in MDKL box 50, file 95/3.

I implement these five dimensions of the research in each of the seven sub-periods of the institution's history. The reason for discussing the Collegium's history in this way was motivated by several factors: on the one hand, due to the large amount of information, I sought to create a structure, in which the mass of data would become manageable and transparent. On the other hand, this arrangement was also justified by the well separated periods of archival documents and memoirs. Thirdly, the various periods of the Collegium's history are, in my opinion, more transparent in this structure, which ensures a vertical examination of each sub-section than discussing the five study dimensions in separate chapters, extending the horizon.

In my work *I tried to reconcile research of a historical sociological type with the traditional institutional history based method*. For the reasons explained in the previous paragraph, *I subordinated the previous research aspect to the aspects related to institutional history*. However, as a result of this, the time slots covering sub-periods became too little on a scale of social history, in which a study of correlations was not possible to perform, thus I was limited only to descriptive statistical analysis. The data of the Collegium students were compared with the data collected from the census statistics for the years 1910, 1920, 1930, 1941 and 1949 and data from the studies published in the Hungarian Statistical Review for the whole population, for the graduates and for the university students.³⁶ I believe that the two types of studies can well complement each other and, at the same time, make it possible to fully demonstrate the full history of the institute during the researched period.

3.1. Historiography

As I was writing this book, I used a number of historical works in order to present the operation of the Collegium in the context of educational and social history. An overview of the formation of the Humboldt research university and its reception in Hungary is provided in the works of András Németh (Németh 2002; Németh 2004; Németh 2005a; Németh 2005b; Németh 2007; Németh 2009) and Tamás Tóth (Tóth 2001) the latter also describing the development of the “Napoleonic University”. Viktor Karády's monograph presents the French university model. Additionally, in the last chapter of his work Karády draws comparisons along certain aspects between the Eötvös Collegium and the École

³⁶ Neither the census statistics, nor the studies published by the Hungarian Statistical Survey included in all cases the relevant national data for all research aspects of the study. Hence, where possible, the data of the collegium students were compared with the graduated population or with the sociological indicators related to the students of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest. Where this was not possible, on the advice of Tibor Nagy, I compared the data with similar data of earlier sub-periods.

Normale Supérieure (Karády 2005). Information related to problems of the profession and processes of professionalisation and Hungarian social history issues of the 19–20th century is provided in a book co-authored by Gábor Gyáni and György Kövér (Gyáni 2006; Kövér 2006). The studies co-authored by Gábor Kende and Gábor Kovács, which gave me a lot of inspiring thoughts for writing my work, examine the mid-level education of the knowledge-elite between the two world wars and the recruitment of university professors of the same period (Kende–Kovács 2011a; Kende–Kovács 2011b). A whole study volume was published in 1999 in German, which explores the issue of professionalism. In this volume Martin Heidenreich (Heidenreich 1999) provides the most comprehensive overview of the issue in general, while the development of the German secondary school teaching profession is examined by Karl-Ernst Jeismann (Jeismann 1999).

The most up-to-date writings for a discussion of the Hungarian secondary school profession are András Németh's works. The joint study of József Antall and Andor Ladányi (Antall–Ladányi 1968), the monograph of Andor Ladányi (Ladányi 2008) and Márk Keller (Keller 2010), as well as the articles by László Felkai (Felkai 1971; Felkai 1961) also provide important insights into the subject.

Numerous literature reviews, recollections and literary works about the history of the Eötvös József Collegium have been made available to researchers. These works contributed to the writing of the summary work. The most important aid was the booklet entitled “Az Eötvös József Kollégium történetének bibliográfiája és levéltári anyaga” [Bibliography and Archive Material of the History of the Eötvös József College], published in the 6th year of the New Stream of the Eötvös Booklets (Tóth 1987). The publication provides an itemised list of the most important newspaper articles, memoirs, literary creations, literary works and archival materials related to the old and the re-established Collegium, as well as the archival materials for the Collegium kept in the National Archives of Hungary and also in the Manuscript Collection and Old Books Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

In the field of writings of literary standards, the earliest work is the Study Book Draft from 1947 found in the Manuscript Collection and in the Collection of Old Books of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Its former students³⁷ Ferenc Jankovich and Kálmán Benda acknowledge the famous institution in the book published on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. In a study, Tibor Gerevich, the famous art historian, commemorated Géza Bartonek, the Collegium's first director. Gyula Szekfű wrote a thesis on Sándor Mika, the first history teacher of the Collegium, himself his former student. Subsequently, he sent greetings addressed to Dezső Keresztury in relation to the celebration of the Collegium. Tibor Mendöl presents the former curator of the institution, Pál Teleki, to the readers as a geographer. A sketchy study by Sándor Eckhardt provides analysis of the role the boarding school has played in Hungarian public life since the establishment of the Collegium. Vernon Duckworth Barker shares his experiences as a foreigner in his memoirs entitled “My

³⁷ The incomplete volume contains Viktor Karády's French language sketch of the relationship between the École Normale Supérieure and the Collegium, of the standard setting nature of the Ulm Street institution and of its Hungarian adaptation. Karády's sketch must have been added to the volume afterwards, by mistake, as he carried out his related research only much later.

memories of Eötvös Collegium”. Domokos Kosáry provides a review of the short history of the Collegium between its foundation and the end of the Bartoniek era in 1927. His study can also be read with several overlaps in a collection of studies entitled “Tanulmányok az Eötvös Kollégium történetéből” [Studies from the History of the Eötvös Collegium] (Kosáry 1989: 9–41). The last author of the volume, László Kéry analyses the history of the Collegium during World War II. Unfortunately, his study has been preserved in a very fragmentary form.³⁸

After the incomplete study volume, for a long time, no thought of writing an analytical piece for scientific purposes emerged. This deficiency was relieved to a certain extent with the volume that was edited by József Zsigmond Nagy and István Szijártó and published in 1989. The section on the history of the old Collegium begins with the already mentioned study by Domokos Kosáry. The great virtue of his work is that he uses archival sources to analyse the circumstances of the establishment of the Collegium, the habits that developed in the first building in Csillag Street and describes the pedagogical principles developed by Géza Bartoniek and the faculty. The role of the Collegium in the Hungarian higher education system and the professional career of various graduates is also briefly analysed. It raises the unique idea that, in order to write the history of the institution, it is necessary to blend the junctions that play an important role in the internal history of the Collegium with public policy related events, thus the history of the Collegium can be interpreted as the story of collegium students of certain generations (Kosáry 1989: 23).

Following the comprehensive introduction, the authors present the history of individual training branches in a thematic way: Ferenc Glatz’s study of historian training in the boarding school (Glatz 1989: 41–50), László Varga’s summary of literary historian training in the Collegium (Varga 1989: 51–59), Pál Fábíán presents the linguistic training of students of the Hungarian language department (Fábíán 1989: 60–67), István Borzsák describes the long-standing classical-philology training (Borzsák 1989: 68–79). József Margócsy and Elemér Sas provide an insight into how foreign languages were taught (Margócsy 1989: 80–87) and into the education of students of the natural sciences department (Sas 1989: 88–97). Tibor Nemes reviews the relations between the École Normale Supérieure and the Collegium in the period between 1897 and 1947. The study not only lists all the French lecturers of the period, but also discusses what experiences they had when leaving the institution located on Ménesi and Nagyboldogasszony Road after the termination of their assignment (Nemes 1989: 98–105). In a very comprehensive analysis, Gusztáv Makay outlines the possibilities of interpreting the Collegium’s novels (Makay 1989: 106–123). The section on the history of the old Collegium ends with András Tóth’s study, which describes the history of the existence of an advocacy and scientific organisation called the Association of Former Members of the Eötvös Collegium by using the Association’s Annals and archival resources (Tóth 1989: 124–131).

After the change of regime, a thematic study volume edited by László Kósa was published commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Collegium. The title of the book is “Szabadon Szolgál a Szellem. Tanulmányok és dokumentumok a száz esztendeje alapított Eötvös József

³⁸ MTAKK Ms. 5982/115–123.

Collegium történetéből 1895–1995” [The Spirit Serves Freely. Studies and Documents from the History of the Eötvös József Collegium, founded a hundred years ago, 1895–1995]. In the introductory study of the volume, Gábor Tóth presents the history of the foundation of the Eötvös Collegium. The author analyses the discourse held within the Ministry of Religion and Public Education and within the educational political elite, as a result of which a teacher training boarding school was created, which centred its focus on the scientist-teacher concept. The study ends with the description of the completion of the founding process and the presentation of the data of the first grade (Tóth 1995a: 13–30). Imre Kovács presents the period from the history of the institution, during which the institute, following long planning and construction works, moved from the temporary Csillag Street building to its then planned to be final building on Ménesi Road (Kovács I. 1995: 31–42). The works of András Kovács and Zsombor Nagy touch upon very important areas of the history of the Collegium: while the former author presents a group of scholarship holders (Kovács A. 1995: 49–58), the latter lists all foreign students between 1895 and 1949 (Nagy 1995: 83–97). These studies are important for two reasons: on the one hand, it becomes clear to the reader that throughout its existence the Eötvös Collegium provided a diverse community for its students, which was certainly inspiring for scientific development. On the other hand, it may also become clear that the Collegium played an important role not only in the Hungarian context, but also on the imperial scale until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918.³⁹

Studies by Tamás Dénesi and Krisztina Tóth present the Collegium’s student life and habits (Dénesi 1995: 99–108) as well as the institution’s education system through teacher’s reports (Tóth 1995b: 109–115). Lilla Krász describes the relations of the Collegium and its sister institution in Pisa, the Scuola Normale Superiore between 1935 and 1944. The student exchange programme was created as part of the Italian-Hungarian cultural agreement, which was signed by the officials of the two countries on 16 February 1935 (Krász 1995: 117–126). András Tombor describes the background and circumstances of the Communist conspiracy in 1932, which failed and triggered a major scandal, adding to the story a number of useful details and archival sources (Tombor 1995: 127–137). A closely related work is one by Eva Deák, in which the author analyses the press attacks on the Collegium between the two world wars (Deák 1995: 139–144). In the final thesis of the book, András Szabó analyses the novels and memoir literature published after 1945, which make a mention of the Eötvös Collegium, thus, by raising several new aspects, contributing to the thorough use of these works (Szabó 1995: 145–154). The study volume ends with a list of sources of forty-six documents related to various periods of the institute (Kósa 1995: 156–230).

A book edited by László Varga was published in 2003, offering a thematic presentation of the literary history training at the Eötvös Collegium. After completing his university

³⁹ “In full respect of the great and important aspects that make it desirable for the annexed provinces [reference to the annexation of Bosnia in 1908] and for the greater part of the race-related Turkish nation’s intelligentsia to be educated in Hungarian colleges in a Hungarian environment, I have decided that, starting on 1 September 1911, two state-funded fully free places shall be held for Bosnians and one state-funded, fully free place for a Mohammedan youth from Turkey in the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium - in case suitable young people apply.” Letter written by Count János Zichy, Minister of Religion and Public Education to Loránd Eötvös in the issue of Bosnian and Turkish students (Published by Kósa 1995: 184).

studies, a former student of the first generation of the institution, H. János Korompay presents the life of János Horváth who became an outstanding researcher in the field of Hungarian literary history, which provides important information about the first phase of the boarding school's history (Korompay 2003: 9–30). Imre Szabics examines the relationship between the Eötvös Collegium and the École Normale Supérieure from the point of view of literary history, with a special emphasis on the literary activities of French lecturers (Szabics 2003: 117–128). Géza Bodnár analyses the Collegium as a hero from a novel in the two best-known literary works written about the institution - in "Királyhágó" and in "Fellegjárás" (Bodnár 2003: 153–175).

A memorial book edited by Rudolf Paksa was published in 2004, commemorating the years when Dezső Keresztury was the director. The study prepared by the editor describes in detail the historiography of the topic and provides an analytical presentation of special concepts related to the Collegium's student life. The dissertation also analyses the debate in the press, which started with finding a way out after World War II but soon became a political attack (Paksa 2004: 67–134). This study volume also contains István Papp's writing, which examines the period of reflection of the Collegium between 1945 and 1950 (Papp 2004: 49–65). Papp believes that, in the period of people's democracy, as a minister of MRPE, Keresztury tried to consolidate the Collegium in the changed social and political situation by granting it the title of a college. However, as a result of the changing circumstances, the fate of the institute was sealed, the collegium students involved in the communist uprising themselves did not believe that the boarding school could be saved, therefore, they did not make any substantial efforts to that end.

Sándor Kicsi's monograph on Zoltán Gombocz was published in 2006 and even though the author wrote it with scientific excellence, it nevertheless contains several misconceptions and his final notes often completely deviate from the person of Gombocz and thus from the original theme of the book (Kicsi 2006). Apparently, the writer relied on Gyula Németh's memoirs (Németh 1972) in writing his work and used archival resources only to a small degree. The reader can learn a lot about the person of the renowned scholar, but the work is of little relevance to the history of the Collegium.

Published in 2007, Imre Ress' study volume edited by Paksa Rudolf and entitled "Szekfű Gyula és nemzedéke a magyar történetírásban" [Gyula Szekfű and His Generation in Hungarian Historiography] is about the relationship between Gyula Szekfű, Ernst Molden and the Eötvös Collegium, presenting the difficult situation of the institution during the First World War and the subsequent period through the activities of a German lecturer. It becomes obvious that the war loss not only meant that the Collegium's recruitment narrowed to a smaller country, but also that due to the changed geopolitical weight of Hungary, the opportunities for the recruitment of lecturers were reduced. In addition to educational activities, language teachers were also requested to perform other diplomatic tasks, usually acting as cultural attachés at the embassy of their home country (Ress 2007: 17–42).

In 2009 a study volume was published entitled "Tudós tanárok az Eötvös Collegiumban" [Scientist Teachers at the Eötvös Collegium], edited by Károly Tóth and Enikő Sepsi. Veronika Markó provides a very comprehensive analyses of the life of Miklós Szabó, using many archival sources as well as literature and memoirs. The study explains in detail how

Miklós Szabó tried to protect the institution from extreme right-wing political attacks during World War II and how he was removed from the position of the Collegium's director in the second half of 1945 (Markó 2009: 18–31). Enikő Sepsi presents the activities of Sauvageot, the French lecturer of the Collegium between 1923 and 1931, using French sources and a memoir written by the lecturer and entitled „Magyarországi életutam” [My Career in Hungary] (Sepsi 2009: 42–50). In his thesis, Károly Tóth analyses Lajos Fülep's teaching work using a very diverse range of sources and literature. Fülep's seminars recalled the spirit of the old Eötvös Collegium in the period between 1948 and 1950 when the Collegium was operating *de jure*, but was only a shadow of its former self (Tóth 2009: 107–125).

The publication entitled “Lustrum”, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the handover of the Collegium building, was published in 2011. The book contains writings about the following directors: Géza Bartoniek (Gerevich 2011: 96–102),⁴⁰ Zoltán Gombocz (Kiss 2011: 103–112), Miklós Szabó (Markó 2011a: 113–125), Dezső Keresztury (Nagy 2011: 127–131), furthermore, Zoltán Pál wrote about the new director, Tibor Lutter (Pál 2011: 132–135) who facilitated the transformation of the institute into a Marxist scholar training institution and about State Security Surveillance (Pál 2010). The author, however, reveals very little information about the issue of dissolution and describes it as a necessary process. Veronika Markó, who wrote the history of the Collegium library in her 2011 study (Markó 2011b: 220–235), discusses the issue of dissolution also providing only little information.

In addition to the writings, it is also necessary to mention the collection of studies and sources entitled “A Nagyboldogasszony úttól a Ménesi útig” [From Nagyboldogasszony Road to Ménesi Road], two documents of which are related to the last period of the old Collegium (Simon 2011: 11; 30).

3.2.

Memoirs Related to the Eötvös Collegium

Agreeing with Rudolf Paksa's argument, I also believe that none of the sub-periods of the Collegium's history can be described without reviewing and processing the relevant memoirs (cf. Paksa 2004: 129). In many cases, memoirs can supplement the information that is obtainable from archival sources and vice versa and certain statements made by those who perceived events as contemporaries can be verified through documents generated during

⁴⁰ The compilation made by Gerevich can be found in the already mentioned study that remained incomplete in 1947.

the official processes, which in my opinion is an extremely important aspect in the critical periods of the institute's history.

The earliest independent memoir that was published as an independent volume is Aladár Kuncz's "Fekete kolostor" [Black Monastery], which shares the experiences of the former collegium student received during a French internment (Kuncz 1975). The horrors experienced in the Noirmontier Monastery and the Citadel of Ile d'Yeu are of little use as a source for the Eötvös Collegium as an institution, but the mentality of the collegium students can be reconstructed from the work: Kuncz and his fellow collegium students Bárczi and Weiffer are able, even in the most extreme situations of life, putting aside existential uncertainty, to pursue scientific activities and deliver scientific lectures to fellow prisoners. On several occasions the author refers to the Collegium and to the method and scientific attitude acquired there; to free critical thinking (Kuncz 1975: 411).

Gyula Németh commemorated his former director, *Gombocz Zoltán* in a separate volume (Németh 1972). The author stated already in the foreword that he did not use archival resources and scientific papers in the commemoration. Thus his work must be handled with strong criticism in terms of source, since remembrance of times several decades ago can distort historical reality (Németh 1972: 10–11).⁴¹ Németh was a collegium student between 1909 and 1913, thus providing information about the first director of the institution as well as the student life of that time. In the second part of the book, he presents the director's activities and scientific career of Gombocz.

In a memoir entitled "Párhuzamos életutak" [Parallel Life Paths] written by István Király, the reader witnesses the professional and intellectual development of a student of the Sárospatak Reformed College who was admitted to the Collegium in 1939 (Király, sine anno). Király also reflects on one of the most serious scandals in the institution, the 1932 Communist conspiracy, when he describes the circumstances, in which his intellectual development was directed to the extreme left. The author also explains how, after the Second World War, partly due to his Collegium connections, he became a member of the Hungarian school administration and of the National Education Council.⁴²

In his novel memoir entitled "Műhelyeim története" [A History of My Workshops], László Mátrai, similarly to Ferenc Jankovich, provides a picture of the transitional conditions in 1927 (Mátrai 1982). Mátrai is one of the few authors who reflect in their works on the communist conspiracy of 1932. In addition, the writer devotes a separate chapter to the Collegium years and, within it, to Gombocz. He tries to explain the dissolution of the Collegium, but his arguments are very weak.

In his novel entitled "Ménési út. Regény és dokumentumok" [Ménési Road. Novel and Documents], the author Imre Szász remembers his years spent at the Collegium as Ádám

⁴¹ In my volume, I try to provide nuances to the narratives that emerge from the recollections of the operation of the Collegium between 1895 and 1950 through the use of archival sources. Therefore, I usually juxtapose, where possible, this type of source with the archival material. From these, it will be seen in later parts of my work that the narrative of the recollections sometimes differs significantly from the sources of that period. Under distortion, in this case, I mean that too much time lapsed between the time of the experience and the time of recollection. However, in other cases, this may also be due to the fact that the person who recollects deliberately does not mention certain issues, or for certain reasons "rewrites" his role.

⁴² MTAKK Ms. 2233/22. István Király (sine anno): *Parallel life paths. The memory of our generation* (Manuscript).

Forrai. A female reporter assists him in the remembrance, with whom Forrai, who embodies the writer, creates a very confidential relationship in the novel (Szász 1985). This book presents the interior life of the boarding school after the Second World War in a unique way, explaining in detail the search for a way out and writing about the so-called “progressives” group who took control of the institution in the second half of 1948. A great virtue of the book is that in the appendix it provides most of the material of the press debate, which burst out about the Eötvös Collegium after 1945, as well as the teacher’s and director’s reports from 1949 of collegium students entitled “destructive elements”.

In the first part of the memorial work written by Albert Gyergyai entitled “A várostól a viláig” [From the City to the World] (“Emlékezések” [Memories]) the author devotes a separate chapter to the Collegium (Gyergyai 1986: 27–49). The institution is presented with an attempt to answer a question of interest to many: What is the reason that made the Collegium become a place for training the scholarly teacher elite? In the course of this experiment, he discusses many factors, taking into account the social affiliation of the collegium students, excellent professional leaders, including, for obvious reasons, the fundamentals of the pedagogy represented by János Horváth, Mr G.B. and Zoltán Gombocz, as well as the library. According to Gyergyai, by 1950 the Collegium ceased to exist because the institution became old, just as a human body and eventually died. In my opinion, the author did not succeed in providing an exhaustive answer to the original question and the explanation for the dissolution of the boarding school is simplistic in nature.

Aurélien Sauvageot’s memoir entitled “Magyarországi életutam” [My Career in Hungary] is unparalleled among the memoirs. The author lived in Hungary between 1923 and 1931 working as a French lecturer at the Collegium, thus his notes provide an opportunity to get an insight into the internal life of the boarding school and the Hungarian cultural and political life of the 1920s. As a foreigner, he reveals the peculiarities of the era for the people of today, which is due to the circumstance that, coming from the French civic society, in Hungary he found himself in a completely different world, where civic virtues were characteristic only of certain social groups, thus he tried to capture the social relations that were special for him in great detail. Sauvageot confirms the findings of Imre Rész’s study, which claim that linguists coming from Antant states often received cultural and other diplomatic duties in addition to their teaching activities (Sauvageot 1988).

András Fodor’s “Diary”, which was well known also to the general public, in the period from 1947 to 1950 recorded almost exactly every day what the author experienced in the Eötvös Collegium, at the university and in various literary circles. Fodor gives an accurate picture of the gradual transformation of the Collegium. Being sympathetic to László Németh and the “third-party policy”, he is not biased towards either “progressives” or Keresztury’s followers. He does not analyse, only factually describes the events, which greatly increases the possibilities of using his work as a source. At the same time, it is necessary to note that the author edited his diary entries afterwards, therefore, he could have occasionally corrected his statements (Fodor 1991).

In his autobiography entitled “A Semmi partján” [On the Shore of Nothing], similarly to many other authors, István Rácz devotes a separate chapter to the Collegium. He found that scholarly teachers, the director and the huge library provided only the framework for

the institution and it was the collegium students with free and critical thoughts who filled it with content. Among the teachers he emphasizes the personalities of Miklós Szabó, Albert Gyergyai and Italo Siciliano, the Italian lecturer. He also highlights the network of contacts the collegium students had and how they tried to help each other in the most extreme situations (Rácz 1991).

In his autobiographical confession published in a separate volume, Dezső Keresztury, director of the Collegium after World War II, also shares his experiences gained during his time spent at the institution. In his work, however, he only reflects on his own years of being a collegium student between 1922 and 1928 and his career as a teacher between 1936 and 1945 and does not mention the period when he was the director. Through Keresztury's student years, the reader has an opportunity to get an insight into Géza Bartoniek's last and Zoltán Gombocz's first years of serving as directors. The narrative also touches upon the period of the Collegium led by Miklós Szabó, often comparing the leadership of the various characters, which is probably a conscious effort on the author's part (Keresztury 1993).

The memoir of Zoltán Bassola entitled "Ki voltam..." [Who I was...] presents the conditions between 1919 and 1920 in great detail. His memoir provides information related to a period of crisis, which not only meant a period of afflictions for the country, but also for the Collegium as well, as the institution and Géza Bartoniek were politically attacked and young people who returned from the war front were facing difficulties in reintegrating into civilian life (Bassola 1998).

József Szigeti's "Intellektuális önéletrajz" [Intellectual autobiography] illustrates in detail how the Eötvös Collegium influenced the development of an individual coming from a lower segment of society (Szigeti 2000). Although, on the basis of his graduation certificate, Szigeti could not have been admitted to the institution, with the help of his influential supporter, László Országh, he successfully overcame the obstacle of the so-called "fejkopogtatás" [head knocking], which was a jargon word for the oral entrance exam. His philosophical interest soon pushed his Hungarian-English studies into the background. He illustrates the Collegium's habits and relationships in great detail. At the same time, Szigeti's memoir is a good example of how, after the collapse in World War II, an intellectual could become a committed believer in communism in the hope of building a new world.

In his book entitled "Egy kassai polgár emlékei" [Memories of a Citizen of Košice], László Sziklay writes about his life in letters written to a fictitious person called Lidli, which also touch upon the Collegium (Sziklay 2003). The reader faces the problems of an intellectual family in the historic region of Upper Hungary in the post-war period. The Czechoslovak authorities were trying to impose restrictions through administrative means onto the life of one of the most influential families of Košice's Hungarian majority, so that they could no longer play an important role in the public life of the city. Sziklay fulfils one of his father's main desires: he is admitted to the Eötvös Collegium, one of the citadels of Hungarian science.⁴³ Sziklay depicts in detail the deep, almost unbridgeable contradictions between

⁴³ László Sziklay was a Hungarian-French-Slovak member of the Collegium between 1929 and 1933. He studied with excellence all the way through his education. After the university, he became a secondary school teacher in Nyíregyháza. MDKL box 20, file 19, lot 58. His father, Ferenc Sziklay, the head of the Czechoslovakian Hungarian Cultural Office, tried to co-ordinate the life of Hungarians in Upper Hungary from an organisation

the bourgeois milieu of the “City” and the congested Hungarian society. The book is also extremely edifying in the sense that the author himself is a prototype of the career fulfilled by a collegium student who, after completing his higher education studies, through his work in a secondary school of a small town in the rural area, tries to revitalize the intellectual staleness of the teaching staff.

A book entitled “A háború sújtotta Eötvös Collegium” [Eötvös Collegium Devastated By the War], edited by Sándor Dörnyei and published in 2004, was dedicated by the authors to Jenő Tomasz who, as a deputy director, did a lot to help the students of the institution survive the hardships of war and the siege of Budapest (Dörnyei 2004). The book contains a number of former collegium students’ recollections about the harsh weeks of the siege and about the heroic position of Mr. Tomasz and the Finnish lecturer Ankeria Santieri.

Árpád Kucsman published the memoirs of a chemist whose recollection is indispensable in several aspects: on the one hand, unlike the above mentioned memoirs, this volume was published by a former “dögész”, that is, a natural science student – a jargon used in the Collegium internally (Kucsman 2006). His work opens up special perspectives for the reader: it becomes evident that the world of philologists and of “dögész” students did not separate as sharply as it had been suggested in the literature and other memoirs of the past. On the other hand, Kucsman provides a multitude of indispensable information about student life and various Collegium related practices. Thirdly, the work is also very valuable because it addresses the issue of the relationship between the Eötvös Collegium and politics, as the author was a member of the institution between 1945 and 1950. Thus, he has personal experience of how the public life related themes of the boarding school were gradually changed by the advocates of “progression”.

A book entitled “Ahol a maximum volt a minimum” [Where the maximum was the minimum], edited by Ágnes Kelevéz and containing memoirs was published in 2007. The merit of the publication is that it presents the memoirs of a former student about various periods spent in the institution.⁴⁴ Since the interviewers asked the interviewees similar questions, it is possible for the researcher to measure certain changes that occurred between generations (Kelevéz 2007).

In his memoir entitled “Két apa között, a magyar baloldal tragédiája 1899–1990” [Between two fathers, the Tragedy of the Hungarian Left, 1899–1990], Gábor Mihályi devotes a longer chapter to the Collegium as well. As a secretary of the communist faction that operated in the institute, he took an active role in the transformation of the educational system of the boarding school and in the removal of its old members. In his memoir, he clarifies both his and his associates’ role in this process. He addresses the role Imre Lakatos had in the events of the researched period separately (Mihályi 2012).

(Gayer 2013: 75–76). He most probably sent his son to the institute with the hope that, as a highly qualified intellectual, he would replace him as the head of the organisation. However, this did not happen.

⁴⁴ The following interviews may be used in the researched period: Kálmán Ruttkay 1941–1948, Gábor Gyapay 1943–1948, László Orosz 1943–1948, János Benyhe 1945–1949, József Vekerdy 1945–1949, Lajos Keszthelyi 1946–1948, György Bodnár 1947–1950, Elemér Hankiss 1947–1949, László Lator 1947–1949, Mátyás Domokos 1948–1949.

3.3.

Literary Works Related to the Eötvös Collegium

In addition to the existing literature and memoirs, I also used literary works to write the book. Although it is a peculiarity of literary works that, in terms of data, they are unreliable and often distort reality, they, however, can reconstruct the atmosphere of the Collegium, or personalities of characteristic teachers or directors in the various ages. I believe that, following a proper source criticism or comparison with other sources, they can provide interesting information.

In his work entitled “Királyhágó”, Géza Laczkó, a former student of the first generation of the Collegium, devotes a central role to the period spent in the institution (Laczkó 1938). His novel primarily unfolds the atmosphere of the Csillag Street building, as well as that “career model”, which is open to the illegitimate child of a landowner at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries who, after completing his university studies, also obtained a doctorate degree. Laczkó is forced to accept a middle-class lifestyle, which is supported also by his marriage, as he marries the daughter of a bourgeois family of German origin living in Pest. From the ambitious world-redeeming plans he had had in the Collegium, what remained was only the words of appreciation of his father-in-law: “*Ein gemachter Mensch*” (Laczkó 1938: 395.) I believe that the writer provides a very precise description of the situation, in which the graduates who, albeit on the basis of their qualifications they could gain higher office positions or positions at universities, because of the low social embeddedness of middle-class values, have to “accept the compromise” of the secondary school teacher status that ensures middle-class life.

In his novel *Dezső Győry*, who is originally from the historic region of Upper Hungary, captures another historical situation. The author of the novel entitled “A nagy érettségi” [The high-school graduation] was borne in Rimavská Sobota, Upper Hungary, finished his studies in 1917 and was mobilised to the Italian front, but did not take part in action. In 1919 he was admitted to the Collegium (Győry 1960). Győry describes the revolutionary atmosphere that characterises the students of the institution during the period of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. For family related reasons and because of the country’s crisis, the author resigns in 1919, but his work commemorates this era.

The writer of the book entitled “Szabadcsapat” [Irregulars] Géza Féja describes the post-1920 circumstances in a famous teacher training institute: Director Géza Bartoniek is struck by serious adversities, the youth of the Collegium are rebellious and a tragic atmosphere dominates the country (Féja: 1965). The novel is important because of the depiction of the atmosphere after the First World War, presenting the period of controversy that the students of the institution experienced at that time. The collegium students did not take part in the political movements organised by the university youth organizations, instead, they retreated into the Gellért Hill’s citadel to pursue sciences. What remains after the Eötvös

Collegium for Fėja is a middle-class life: first he teaches at a higher elementary school and then becomes a secondary school teacher.

As a member of the first generation, Dezső Szabó also presents an early period of the Collegium as well as Mr. G.B. in his autobiographical book entitled “Életeim” [My Lives] (Szabó 1965). However, the prominent writer does not name any one of his excellent classmates, most probably so that he would not have to give an account of their relationship (Makay 1989: 111). He only writes with recognition about the director and the boarding school as an institution. He denounces the habits of the collegium students, emphasising that, in his view, the Collegium had few really talented students at the time. However, this is probably a statement that comes from Dezső Szabó’s excessive self-confidence, which can be sensed in the novel several times. Although he had a friendly relationship with Jérôme Tharaud, the French lecturer, he also wrote negatively about him. At the same time, he discusses the Collegium’s internal habits, its relationship with the university and the character of the director in great detail.

Ferenc Jankovich became a collegium student in a transitional period, because, due to his illness, in 1927 Géza Bartoniek resigned from the position of director and Zoltán Gombocz who replaced him as a director due to his study trip to Berlin delegated the tasks of the director to Miklós Szabó (Jankovich 1967). Thus, Jankovich’s book entitled “A magam emberségéből” [From My Own Humanity], provides information on a transitional period, on the beginning of Gombocz’s directorship, on the new admission system (this is the year when “fejkopogtatás” [head knocking], the oral entrance exam is introduced) and about Sauvageot.

The novelettes published by Lajos Mesterházi entitled “Hármasugrás” [Triple Jump] contain only few details of his former alma mater (Mesterházi 1974). From the point of view of my work, it is important only because it describes a Collegium practice, conditional training, which I did not encounter in any archival source or memoir (Mesterházi 1974: 218–219).

Among the literary works about the Collegium, István Sőtér’s “Fellegjárás” [Quixotism] is still considered to be a classic in the public opinion of the institute. Sőtér processes the restless period of the early 1930s, masterfully depicting the atmosphere of the era. By September 1930, as a result of the stimuli coming from the political world, the apolitical collegium students become susceptible to social problems, but they provide different responses to the challenge: some plunge into ascetic work, others relieve their tension in unrestrained debauchery, members of a third group keep daydreaming and members of a fourth group start conspiring (Sőtér 1986). The figure of Méliusz impersonating the director, the member of the first generation, Zoltán Gombocz, the internationally renowned scholar for whom the Collegium became his life, hovers over all of them. After the discovery of the conspiracy, Méliusz’s will to live soon comes to an end and he passes away (Makay 1989: 120).

4

PROFESSIONALISATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION⁴⁵

During the 19th century, European states went through a major transformation and, as a result, societal development took new directions. Historical works highlighted three fundamental characteristics of these processes. The first is *industrialisation*, an all-embracing industrial transformation. The second is *commercialisation*, the strengthening of the central role of market processes and its strong influence on social processes (Németh 2002: 146). The third is *professionalisation*. The term that has been in use in the Anglo-Saxon literature is used to name the creation of intellectual professions. This definition represents a process, in which intellectuals have organised their occupation according to the needs of the market. The organisation was performed in such a way that the qualification required for pursuing a profession was regulated and controlled by the members of the group who elaborated ethical standards that were accepted by them and their environment. Professionalisation is understood only for the self-organisation of professions, resulting in the emergence of expert groups. This process evolved following the state reforms implemented in the spirit of enlightenment. In some occupational categories, the framework of the profession was institutionalised only slowly, resulting in the creation of an elite group of experts (Kövér 2006: 81).

Growing expectations emerged in relation to professionals operating the institutions of the modern state. Thus, professions evolved according to employment requirements, hence, the market had a strong influence on the creation and development of professions. This effect was inevitable because it was the demand that determined the knowledge, with which

⁴⁵ Parts of sections 4.1 to 4.3 are available in a more detailed, edited version in Garai 2011: 184–199.

the professional elite equipped its members and how it had to organise its recruitment in order to ensure the existential fundamentals for all professionals (Heidenreich 1999: 35–36). At the beginning of the emergence of professions, there could be both a demand and an oversupply on the market. Members of a profession tried to limit their ranks by making it difficult to acquire the qualification required to practice the profession by raising the level of qualification (Jeismann 1999: 62).

The process of professionalisation was generally characterised by the fact that members of a profession specialised in one particular field of activity, thus, by acquiring and possessing the necessary knowledge, the members obtained a privileged position. Acquisition of professional knowledge was linked to a systematic training system, at the end of which members of the profession could obtain the qualification recognised by both the state and the market. Professional prestige was ensured by the quality of the training. This depended on the level of school qualifications required for practising the profession and whether there was a real demand for the knowledge content acquired in the training. The possession of this special knowledge also meant legitimising the creation of the profession. Practitioners of professions developed specific methods and models for the transfer of knowledge (Heidenreich 1999: 37–38).

A hierarchy developed in each profession, with some degree of mobility within it. Opportunities for advancement had especially great identity shaping power for individual professions, which was especially true for freelance academic professions. After the transfer of the special knowledge content, identification with the professional group came about in the course of practising the profession. The characteristics of that were the use of special language and the formation of professional conduct and an important part of the professional identity was that the members of the group acted uniformly towards the outside world (*ibid.* 42–43).

The most important aspect of the development of the profession was that the state recognised the professional qualification and the qualification path leading to its acquisition. The enlightened state, which put the public good and the advancement of its citizens at the centre of its operation, provided its symbolic contribution to exercising an activity (Németh 2009: 282–283). Through state recognition, professions gained their final form partly by way of the slow development of institutional stability and partly by way of the development of a recognised and legally regulated training system (Heidenreich 1999: 44–45).

The extent of state intervention in the developing process of professions varies from one culture to another. It was typical for the Anglo-Saxon professional models that the state had little control over the formation and operation of professions, it did not influence the institutionalisation of professions, the initiatives of local communities became exclusive, hence the professions did not lack autonomy. Unlike the continental professions: the need for loyalty to the state, the enlightened office apparatus and the market in Germany and France strongly influenced the development of professions. The established professions in these countries lacked autonomy almost entirely (Heidenreich 1999: 43).

The ideology of enlightenment and the transformation of the education that followed in its wake played an important role in shaping national culture and in becoming a nation. As a result of secularisation, the state took over the operation of the school system, which had

been run by the church until the 18th century and the foundations of national education systems were established (Németh 2002: 156). Between the German and French professional models, due to the close cultural ties, the former had a greater impact on the Austrian and Hungarian professions. The French model also had an influence on the Hungarian educational policy elite and members of the Eötvös family who played a key role in the modernisation of Hungarian public education became its followers (cf. Németh 2005a: 104).

4.1.

Development of the Hungarian Secondary School Professions from the Compromise Until 1899

On 30 March 1867 Hungarian legislation adopted Act XII of 1867, the Compromise Act, which consisted of 69 Articles. On 8 June 1867, Franz Joseph was crowned king and four days later, on June 12th, the ruler adopted the law. With this act, the dualistic state form was established, which was maintained until 1918. The second attempt to create a modern nation state created a stable political system that was unparalleled in the 19-20th century Hungarian history, and which created the social and economic conditions necessary for modernisation (Csorba 2005: 324–325).

Prime Minister Count Gyula Andrassy invited József Eötvös to lead the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. It was he who started to develop the structure of the ministerial administration from the fourth section/department of the former Royal Council of Governors (Mann 1993: 14–16). His idea of cultural and educational development defined the basic features of modernising public education: one of the key elements of that was the state's duty to educate citizens and the other, by reducing the role of denominations, to increase the role of the state in education. These guidelines were essential, in fact, they marked the main directions of the education policy in the period of dualism. Eötvös's intentions were followed by all MRPE ministers who followed him in the position of head of the MRPE (Felkai 1971: 211). Thus, he played a crucial role in the development of a modern Hungarian public education and this, of course, also influenced the development of the secondary school teachers' profession.

Although teacher training had undergone significant development before 1867 as well, the process, however, was not steady as the institutionalisation process started by the 1st Ratio Educationis (Collegium Repetentium, making a teacher qualification exam compulsory for students at denominational schools) came to a halt with the adoption of the 2nd Ratio in

1806 (Collegium repetentium were not even mentioned in the document, and the teacher qualification exam was imposed only on the lay colleges). A new impetus to the development was given by the period of the 1848 revolution and the subsequent neo-absolutism. With the introduction of Organisationsentwurf and the university reform, the state-supervised graduation exam was introduced at the end of the secondary school education that was extended to eight grades, which required a uniform qualification for the entry into higher education (Keller 2010: 72–73). The Faculty of Arts at the Budapest University of Sciences became an independent faculty and the first teacher training seminars were launched starting from 1852 and a decade later, as a result of political relief, it became possible to pass a teacher training exam in Pest (Ladányi 2008: 9–12). As a result of a long developmental process, the teaching profession became slowly detached from the theological profession and became an independent one. Following the Compromise, economic and social processes (industrialisation, strengthening of market conditions, urbanisation) were launched, which made it necessary to raise the level of education of society and at the same time the ever-growing expectations towards the professionals who operated modern state institutions appeared. The appearance of these needs helped to develop the pedagogical professions (teacher, grammar school teacher) and to separate the pedagogical professions from each other. As a result of the thirty years of development in the age of dualism, the teaching profession became a profession that could be acquired only within the framework of higher education, becoming a certified public position (Németh, 2005a: 201).



Image 1: Loránd Eötvös in 1875

Following foreign models, there were two possibilities for organising teacher training: setting up a university-based teacher training institute (*grandes écoles* –) the French model, or providing training for the education of secondary school teachers within the framework of seminars at the university (the German model). The regulations of the Secondary School Teacher Training Institute founded in 1870 can be regarded as a combination of the two models (*ibid.* 210). The rules tried to coordinate academic training with the teacher training. The seminar system at the institute was introduced primarily based on the German model. The essence of the training there was that the students were engaged in scientific work for fifteen hours a week, which provided guidance on research in the field of science and on the application of the subject in secondary education. This experiment did not become successful in all aspects, as only the first objective was achieved, teaching science in secondary schools played a secondary role (Keller 2010: 152; Felkai 1961: 435).

4.2.

Conceptual Debates, Act XXX of 1883

Tivadar Pauler took over the office of his predecessor on 10 February 1871; his appointment was recommended to the Prime Minister by Ferenc Deák. With his first measures, he immediately set the goal of raising the level of teacher training, therefore, he founded the primary practising grammar school in Budapest and with MRPE decree No. 6351 of 16 May 1872, ruled that the fifth pedagogical department of the teacher training unit should become the property of the practising grammar school. He imagined the relationship between the teacher training institute and the practising school as the relationship between the medical faculty and the clinic (Felkai 1987: 56).

The importance of quality training is supported by his speech delivered in the National Assembly on 22 December 1871: *"I do not mean to say that there is no need to multiply teachers: [...] I only want to point out that I am not expecting everything from that. I expect everything from science, from the sense of duty, didactic ability and character of the teacher."*⁴⁶ The leadership of the new institution was entrusted to Mór Kármán who taught pedagogy at both the university and the teacher training institute (Tóth 1995a: 15). Starting from 1873, the training was carried out in the teacher training institute on the basis of an independent curriculum and it tried to extend its influence to university lectures as well. In fact, Kármán demanded from the Faculty of Arts that lectures that had become compulsory to be visited by teacher trainee students

⁴⁶ Tivadar Pauler (1871): Speech in the budget debate of the Parliament. Quoted by Mann 1987: 30–39.

should be tailored to the needs of teacher training. This demand ran into a violent protest by the University as it violated the principle of freedom of education (Németh 2005a: 211).

In 1872, one of the most interesting debates about teacher training unfolded in the era of dualism. It was then that Mór Kármán started his scientific offensive against Ágost Lubrich, professor of education. As a believer in herbartianism, Karma strongly criticized Lubrich's Catholic orientation. From the point of view of my work, the only important aspect of their debate, which was becoming increasingly personal, is that they imagined the solution of secondary school teacher training along different concepts. While the head of the teacher training institution considered it natural for the training of secondary school teachers to be detached from the university, the new professor considered teacher training to be the primary task of the university. (Németh 2005a: 208). This means that the education policy elite of the age of dualism had a disagreement in the final settlement of the issue of teacher training. The front lines between the disputing parties were stiffened by the process that unfolded in the 1880s, resulting in a dual institutional system in teacher training.

When the government led by Menyhért Lónyai⁴⁷ was reorganised, there was a ministerial change in the MRPE and Ágoston Trefort became the new MRPE minister with effect from 4 September 1872. Despite the rejection of his higher education bill, the new minister succeeded in bringing fundamental changes to the training structure of universities.⁴⁸ He introduced the seminar system at the Faculty of Arts and at the same time increased the training time from three to four years starting from the academic year of 1880/81. The launch of seminar training meant raising the quality of the training in that, through direct teacher-student contacts, students had more opportunities to acquire new and higher levels of knowledge (Felkai 1988: 682).

In 1875, Trefort made a proposal to set up a teacher training institute with a boarding school based on the École Normale Supérieure model. The suggestion probably originated from Loránd Eötvös who had the opportunity to get to know the Parisian institution during his trip to France in 1874 and reported his experiences to the Minister of the MRPE. The National Council for Public Education supported the proposal, but also pointed out that, in order to make teacher training more effective, it is necessary to reorganise the lectures of the Faculty of Arts. The faculty concerned strongly objected the proposal referring to the principle of freedom of education (Tóth 1995a: 16).⁴⁹

In 1878, the University put forward proposals for the renewal of the teacher training: these were aimed at extending the training period by one year and introducing the seminar-based system. As we have seen above, both initiatives were implemented in the early 1880s. By the academic year of 1887/88, history, classical philology and modern philological seminars had been launched. In 1891 the geography seminar and then by 1894 the geophysics seminar and

⁴⁷ Prime Minister from 14 November 1871 till 4 December 1872.

⁴⁸ In addition, Act XIX of 1872 arranges the establishment of a new university in Cluj-Napoca.

⁴⁹ In the first days of January 1880, the proposal was considered again when Ágoston Trefort invited Loránd Eötvös, Gustav Heinrich, József Stoczek and Károly Than and Aladár Molnár for a private meeting. At the meeting they discussed problems related to teacher training. The participants agreed that a final solution could only be expected from the establishment of an institute based on the model of the École Normale Supérieure. In addition, it was planned to increase the duration of teacher training to four years and to include a practising year; furthermore, they considered it necessary to change the order of teacher assessment (Ladányi 2008: 23).

a year later the mathematics seminar had also been launched. However, these practical studies did not solve the problem of teacher training, as over the time the emphasis in the courses was rather on scholar training. In addition, as a result of the conceptual debate, the relationship between the university leadership and the teacher training institute became greatly aggravated. Nothing proves the bad relationship better than Loránd Eötvös's proposal made in 1878, according to which the institute should have been merged into the university's organisational framework and the training of teachers transformed to become primarily a scholarly training. However, the Minister stated that he would leave the autonomy of the teacher training institute until the establishment of the aforementioned boarding school (Németh 2005a: 213). Thus, the dual institutional system of teacher training remained unchanged and the situation did not change considerably until the mid-1890s.

Act XXX of 1883 (the secondary school law) was passed after long negotiations with the legislative body. The law provided state supervision rights in all secondary schools in the country. The provision set out two types of secondary education institutions: the grammar school and the secondary school of sciences. Legislation precisely defined the conditions for obtaining a teacher's qualification: each teacher trainee student had to study their subject for four years, then they had to attend a one-year practical training and then pass a teacher examination before the teacher-examination committee. As a result, obtaining a secondary school teacher qualification in the country became uniform, which was a significant step in the development of the secondary school teaching profession.⁵⁰ However, the legislator still did not eliminate the double institutional system within teacher training, since the student had to pass the teacher examination at the university (cf. Mann 1993: 50–51).

The teachers themselves felt the need to introduce changes to teacher training, as on 11 October 1885 the National Union of Secondary School Teachers submitted a memorandum to the minister, in which representatives of the body suggested that, along with the teacher training institute, a boarding school for students should be created. According to their idea, university studies would have been supplemented with practical and theoretical lectures held by the teachers of the boarding school, thereby remedying the shortcomings of university education. In addition, it was also suggested that prospective students should also learn the manners and social customs of educated societal groups (Ladányi 2008: 28–29). Many elements of their draft were incorporated into the operating principles of the boarding school that was established a decade later.

By 1888, there were 179 secondary schools in the country (151 grammar schools and 28 secondary schools of sciences) with 42,619 pupils and 2913 teachers. As a result of retirements as of the 1870s and the level of qualification required by Act XXX of 1883 and the increase in the number of secondary schools, by the 1890s there was a severe shortage of teachers, which put a heavy burden on the educational elite. Presumably, the fact that this issue became acute may have played a role in the final settlement of teacher training (Keller 2010: 190; Felkai and 1988: 679).

With the adoption of the Remuneration Act in 1893 (Act IV of 1893), the social position of secondary school teachers also changed. According to the law, directors and teachers of

⁵⁰ Articles 60–70 of Act XXX of 1883.

grammar schools and secondary schools of sciences were classified into the 9–4th remuneration categories. Teachers could start their career as a substitute lecturer in the 9th remuneration category; while only secondary school directors could be appointed into the 6th remuneration category (Keller 2010: 188). As career entrants they received an annual salary of 1,200 forints,⁵¹ which could be supplemented with a housing allowance in the value of 200–400 forints and towards the end of their career their salary could reach up to 1,800 forints. The salary of the heads of institutes ranged between 1,400 and 2,400 forints. Their salary and the occupied social position were the same as those of the ministry's support staff, district judges, royal prosecutors and police chiefs (ibid. 188–189). Based on their ranks and prestige, they belonged to the middle class, most of them were addressed as *tekintetes* – public officials and workers not classified elsewhere – while a smaller part of them rose to the order of upper class addressed as *nagyságos* (Kende–Kovács 2011b: 179–182).



Image 2: Loránd Eötvös in 1894

⁵¹ With regard to the use of currencies, I would like to note here that according to Act XVIII of 1892 the gold crown was introduced in both states of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The exchange rate of the forint and the crown was as follows: two crowns were exchanged for one forint (Act XVIII of 1892). According to Article 2 of Act XXXVI of 1899, from 1 January 1900 calculation in crowns was introduced in state, municipal and communal institutions. In everyday life, this was becoming widespread only slowly, thus in the period of dualism the sources often provide the value of payment both in forints and crowns. Since a mixed use of currencies was common even within one document, the solution I chose was that in my dissertation I used the denominations used by the sources. In the sources that were produced after 1927, this duality disappears as it was then that pengo was introduced (Romsics 2004: 157).

4.3.

Setting up a New Teacher Training Boarding School and the Termination of the Dual Training System

After the domestic political battles that developed in connection with the Church laws, Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle transformed his cabinet in May 1894 and in the re-established government Loránd Eötvös became Minister of Religion and Public Education (Pölöskei 2005: 495). Eötvös headed the MRPE from 10 June 1894 till 15 January 1895. The new minister cared about the problem of teacher training: he considered it necessary to modernise the training, to increase teachers' salaries to improve their social appreciation and to make the teacher career attractive again (Felkai 1991: 145). Because of the lack of secondary school teachers and the expected high retirement wave, the new minister decided to revive his plan he shared with his uncle, Ágoston Trefort and, based on the model of the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris, set up a boarding school for students of the secondary school teacher training institute.

He did not have time to implement his ideas, thus they were realised by his successor, Gyula Wlassics, as Sándor Wekerle again resigned and Eötvös did not want to be member of a government led by Dezső Bánffy. Wlassics asked the outgoing minister to be the curator of the Eötvös Collegium and manage the new institution alongside with Director Géza Bartoniek. From the academic year of 1896/97 he became the director of the teacher training institute and, after its reorganisation in 1899, also became director of the institute, staying in that position until his death on 8 April 1919 (Mann 1993: 80–82; Tóth 1995a: 19–24).

The new Minister of Religion and Public Education Gyula Wlassics held his position from 15 January 1895 till 3 November 1903. At the beginning of his time as minister, he classified the problems experienced in secondary school teacher training into two groups. One referred to the internal situation of teacher training: he believed that the task of the university was not only to train scholars. He thought that the work of the scholar and the teacher was closely linked, therefore, their training should be organised in a similar way. The other problem was related to the institutional system of teacher training. He wished to ensure that students were trained according to precisely defined rules. In 1898, he sent two teachers of secondary school of sciences to France and Germany to study the training systems there. By 1899, the new organisational rules of the Budapest teacher training institute were completed, as a result of which it lost its independence and became a part of the university's faculty of arts and by 1901 the detailed educational rules of each subject were also developed (Mann 1993: 99–100).

It was urgent to resolve the issue of teacher training, as, due to the reasons outlined in section 4.2, in the 1890s there was a significant shortage of teachers. One of reasons for that was Act XXX of 1883, which made the requirements to obtain teacher qualification more difficult (cf.

Keller 2010: 157) and at the same time, the introduction of Greek substitute subjects under Act XXX of 1890,⁵² demanded the recruitment of new teachers to start parallel classes where classical subjects were not taught. According to ministry data, between 1885 and 1899 the number of parallel classes with Greek substitute subjects in addition to traditional grammar schooling focusing on the acquisition of classical literacy increased from 53 to 137. The shortage of teachers was further increased by the fact that the enactment of the secondary school law resulted in the elimination of the so-called “truncated grammar schools” that had only four or six grades and all were extended into eight grades. This was justified by the increase in the number of students. The introduction of the national pension fund established by Act XXVII of 1894⁵³ created the possibility of retirement for a large part of the senior teachers of secondary schools operated under denominational and municipal administration. The retirement wave also affected teachers who entered state service in the 1860s, thus the MRPE took into consideration the great number of retirement claims based on their 30-year service.⁵⁴

For that reason, the minister convened a meeting on 23 May 1895 to discuss the tasks related to the establishment of the new teacher training boarding school. In addition to Wlassics, the meeting was also attended by Mór Kármán, a practicing grammar school teacher, university professors Gusztáv Heinrich, Zsolt Beöthy and Ernő Finácz, János Csengeri, a university private teacher and editor of the “Hungarian Pedagogy” and by ministerial advisers János Klamarik and Sándor Leövey (cf. Tóth 1995a: 21–22). During the meeting, Beöthy suggested that the boarding school should be named after the first minister of religion and public education. Klamarik pointed out that he had already called for the establishment of such an institution a decade before and at the same time stated that its future director should have broad pedagogical experience. With regard to the organisation of the institute, Heinrich noted that only the main elements of the institute should be laid down with a view that further refining of its operational mechanisms could be performed afterwards. In addition, it should be made possible for students to deepen the knowledge they receive at the university under the guidance of specialist teachers. He opposed the introduction of special classes because of the possible development of a stereotyped pattern and suggested that all students should be dealt with by teachers individually. In addition, he emphasized that the director should preferably be an unmarried practising grammar school teacher in order to be able to live in the institution. Kármán, on the other hand, believed that the institute’s operating principles should be regulated in detail, as it would have important tasks from the point of view of national education: it should correct the shortcomings of university education. He also opposed that the institute to be established should be a boarding school as the convictorium known from the old ages was much closer to Hungarians. Behind his proposal most probably there was the expectation that, in the absence of independent training, an organic relationship could have been established between the new institute and the teacher training institute, thereby creating a new system

⁵² Act XXX of 1890 on the amendment of Act XXX of 1883 on secondary schools and their teacher qualification.

⁵³ Act XXVII of 1894 on the remuneration of male and female public school directors and teachers and on providing for their relatives who are not covered by a similar public provision.

⁵⁴ 25.874/1898. Opinion of the 5th Department of the MRPE on the planned development of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 18 May 1898 MDKL box 88, file 185/4.

of teacher training. Perhaps that is why Ernő Finácz suggested that the Ministry of Religion and Public Education should entrust teacher training to the cooperation between the institute to be created and the practicing grammar school and that the teacher training institute should be terminated. The Minister finally entrusted the elaboration of concrete proposals to Kármán, Heinrich, Leövey and Beöthy.⁵⁵

The meeting chaired by Zsolt Beöthy, Ministerial Counselor, discussed the written draft prepared by Mór Kármán. The chairman of the committee found that the draft was acceptable with amendments, however, at a later date it would also be necessary to draw up a disciplinary code. Drafting that was assigned to the responsibilities of the director or deputy director to be appointed later. He also proposed the appointment of a ministerial commissioner who, during the initial period, would exercise intellectual and professional control over the students and the specialist teachers. According to Beöthy, the position could have been connected to the administration of the primary practising grammar school, so that no extra cost would be required for its operation. In relation to the staff of the boarding school, to start its operation, he suggested that an Academic Director, a Supervisor Deputy Director, a Hungarian philologist, one, or possibly two classical philologists, a historian and a mathematician, as well as a German and a French language teachers should be employed (cf. Tóth 1995a: 25).⁵⁶

Wlassics informed his predecessor about the organisation of the institute and sent him the organisational rules. Eötvös expressed his joy that the institute that was being set up would be named after his late father. Gyula König, professor of the Technical University and Géza Bartoniek helped him develop a position on this document. The latter because, based on the minister's oral communication, at the request of Eötvös, he was a candidate for the position of the institute's director, as he met Gusztáv Heinrich's all prior expectations: he had great pedagogical experience and, despite his family related problems,⁵⁷ he was willing to move into the director's flat of the boarding school. As a result of their joint consultation, they created a draft regulation that deviated from that of Kármán's in that, on the one hand, the institute's mission was more precisely defined and, on the other hand, the tasks not related to teacher training were removed. Their proposal was meant to be temporary – and it did remain temporary until the adoption of Teleki Pál's organisational rules in 1923 – because they believed that it could be finalised when the structure of teacher training would become more mature and when among the institutes involved the exact position of the Collegium would also be defined. The Institute's mission was to promote the success of its students' higher education studies. This had to be done in a way that not only enhanced their knowledge of the subject, but also developed in them an attraction towards science and literacy. Eötvös believed that only teachers who have an increased interest in scientific issues could remain knowledgeable in the latest achievements of their field. Therefore, all the proposals that would have hindered

⁵⁵ 28.258/1895. Minutes of the meeting held on 23 May 1895 in the MRPE concerning the teacher training boarding school to be set up. Budapest, 23 May 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

⁵⁶ 30.689/1895. Zsolt Beöthy's letter to Gyula Wlassics, Minister of MRPE, in relation to the boarding school. Budapest, 5 June 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

⁵⁷ His wife was struggling with neurasthenia; her condition was so severe that he had to place her under institutional care. Thus he was forced to place his underage daughters, Anna and Emma in his boarding school home.

the development of this type of training system were removed from the rules. That was the motivation behind the decision to grant the right to free decision-making in study related issues to the director and the curator (cf. Tóth 1995a: 24).⁵⁸

In a letter dated 26 June 1895, Wlassics informed Loránd Eötvös that he had decided on the admission of 30 students for the boarding school to be set up and also asked him to take up the curator's job as he believed it was needed to ensure the Institute's success. For the time being, the Collegium was placed in the rooms of the 2nd and 3rd floors of the Kerkápoly Foundation building in Csillag Street. While he admitted that the rooms did not meet the needs of an educational institution in all respects, he commissioned architect Zsigmond Herczegh to estimate the necessary reconstruction, allocating 8000 forints for the costs. He also informed the commissioned curator that the deadline for the reconstruction works was 25 August 1895. In line with Eötvös's request, Géza Bartoniek, a teacher of a civic female elementary teacher training institute, was commissioned to be the head of the Institute. In relation to other staff of the boarding school he also asked that a proposal be made for the teaching staff, but noted that until the institute receives a final organisational status and the necessary budget is clarified with the MRPE, they would not receive a regular salary, but a remuneration instead.⁵⁹

In his reply, Eötvös thanked the Minister for his confidence and at the same time informed him that he would accept the position of the institute's curator. He also informed the Minister that, in order to launch the academic year of 1895/1896, the Collegium had started to resolve the most urgent tasks. Géza Bartoniek was also helpful in this, gladly assuming the position of director. Eötvös also made suggestions for the specialist teachers: He promoted the appointment of Sándor Mika, practising grammar school teacher, Frigyes Riedl, teacher of an upper secondary school of sciences in the 4th District and of József Suták, a Piarist order teacher. A pay of 600 forints a year was appropriated for them. In connection with the Kerkápoly House designated for the Collegium, he noted that it was necessary to reserve an additional room for staff meetings. For that purpose, he considered a small flat on the 2nd floor that became vacant as of 1 August 1895 to be suitable and therefore suggested that it should be purchased. He stated that the institute would be ready in every respect for the beginning of the academic year and that he had undertaken all necessary steps with Zsigmond Herczegh.⁶⁰ On 31 August 1895, Wlassics approved the Organisational Rules of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium (Tóth 1995a: 24) and, as a result, Loránd Eötvös could make the following statement: *"There has been such an advancement in the development of the Collegium's organisation that students can move in on September 21st."*⁶¹ In a submission dated at the time of launching the institute, Minister of the MRPE asked Franz Joseph for his approval of the opening

⁵⁸ Letter written by Loránd Eötvös to Gyula Wlassics, Minister of MRPE containing his opinion on the organizational rules. Budapest, July 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

⁵⁹ 33.111/1895. Letter from Gyula Wlassics, Minister of MRPE to Baron Loránd Eötvös on the creation of the Collegium. Budapest, 26 June 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

⁶⁰ 36.227/1895. Reply sent by Loránd Eötvös related to the appointment by Gyula Wlassics, Minister of MRPE. Budapest, 5 July 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

⁶¹ 9/1895. Petition of Loránd Eötvös curator to the Minister of MRPE on the opening of the Collegium. Budapest, 17 September 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

of the teacher training boarding school, which he acknowledged through the highest level decision of 5 October 1895 signed in Ischl.⁶²

Loránd Eötvös not only occupied the newly established position of the boarding school's curator, but also that of the director of a teacher training institute that had lost its independence in accordance with Zsolt Beöthy's proposal. That resulted in the establishment of a new organisational framework for teacher training within the university in 1899: in addition to specialist scholarly training at the faculty of arts, students were also advised to attend classes at the teacher training institute and, at the end of their training, the members of the teacher training institute had to undergo practical training at the practising grammar school. And, in connection with this institutional system, the Eötvös Collegium provided high qualification to the selected students. Thus, the dual system of institutions and conceptual separation in teacher training came to an end (Németh 2005a: 214; Ladányi 2008: 36–37). Although the Eötvös Collegium started its operation as an autonomous institution, the boarding school primarily supplemented its students' university studies and, in addition, it embodied the new idea of teacher training developed by educational policy-makers: the graduates of the institution were scholarly teachers. Thus, it can be concluded that a boarding school that was established on the basis of a French model helped to develop the German-style teacher training model and to complete its institutionalisation.

The above statement is reinforced by Wlassics's views on teacher training, which were delivered at the National Assembly on 21 February 1897: *"... I have to express my firm opinion that I will never depart from the principle that teacher training should take place at university. [...] I definitely require it and consider it an indispensable condition for teacher training to be first and foremost of a scholarly spirit, because the only teacher that can be a good teacher is one who can plunge into the spirit of science. [...] This endeavour of mine in itself already proves that I intend to establish an organic relationship between the Eötvös Collegium and the teacher training institution"*.⁶³ The latter statement, therefore, underlines the fact that the new institute was an integral part of the institutional system of teacher training (cf. Tóth 1995a: 29). Thus, the institutionalisation of the Hungarian secondary school teaching profession reached a conclusion, thanks to the broad consensus around the need for training new types of teachers.

⁶² Petition of Gyula Wlassics to his majesty Franz Joseph on the royal approval of the Eötvös József Collegium's provisional organisational rules. In Kósa 1995: 170–172.

⁶³ Gyula Wlassics (1897): On issues related to the higher education policy. Quoted by Mann 1987: 117–124.

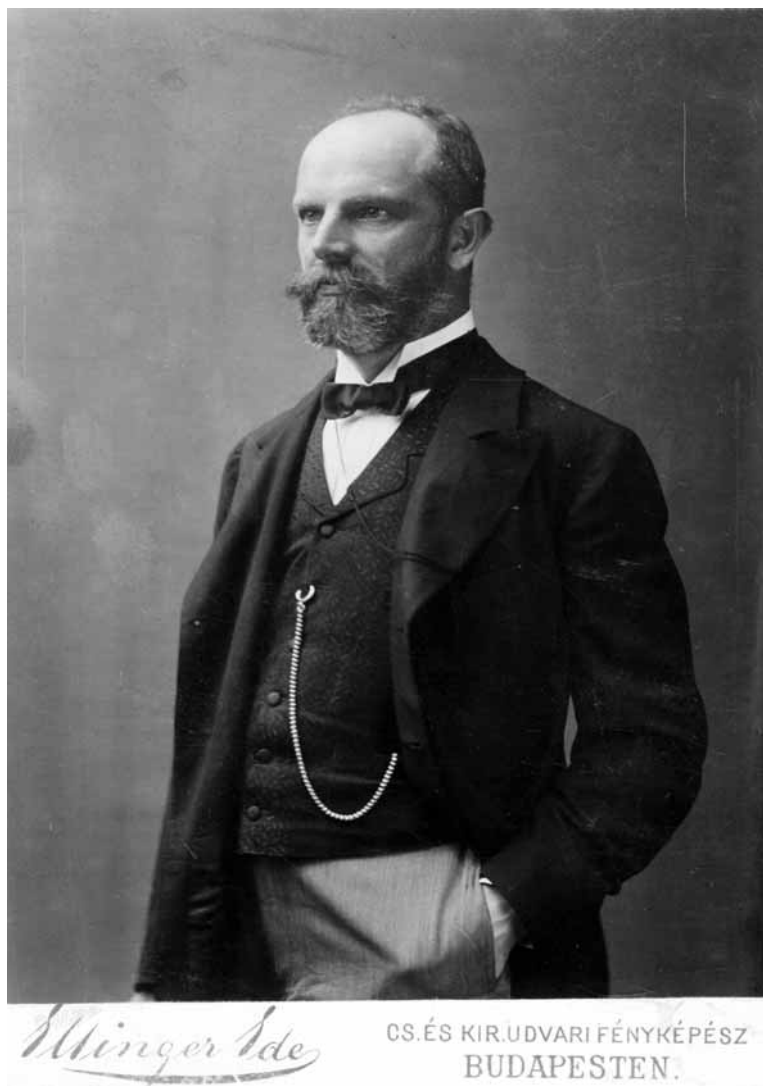


Image 3: Géza Bartoniek in 1895

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE INSTITUTE BETWEEN 1895 AND 1910

5.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1895 and 1910 by Region and Denomination

In the first period of the Collegium's history, 274 students were admitted in the institute in 15 years, while 741 were rejected by the management of the Institute. Personal files of 393 applicants have been preserved from among the rejected applicants and in the case of 348 only their name is known. Thus, due to the nature of the sources, the analysis covers the former group of rejected applicants.

Regarding the territorial distribution of admitted applicants in the area of historical Hungary, they concentrated rather in regions with a more dense school network: 19% of them came from the historic region of Upper Hungary, 18% from Transylvania, 15% from

Transdanubia, 12% from the Transtisza Region and 10% came from the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium. Only 6% of applications from the historic region of Southern Hungary and 1% from Dalmatia were successful.⁶⁴ The conclusion related to the school network is made significantly emphatic by the fact that 43% of those admitted came from the territories disannexed after the First World War, and only 37% from the post-Trianon regions. The county breakdown further supports the above finding: 7% of successful applicants were born in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. This can be explained by the fact that in the second half of the 19th century internal migration was directed towards the central areas of the country, thus the population of Budapest reached 1 million by 1910, rising even slightly above it, and its school network was also denser than the rest of the country's (cf. Romsics 2004: 67; Gyáni 2006: 208). 10.31% of the country's population was concentrated in the capital and in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County ("Statisztika" 1911: 13–18). As a result of this, more than half of the successful applicants who were born in the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium came from the capital city. The second place of the imaginary ranking was held Csongrád County with 5% (0.78% of the total population lived in this municipality in 1910 ["Statisztika" 1911: 18]) and the third place was shared by Pozsony and Szepes counties with 4–4% (in 1910, 2.1% of the country's population lived in Pozsony, and 0.9% in Szepes ["Statisztika" 1911: 13–19]). Among the remaining counties the places of birth of the admitted applicants are distributed very evenly.⁶⁵

Regarding the administrative classification of settlement types, it can be concluded that 26% of those admitted came from small villages with a population of less than 5,000, while 24% were born in municipality towns (the share of the capital in this subcategory was 20% taking the total of municipality towns as 100%); 20% of them in towns with their own councils (11.84% of the country's population lived in this type of settlement in 1910 ["Statisztika" 1911: 13]), and 5% and 3% in large villages or district seats with a population of 5,000–10,000. However, only 34% of admitted applicants graduated from secondary schools located in the place of their birth, a larger number of them – 46% – graduated in a different location. Spatial mobility was only made possible where a railway passed directly through or within reach of those small settlements (within a radius of 5–10 km). This data also provides guidance as to the sociological background of admitted applicants, as rail services could only be used by individuals with adequate financial resources at the time.

There are essentially similar trends in the data on the territorial distribution of those who were rejected: in the distribution of birth places by regions, here, too, Upper Hungary achieved the highest place in the ranking with 20% (19%); the second and third places were taken by Transylvania and the Danube-Tisza interfluvium with 16% (18%) and 15% (10%) respectively.⁶⁶ These regions are followed by Transdanubia with 13% (15%) and Délvidék (Southern Region) by 10% (6%). The Transtisza Region with its 6% (12%) ended up in the penultimate place, while Dalmatia took last place with its 1% (1%).⁶⁷ In terms of county

⁶⁴ There are no data about the place of birth of 19% of the applicants in the sub-period. Data on the territorial and county classification of those admitted and rejected are provided in Table 1.

⁶⁵ For a detailed breakdown by counties for those admitted between 1895 and 1910, see Figure 1 in the Appendix. Between 1895 and 1918, there were no successful applicants to the Collegium from Esztergom, Turóc, Ugocsa, Szilágy, Torda-Aranyos, Fogaras, Verőce, Belovár-Kőrös, Zágráb and Lika-Krbava counties.

⁶⁶ In parentheses, similar details of the admitted applicants are shown for easier comparison.

⁶⁷ For 19% of them there is no data on the place of birth. See Table 1 for information on the territorial and county

5.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1895 and 1910

distribution, a slightly higher proportion compared to admitted applicants, 10% (7%) of those rejected came from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. However, the second place of the ranking was taken by Szepes county in Upper Hungary with 6% (4%), and the lowest place was taken by Szatmár with 4% (2%). However, a triple tie developed in the fourth place with 3-3% between Bács-Bodrog (3%), Temes (1%) and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (2%) counties. In the remaining counties there was an even distribution of rejected applicants.⁶⁸

| Territorial distribution of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | | | |
|--|-----------|------------------|------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | |
| Breakdown by regions | | | Breakdown by counties | | |
| Name | Collegium | Total population | Name | Collegium | Total population |
| Dalmatia | 1 | 1 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 7 | 10.3 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 6 | 21 | Csongrád | 5 | 0.7 |
| Transdanubian region | 15 | 15 | Pozsony | 4 | 2.1 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 10 | 15 | Szepes | 4 | 0.9 |
| Transylvania | 18 | 17 | Vas | 3 | 2.3 |
| Upper Hungary | 19 | 17 | Tolna | 3 | 1.4 |
| Transtisza Region | 12 | 14 | Fejér | 3 | 1.1 |
| No data | 19 | 0 | Bács-Bodrog | 3 | 3.4 |
| Rejected applicants | | | | | |
| Breakdown by regions | | | Breakdown by counties | | |
| Name | Collegium | Total population | Name | Collegium | Total population |
| Dalmatia | 1 | 1 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 10 | 10.3 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 10 | 21 | Szepes | 6 | 0.9 |
| Transdanubian region | 13 | 15 | Szatmár | 4 | 1.9 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 15 | 15 | Bács-Bodrog | 3 | 3.4 |
| Transylvania | 16 | 17 | Temes | 3 | 2.1 |
| Upper Hungary | 20 | 17 | Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok | 3 | 2 |
| Transtisza Region | 6 | 14 | Háromszék | 3 | 0.7 |
| No data | 19 | 0 | Hajdú | 3 | 0.8 |

Table 1: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region and county compared to national population data⁶⁹

division of the admitted and rejected applicants.

⁶⁸ See Figure 2 in the Appendix for a map showing the distribution of birthplaces of rejected students between 1895 and 1918. Between 1895 and 1918 there were no rejected applicants from Hont, Szeben, Fogaras, Verőce, Belovár-Varasd, Zágráb and Lika-Kravaba counties.

⁶⁹ Data from the 1910 census statistics were used to determine national data ("Statiztika" 1911: 13–19).

Contrary to the results of the administrative classification of settlement types, significant differences can be observed here. 24% (24%) of the rejected applicants were born in municipality towns (the share of the capital in this subcategory was 20% taking the total of municipality towns as 100%), and 23% (26%) were born in small villages with a population of less than 5,000. 18% (20%) were born in towns with their own councils with a population of 5–10,000, and only 8% were born in county seats with a larger population. Unlike those who were admitted, this group was not characterised by a high degree of willingness to move, as while 36% of them graduated in settlements other than those of their birthplace, 40% graduated in settlements of their place of birth.⁷⁰

On the whole, it can be concluded from the geographical distribution of the place of birth that the outstanding proportion of municipality towns and towns with their own councils is not surprising, as according to the census of 1910, 20% of the country's population lived in these types of settlements. The prominent proportion of small villages is also not striking, as 60% of the country's population was concentrated in these settlements (Kövér 2006: 55–58). It is unusual, however, that, contrary to contemporary conditions, members of the social groups who were admitted in the Collegium were more mobile than their peers: in that period, 69% of the population lived their life in the settlement they were born in (ibid. 62). The different mobility data can be explained by the different cultural opportunities of the settlement types (lack of certain school types) and also by the different sociological factors of the two groups.

The denominational distribution of admitted applicants significantly differs from the conditions of the period. 35% of successful applicants (48.6%)⁷¹ belonged to the Roman Catholic denomination, the Protestant denominations together (19% [16.2%] of the Reformed and 17% [11.5%] of the Lutherans) somewhat exceeded their proportion. Thus, Roman Catholics were significantly under-represented in the Collegium: between 1897 and 1915, 58.8% of the students who received teacher qualification at the Budapest Teacher Examination Committee belonged to the largest denomination, while the proportion of Reformed and Evangelical-Lutherans was 8.6% and 12.8%, respectively (Karády 2007: 414). Loránd Eötvös complained on several occasions about the low proportion of Catholics, trying to equalize denominational proportions besides social considerations, but his efforts failed.⁷² The more than double over-representation of the

⁷⁰ There is no data available on 24% of rejected applicants.

⁷¹ The data provided in brackets in the section on denominational affiliation, which directly follow the data on the collegium students provide information on the denominational affiliation of students of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest in 1910 ("Statiztika" 1911: 387–389).

⁷² In a letter written in Schulderbach dated 10 August 1899, Loránd Eötvös wrote to Géza Bartoniek that Gyula Bodnár, a Roman Catholic should be admitted instead of István Flütsch (MDKL box 25, file 31, lot 13), who was Evangelical-Lutheran. Flütsch asked to have only a part-time job, to be able to finish his university studies like Bodnár who was totally poor, so the denominational proportions would also have improved to the benefit of the suppressed Roman Catholics. Bodnár was admitted (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 5) and Flütsch was rejected. In his letter of 20 July 1902 also written in Schulderbach, Eötvös explained to Géza Bartoniek that he would prefer to omit Loránd Szeremley Császár (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 57) from among those to be admitted and to raise the number of Catholics, but that he could not do this due to his social position. Dénes Márki (MDKL box 29, file 39, lot 32) was rejected, and Gyula Böhm (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 6) was admitted who may have come from a wealthy family, thus, again a Protestant became a student at the institute

Evangelical-Lutherans compared to their national proportion (7.15% in 1910, see Kövér 2006: 139) can be clearly explained with their school network in Upper Hungary and the high number of graduates.⁷³ The Reformers exceeded both their national rate (14.25% in 1910, *ibid.* 139) and their university rates. This can be explained by the fact that there was a significant increase in the number of Reformers among secondary school students born after 1880; 16.3% (Kende–Kovács 2011a: 92.) The proportion of Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics among admitted applicants was 4% (2.3%) and 2% (3.5%) respectively. Their proportion even together does not reach the almost 7% of the students who passed the teacher examination of the same denomination in Budapest (Karády 2007: 414.) Among admitted collegium students, 1.82% (15.9%) belonged to Judaism and only 0.36% (1.9%) to the Unitarian denominations. Unitarians were under-represented compared to universities, just as Jewish students who were far behind both in terms of their societal proportion (5%) and that among students who passed a teacher examination (16.6%, Karády 2007: 414).⁷⁴ The low number of Jewish students can be explained by the fact that both the teaching career and the sciences of humanities did not belong to their frequented mobility channels and many of them who tried to specialise in natural sciences at the Collegium were not admitted to the institute due to the lack of places. The reason for this is that two-thirds of the places in the Collegium were maintained for the field of arts and humanities. Thus, it was much harder to become a student of natural sciences at the institute. This is confirmed by the data of rejected applicants: among the candidates rejected in that period, the proportion of the Jewish denomination was 4%. Of the 16 students, six had a combined specialisation in natural sciences, thus, only one of seven students in the examined period was admitted in this field. Thus, among the applicants, the proportion of those belonging to the Jewish denomination on the whole did reach their national proportion, but they were usually rejected for professional reasons.

The number of students of the Roman Catholic religion rejected somewhat increased compared to those admitted; their proportion was 43% (35%)⁷⁵. Although their cumulative total proportion among the applicants was 39%, they were faced with such strong selection in the application process that it resulted in their under-representation among students at the national and university levels. The order of the Lutheran and Reformed denominations became reversed within rejected applicants, as the proportion of the former was 19% (17%), and the latter's 16% (19%) in this group., Protestants still lagged behind in terms of their cumulative results compared to Roman Catholics, but they were over-represented among both successful and unsuccessful applicants in terms of their national and university proportions. The proportion of Greek Catholics and Orthodoxans was 4% (2%) and 1% (4%) respectively. As was the case with Protestants, the proportion between the two denominations became reversed here, too. This can be explained by the fact that more

instead of a Catholic (MDKL box 39, file 65).

⁷³ 9.03% of the grammar school graduates and 10.73% of graduates of secondary schools of sciences were Evangelical-Lutheran in 1910 ("Statisztika" 1911: 371).

⁷⁴ For 19% of the students there is no data to establish their denomination. See Table 2 for information on the classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

⁷⁵ For easier comparison, the denominational data of the admitted students are listed in brackets.

scholarship places were reserved for Greek Orthodox students at the institute than for those of the Greek Catholic denomination: the former were admitted to the Collegium to the foundation places maintained by the Archbishop of Sibiu and through the Gozsdu Foundation scholarships while the opportunity for the latter was only through receiving a Naszód Region (Năsăud-region) Scholarship Fund, for which not only Greek Catholics but also Orthodox candidates applied. All of them came from the Romanian community of Transylvania. Their cumulative proportion among the applicants was significantly below their national proportions due to their limited role in the practice of modern intellectual occupations (Karády 2007: 415). The proportion of Unitarians was 0.25% (0.36%) among rejected applicants, while the proportion of the Judaist denomination was 4% (1.82%).⁷⁶

| Distribution of admitted and rejected applicants by denominations (%) | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---|---|----------------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | Data on the Faculty of Arts of the University | Data on the Teacher Examination Committee | National data (1910) |
| Roman Catholic | 35 | 43 | 48.6 | 58.8 | 49.3 |
| Greek-Catholic | 2 | 4 | 3.5 | 6.9 | 11 |
| Greek Orthodox | 4 | 1 | 2.3 | | 12.7 |
| Reformed | 19 | 19 | 16.2 | 8.6 | 14.2 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 17 | 16 | 11.5 | 12.8 | 7.1 |
| Judaist | 1.8 | 4 | 15.9 | 16.6 | 4.9 |
| Unitarian | 0.3 | 0.25 | 1.9 | 0.15 | 0.8 |
| No data | 19 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 2: The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data relating to students of the University's Faculty of Arts, the Teacher Examination Committee and national data.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ For 13% of the rejected students there is no data on denominations.

⁷⁷ Information on the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest in: "Statiztika" 1911: 387–389. Denomination related data on the students who took the exam before the Teacher Examination Committee is available at: Karády 2007: 414. National denominational data for 1910 in: Kövér 2006: 139.

5.2.

The Breakdown of the Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1895 and 1910 By Type and Field of Science

The last decades of the era of dualism are characterised by the gradual expansion of the state school network. In parallel, between 1890 and 1910, the number of students in grammar schools and secondary schools of sciences rose from 43,000 to 71,000 (Kövér 2006: 179). Thus, the expansion of secondary schooling was mostly exploited by the expanding state school system, which led to a decrease in the proportion of those studying in Roman Catholic grammar schools, while the Lutheran and Reformed institutions continued to play an important role in training the elite, although the former was steadily decreasing and the latter steadily increasing (Kende–Kovács 2011a: 91–92).

In the case of those admitted in the Eötvös Collegium, there were processes in the examined period that were contrary to the national trends regarding the type of secondary schools. 22% (31.91%) of admitted applicants graduated from a Roman Catholic secondary school.⁷⁸ This is presumably due to the fact that this denomination maintained the highest number of secondary schools. Nevertheless, in the absolute rank of secondary schools, the Royal Catholic Secondary School in Lőcse with five persons could only achieve a shared second place. 18% (12.76%) of admitted students had continued their studies in Evangelical-Lutheran lyceums. The absolute ranking is led by the Evangelical-Lutheran lyceums of Bratislava and Iglov with 10 persons each in the sub-period. The third place in the ranking of maintainers were taken by state grammar schools: 16% (32.62%) of those admitted had received secondary education in this school network. In spite of this, two such institutes are listed in the top ten ranking of secondary schools – the Hungarian Royal State Grammar School of Rijeka with five persons and the State Grammar School of Szekszárd with three persons. The Reformed secondary schools closely follow state institutions with their 15% (17.73%) result. Only the Debrecen Reformed Grammar School and Collegium with its four students could get into the top ten in the absolute ranking, but in the first twenty such well-known institutes as Pápa and Sárospatak Reformed Grammar School and Collegium appear with three students each. Among admitted applicants, state secondary schools of sciences achieved an 8% result, however, none of them were in the top 20 in the absolute ranking. The most prominent place was that held by the Debrecen State Upper Secondary School of Sciences with two students. This can be explained by the low number of students who specialised in natural sciences. 3% of admitted applicants (1.41%) came from Greek

⁷⁸ In parentheses, for the purposes of comparison, are presented the data of the statistical report on the maintainers of full secondary schools (“Statisztika” 1911: 359–360). However, statistics do not distinguish between grammar schools and secondary schools of sciences.

Orthodox and 1% (2.12%) from Greek Catholic grammar schools.⁷⁹ The former were all admitted in the Institute from the Grammar School of the Naszód (Násáud) Region Scholarship Fund, or from the Brasov Greek Orthodox Grammar School. The latter graduated at the Greek Catholic grammar schools in Blaj, Beius and Uzhorod.

In the absolute ranking of secondary schools, the most prominent phenomenon is that grammar schools and secondary schools of sciences in Budapest are in the lower half of the ranking. No Budapest-based secondary school was able to achieve any of the first twenty-five places. This can be explained by the fact that in that period only 15 people were admitted from those who had their secondary school graduation in Budapest. The administrative classification of the seats of secondary schools also confirmed this tendency: most secondary schools were based in municipality towns and towns with their own councils (38–38%). The capital's share among municipality towns was only 14%. Thus, the Collegium gathered its members primarily from the nationally famous secondary schools of Upper Hungary, Transylvania and Transdanubia. A significant part of these secondary schools, 48%, were located beyond the borders of 1920.⁸⁰

Similar tendencies can be observed for rejected applicants in the examined period. In the breakdown by type of secondary school, state (16%)⁸¹ and Roman Catholic secondary schools (22%) were ranked first at a shared 21%. In the top of the absolute ranking there were several of both: the Royal Catholic Grammar School of Prešov, the Royal State Grammar School of Lučenec, the Royal Catholic Grammar School of Levoča (six persons each), the Hungarian Royal State Grammar school of Jászberény (five persons). In the second and third places of the ranking were the Reformed and Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools with 14% (15%) and 13% (18%). The absolute ranking of secondary schools was also led by a Reformed Institute, the Reformed Grammar School and Collegium of Debrecen, with nine rejected candidates, while the second and third places were occupied by the Lutheran lyceums of Kežmarok and Rožňava with eight and seven rejected applicants. But in the top ten, the Evangelical-Lutheran lyceums in Iglov and Bratislava are among the most prominent ones also with respect to the admitted applicants, while among the Reformed institutions it is the Kecskemét and the Kiskunhalas Reformed grammar schools. The state secondary school of sciences, just as among those admitted, achieved an 8% result. In the absolute ranking, in one of the first fifteen places was the Hungarian Royal State Upper Secondary School of Sciences in Levoča with five rejected candidates.⁸²

In terms of settlement type, these secondary schools were largely concentrated in municipality towns at 32%. In this category, the share of the capital city, as in the case of admitted applicants, was very low – only 14%. With 27%, they were followed by towns with their own councils and with 15% by county seats. Only 5% of them were limited to district seats.⁸³ A significant part of these secondary schools, just as in the case of admissions, were located

⁷⁹ For 15% of those admitted there is no information on the type of secondary school they graduated from.

⁸⁰ 37% of them were located within the post-Trianon borders and for 15% of them there is no such information.

⁸¹ In parentheses, for easier comparison, are the data of the admitted applicants.

⁸² For 20% of the rejected applicants there is no data on the type of secondary school.

⁸³ For 20% of them there is no data on the legal status of the seat of the secondary school.

beyond the borders of the 1920s (47%).⁸⁴ Thus, it can be concluded that the applicants were mainly from Upper Hungary and Transylvanian secondary schools and to a lesser extent from secondary schools of Transdanubia and the Transtisza Region. There were many applicants from Rijeka and Timișoara, as well as from Pančevo, but their applications were rarely successful. The high number of applicants from the Reformed grammar schools of the Great Plain Region is also striking, as well as the low degree of their admission to the institute. Regarding the type of settlement, applications were submitted mainly by students who graduated in municipality towns, county seats or in towns with their own councils; the role of smaller settlements, large villages and small villages was quite small.

68% of those admitted were students who specialised in humanities and 23% in natural sciences.⁸⁵ Among philologists, the most popular combination of specialisations was classical philology; 63 of those admitted pursued this field. This was followed by 50 people who specialised in Hungarian-German and 21 in Latin-history. The latter internally were called “mule classics” in the Collegium. The top five of the ranking included the combined specialisations of Latin-Hungarian with 15 students and history-geography with 10 students. From this data it is clear that the institute tried to make up for the shortage of teachers in classical philology, thus, its training profile shifted strongly towards the classical disciplines. In the case of “dögész” (natural sciences) students, the most popular combination of specialisations was mathematics-physics involving 37 persons and taking second place – with a great lag behind – geography-natural history involving 12 persons, followed by natural history-chemistry involving three persons.

For those who were rejected, it is very difficult to make a final conclusion, as for 37% of them there is no data as to the field of science they had applied for. Only for 36% of them is it known with certainty that they had applied for specialisations in the field of humanities and 27% of them wished to study natural sciences. However, it can be concluded that in the admission process the management of the institute deliberately aimed at shaping the institution’s training profile, as 84 applicants who had applied for the combined specialisation of mathematics-physics were rejected. This is reinforced by the fact that admitted students were often forced to change their specialisation. This is well exemplified by the case of Zoltán Bassola who applied to the institute for a combined specialisation of mathematics-physics, but, as a result of pressure from Géza Bartoniek and others, he changed his specialisation to Latin-Greek (Bassola 1998: 53).⁸⁶ The pre-selection was very strong in the fields of Latin-Hungarian and Hungarian-German as well where there were 34 and 25 rejected students, respectively. In the case of the latter, there were certainly professional reasons for rejection.

⁸⁴ 33% of them were within the later boundaries of the country.

⁸⁵ For 9% of them there is no data on the chosen field of science.

⁸⁶ MDKL box 1, file 2, lot 3. He was a member of the Institute between 1922 and 1930.

5.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1895 and 1910, the Reasons for the Academic Failure and Rejection

Only cautious conclusions can be drawn with regard to the social status of admitted applicants, as for 29% of them there is no data on what their legal guardian's job was at the time of admission. The main category of primary producers, which included the sub-categories of smallholders (0–3 hectares), tenant farmers and day labourers, made up 9% of admitted applicants, which is in the same order of magnitude as their proportion in higher education in the period. In fact, the proportion of those engaged in primary production among university students was 14% at that time, but this also included medium (3–115 hectares) and large landowners (over 115 hectares), the latter most certainly avoiding humanities and preferring to study law, being oriented towards a career within public administration. Thus, the proportion of smallholders or tenant farmers engaged in farming was 8% (Kövér 2006: 182). They could rightly hope that their children who pursued a career in teaching would become members of the middle class, in the 9th–6th remuneration category, new members of the order of those addressed as “tekintetes”, that is public officials and workers not classified elsewhere, which was achieved by secondary school teachers exactly in that era (cf. Kende–Kovács 2011b: 183).

6% of guardians of admitted applicants belonged to the main categories of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport. In this main category, 1% of guardians were engaged in trade and catering, as well as in occupations related to money and credit. Guardians working in the latter sub-categories presumably came from among the urbanized Jews of municipality towns and the capital. 18.7% of guardians to those in higher education belonged to this main category at the turn of the century (Kövér 2006: 182). Thus, their share seen in the Collegium falls far behind. In my opinion, this can be explained mainly by the different mobilization strategies of the affected group, as the number of Jews among the students who had passed a teacher examination at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest was lower compared to other faculties. There were only few students at the universities who were from families of urban workers and this was hardly possible even for skilled workers with the highest salaries.

36% of guardians were employed in sub-categories classified under the main category of public service. A smaller part (4%) of fathers of admitted applicants were railway or postal employees. 7% of guardians were engaged in church service as Protestant pastors. The families in these two groups sent their children to the Collegium presumably with the hope that they would make a significant advancement socially. 3% of guardians worked in

5.3. Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected

the field of financial administration as tax officials or as audit investigators. Similarly, 3% of them were employed as other public service officials – municipal clerks or city councillors, possibly as county office directors. This group most probably wanted to raise their children from the lower middle class to the upper sphere of the middle class. 1% of fathers occupied offices in the judiciary as royal court judges or as county orphans' court assessors. Obtaining a secondary school teacher diploma for their children in that period meant preserving the social status of the fathers, as was the case for guardians working in educational and scientific institutes who represented 19% among collegium students. Despite the high rate of unavailable data, the conclusion can still be made that, in this sub-period, the institute also provided self-recruitment for the grammar school teacher profession due to the outstanding nature of the subcategory. There were 32 grammar school teachers and eight grammar school directors among guardians. There were only two university professors, one teacher of a civil school and no guardians from the ranks of elementary school teachers. It can only be concluded from the social status of university students that, compared to the 27% of office clerks, this group was quite under-represented at the Collegium. The reason for this was that most of them probably sent their children to acquire the legal profession (cf. Kövér 2006: 182).

| Occupation of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants between 1895 and 1910 (%) | Collegium | | Faculty of Arts 1909/1910 | University data 1900/1901 |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 9 | 6 | 12.6 | 14 |
| Smallholder (0-3 hectares) | 6 | 6 | | 8 |
| Farmer, farm hand | 3 | 0.2 | | |
| II. Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 6 | 11 | 17.1 | 18.7 |
| Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 4 | 8 | | 16.3 |
| Trade, catering | 1 | 2 | | |
| Money and credit services | 1 | 0.5 | | 2.3 |
| III. Civil services | 36 | 27 | 40.8 | 62.5 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 7 | 5 | 20.6 | 26.8 |
| Education services and academic institutions | 19 | 16 | | |
| Judicial services | 1 | 0 | 20.2 | |
| Healthcare management and services | 0 | 0 | | |
| Agricultural management and service | 0 | 0 | | |
| Financial management | 2 | 0 | | |
| Technical/Industrial and commercial management | 0 | 0 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 3 | 3 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 4 | 3 | | |
| IV. Armed forces | 1 | 2 | 1.9 | 0.5 |

5. The History of the Eötvös Collegium in the Early Period of the Institute Between 1895 and 1910

| Occupation of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants between 1895 and 1910 (%) | Collegium | | Faculty of Arts 1909/1910 | University data 1900/1901 |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| V. Intellectual liberal professions | 4 | 4 | 18.3 | 35.7 merged with public service |
| Lawyer, notary | 3 | 1 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 1 | 1 | | |
| Pharmacist | 0 | 0 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 0 | 1 | | |
| Veterinarian | 0 | 0 | | |
| Literature, art | 0 | 1 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, landlords, capitalists | 11 | 17 | 10 | 4 |
| Pensioner | 3 | 4 | | |
| Unemployed, dependents of orphanages | 8 | 13 | | |
| No data | 29 | 34 | 0 | 0 |

Table 3: Occupation of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants compared with the data of all students of the Faculty of Arts and the University of Budapest.⁸⁷

Only 1% of guardians were employed in the armed forces and the proportion of guardians in intellectual freelance professions – doctors or lawyers – was also low. The former were represented among admitted applicants at 1% and the latter at 3%. 11% of guardians (in a 3% and 8% distribution, respectively) belonged to the main category of dependants (mostly retired) or dependants of orphanages.⁸⁸ They were probably less successful in their studies at the institute because of the narrowing of their financial opportunities or their uncertain family background.

The question of selection is closely related to this. The management of the Collegium had a clear vision not only in relation to the selection of the members, but also in relation to the academic performance of collegium students during their membership in the institute. Of the 274 collegium students that were admitted between 1895 and 1910, 213 were able to complete their studies, for 15 students there are no data and 46 students, during their membership, for some reason, discontinued their studies. The average rate of selection was 23.3%. 28% of collegium students voluntarily gave up their membership, that is, they did not provide any justification for their declaration of resignation. In such cases, however, there were mostly studies related reasons in the background: either the

⁸⁷ Data on students of the University of Budapest for the academic year of 1900/1901 in: Kövér 2006: 182, data on students of the Faculty of Arts for the academic year of 1909/1910 in: "Statisztika" 1911: 390.

⁸⁸ For a breakdown of the social status of those admitted between 1895 and 1910, see Figure 3 in the Appendix. See Table 3 below for a comparison of the occupations of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants with the corresponding data on the university's faculty of arts and of the students who took the examination before the Teacher Examination Committee.

hardships following the one-month trial period after admission, or a failed basic exam, or failed performance in a special exam. Postponing examinations also provoked the disapproval of the Board of Directors. In the case of a one-time occurrence of such a case, the management of the institute “expected” a voluntary resignation from membership, usually referring to the idea that possibility new, more successful and talented students should receive a place in the Collegium.⁸⁹ 24% of admitted applicants left the institution for reasons of a career change and a large number of them switched to legal, engineering or medical careers.⁹⁰ 17% of the collegium students had to give up their membership following a decision of the teaching staff on the dismissal. This possibility was provided by section III. 9 of the organisational rules, which stated: *“At the end of each academic year, the director and the heads of sections hold a meeting under the chairmanship of the curator, in which, taking into account the results of college studies, the qualifications of individual students are determined and it is decided on whether or not, on the basis of their diligence and performance, they can remain members of the Collegium.”*⁹¹ This was first applied on Béla Hadik who was denounced by the teaching staff as follows: *“Since, according to the unanimous report of the director and the heads of sections, due to incomplete pre-training and the complete lack of diligence of Béla Hadik no sufficient progress is expected of him, while his lack of serious attitude and confliction endangers the spirit of the institute, the meeting concludes that, based on section 9 of the Rules, Béla Hadik cannot remain within the institute.”*⁹² Thus, expelling was the most severe sanction applied, which was usually used to sanction neglect of studies, or several unsatisfactory basic examinations⁹³ or special examinations.⁹⁴

11% of cases where membership was given up were justified with financial reasons. This occurred in those cases where the students were unable to finance the full maintenance or half of the costs (400 or 200 crowns) or when the financial situation of their families deteriorated to such an extent that they had to discontinue their studies in higher education and go to work.⁹⁵ Another 11% of students gave up their membership for reasons of

⁸⁹ The case of Mihály Stock who gave up his membership on 31 January 1898 is an excellent example of this. On 30 April 1897 he submitted a request to postpone his basic exam to September. On May 2, Loránd Eötvös authorised that. However, in his personal file, Bartoniek noted that although Stock was one of the Collegium’s best students, his behaviour had recently become abnormal. Thus, if he had not left on his own will, disciplinary proceedings would have been initiated, leading to expulsion (MDKL box 18, file 18, lot 53).

⁹⁰ Among others, when Gyula Osváth gave up his membership on 17 September 1904, he justified it with his decision to move on to a legal career (MDKL box 15, file 15, lot 47).

⁹¹ Organisational Rules of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium. Home study and library order. 1895. MDKL box 50, file 95/a.

⁹² Minutes of the staff meeting of 18 January 1897. MDKL box 54, file 102/a. He was finally expelled by a decision of 19 June 1897 under case number 314/1897, which deprived him of the membership due to lack of diligence. Thus, the January decision was suspended and was implemented in June, presumably because of the unchanged studies related performance in the Collegium (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19).

⁹³ Béla Bucsy was expelled from the institute on 12 August 1912 under case number 68/1912 due to a failed basic examination (MDKL box 3, file 2, lot 7).

⁹⁴ And Andor Vilček had to leave the institute due to a failed special exam (MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 67).

⁹⁵ For example, Mihály Spehar, who had a dramatic deterioration in his family situation, abandoned his university studies in 1910 (MDKL box 18, file 18, lot 53). In the case of Aladár Jónás, it was his father who terminated his membership since he was unable to continue to finance his son’s allowance (MDKL box 9, file 10, lot 25).

health. In these cases, it was the Collegium's own physician who established the lack of fitness for living in the boarding school.⁹⁶ 7% of collegium students did not finish their studies in the researched period because they died during their training period.⁹⁷ In the researched period, one collegium student was expelled for a disciplinary offence: Árpád Borsiczky travelled to Berlin without the consent of either the Institute or his parents. Bartoniek made him give up his membership on 17 September 1905 because this type of misconduct was far from the values of the scholarly teachers who would become members of the middle class.⁹⁸

When determining the social status of those rejected, even more caution is needed than in the case of admitted applicants, as for 34% of them there is no data on their father's occupation. 6% of guardians belonged to the main category of agricultural workers. In terms of scale, this is the same as the data for admitted applicants, among those who applied to the Collegium and, on the whole, it barely lags behind the data of students studying in higher education. 11% of guardians belonged to the main categories of those employed in industry, mining, metallurgy and transport. 8% of the guardians were engaged in industrial activities, while 2% in trade and 1% in financial and credit related fields. Thus, there was a higher proportion of them among rejected applicants, but still, by aggregating the number of applicants, the proportion of guardians belonging to the main category was far behind among the total number of candidates applying to the Collegium, compared to all university students. In the main category of public service, among rejected applicants the proportion of guardians engaged in the railway and postal services dropped to 3%, while the proportion of Protestant pastors to 5%. The relative majority of the guardians, 16%, served in educational and scientific institutions. Thus, the majority of applicants' guardians worked in places related to education. However, in addition to 18 grammar school teachers and five grammar school directors, 24 teachers and three school directors also appeared among guardians of unsuccessful applicants. The reason behind the rejection of their application could be the social opportunities between the two teacher professions and the resulting cultural ones. Guardians who occupied positions of other officials (3%), those having intellectual freelance occupations (4%) and guardians serving in the

⁹⁶ Ferenc Kalocsay, for example, had several coughing fits during academic year 1908/1909 – as it turned out he had tuberculosis – and the death of his older brother, Endre Kalocsay, who was five years older and also a member of the Collegium, died as a result of the same illness, therefore, Ferenc was asked to leave the institute (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26). Géza Mille was excluded from the membership for the same reason. Both of his parents died of tuberculosis and Mille himself suffered from it, thus, he gave up his membership on 15 May 1908 (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 38).

⁹⁷ József Tompa was the first collegium student who died during the training. He died on 21 March 1896 at the age of 22 due to illness. The disease must have been infectious, because precautions were taken after his death at the institute: his roommates were moved to another room and their original room was disinfected. The cost of the funeral was paid by the Collegium, because his father was very poor and could not cover it. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts awarded a prize of 360 crowns for one of Tompa's history course work, but after Tompa's death he transferred it to the Collegium on condition that the institute should erect a tomb for Tompa (MDKL box 21, file 20, lot 61). Jenő Várkői also died in tragic circumstances in an accident. In a letter dated 3 November 1905 and filed under number 127/1905, Bartoniek informed notary Ignác Bartossik, the guardian, that the boy had become the victim of a misfortune, so he should travel to Budapest (MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 66).

⁹⁸ MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 6.

armed forces (2%) were also equally represented among admitted applicants and, in total, this group of applicants also fell behind the similar proportions of university students. However, within the group of rejected applicants, there was a higher proportion of retired dependants and dependants in orphanages (4% and 13% respectively).⁹⁹

Just as when examining social background, cautious conclusions can be drawn regarding the grounds for rejection as well, as for 35% no data are available in this respect. In 42% of cases, the justification stated that the applicant did not comply with the admission procedure. This can be attributed to at least two factors: on the one hand, Bartoniek had an extensive network of contacts among school inspectors and among secondary school principals, thus, he was able in many cases to check the applicants through his personal acquaintances. On the other hand, an applicant was rejected at an early period of the institute also if his or her recommendations were not sufficient – if the recommendation was not from a high-ranking, middle-class individual. In addition to excellent graduation, a safe entry was secured by recommendations from parliamentarians, ministers or the prime minister, or royal school inspectors, secondary school directors or Bartoniek's personal acquaintances. 12% of the grounds for rejections were inadequate applications: in most cases a recommendation for the application and/or the certificate of secondary school achievements were not included. 3% of them withdrew from the opportunity to apply during the application process and 2% were recommended by the board of directors for admission, but eventually the curator did not submit their applications to the MRPE Minister for the membership. Similarly, 2% of applicants were rejected due to submitting the application after the deadline for applications and 2% due to the inability for cohabitation in the institute. However, there were also applicants (1-1%) who met all requirements but, because of lack of places, they were rejected by the board of directors, or because of their chosen field of science they could apply to the Collegium (applications by lawyers, veterinarians and botanists were frequent).

⁹⁹ Distribution of the social status of those who were rejected between 1895 and 1910 is shown in Figure 4 of the Appendix and in Table 3 compared with the data of the students of the Budapest University of Sciences and the Faculty of Arts.

5.4.

Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System¹⁰⁰ of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1895 and 1910

During the initial period of operation of the Collegium, both the students who were admitted to the institute and the teachers employed there were involved in an experiment. This was expressed in the temporary¹⁰¹ nature of the organisational rules and in the temporary employment of the management and the teachers. This was also confirmed by the fact that the Collegium was included as an independent item in the ministry's budget only from 1896 onwards.¹⁰²

Thus, Géza Bartoniek managed the affairs of the Collegium as a temporarily appointed director. Management consisted of a very diverse range of tasks, which were regulated under section II.3 of the organisational rules: for the curator, as the commissioner of the MRPE who practised supervision over the institute, management prepared the submissions to the ministry, which were approved by the former. Until Eötvös' death in 1919, the director did not send, with a few exceptions, independent submissions to the ministry. In addition, with the exception of the ministries, he represented the Collegium before authorities or other legal entities. He supervised and verified the students' study related achievements, advised them regularly during personal interviews, or reprimanded them (cf. Laczkó 1938: 296). Often, he also visited the suites of collegium students and checked the progress achieved by them, or gave them advice. During such surveys, the most serious punishment was when he avoided a suite, or if he ignored a member of a suite (Gerevich 1947: 2).¹⁰³ In the initial period, it was also among his responsibilities to monitor the progressive expansion of the library and to supervise the economic affairs. His activity became so diverse by the second half of the 1910s that the issue of hiring library assistants was frequently raised, just as employment of a sub-director to manage economic affairs. The appointment of the director was finalised by the Ministry in October 1897.¹⁰⁴ His salary was then raised from an annual 1,600 to an annual 2,500 crowns. He paid an annual 600 crowns for the provision for his family and for the housing in the building.¹⁰⁵ His remuneration essentially classified him into the 6th remuneration category,

¹⁰⁰ The Collegium's training system was examined by Krisztina Tóth using teacher reports in her study (Tóth 1995b: 109–115). However, beyond the personal changes in the teaching staff, the author did not reflect on the changes in the training paradigm.

¹⁰¹ For the text of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium's provisional Organisational Rules of 1895 see Appendix.

¹⁰² Budget appropriation for the year 1896. Title 5. At the Budapest Secondary School Teacher Training Institute and practising grammar school. MDKL box 88, file 185/2.

¹⁰³ MTAKK Ms. 5982/115.

¹⁰⁴ 365/1897. Letter of Lóránd Eötvös to the MPRE Minister on the final appointment of Director Géza Bartoniek. Budapest 12 October 1897. MDKL box 39, file 65.

¹⁰⁵ 62563/1897. Letter of State Secretary Zsilinszky to Lóránd Eötvös on the issue of Géza Bartoniek's salary.

which was a pro forma college-level recognition of the Collegium by the MRPE. Thus, the form of address of “nagyságos” rose him to the same social rank as the departmental councillors of the ministry, judges of the judiciary, judicial presidents, school district directors, heads of legal academies, as well as college teachers at the rank of royal counsellors and secondary school principals (cf. Kende–Kovács 2011b: 179–180).

At the proposal of Eötvös Loránd curator, in May 1895 the Ministry commissioned Frigyes Riedl, secondary school of sciences teacher to head the section of Hungarian literature, József Suták, grace order grammar school teacher to head the section of mathematics, Sándor Mika, practising grammar school teacher to head the section of history and Mórícz Szilasi, grammar school teacher to head the section of classical philology for a payment of an annual 600 crowns.¹⁰⁶ The heads of sections also kept their full-time job, which caused serious problems already in the early stages of their work. In a petition written in early October 1895, Eötvös asked the ministry to grant leave for Szilasi from his main job, justifying his request by the fact that the 35 admitted students were disproportionately divided among the various disciplines and most of them concentrated on classical philology and the field of modern languages. This would resolve the problem of the overload, as Szilasi undertook teaching Hungarian language classes in addition to Latin and Greek classes, significantly reducing Riedl’s burden who taught Hungarian literature and German language. The MRPE provided its consent, thus Szilasi became the first full-time head of section at the institute.¹⁰⁷

Riedl held Hungarian, German and French literature lessons three times a week,¹⁰⁸ but finally, after the first year, he gave his place to Jenő Péterfy. Péterfy taught literary history studies until 1899. However, on 5 November 1899, unexpectedly, he committed suicide on a fast train heading from Rijeka to the capital.¹⁰⁹ Péterfy’s tasks were taken over by Ernest Tharaud, French lecturer, Mórícz Szilasi, Frigyes Hoffmann and Rezső Tóth.¹¹⁰ The breakdown of literary history by modern languages was temporary, from 1903 this task was carried out by János Horváth who was the institute’s student with Hungarian–French specialisation.¹¹¹ He started his teaching career in a secondary school of sciences in the

Budapest, 31 October 1897. MDKL box 38, file 63.

¹⁰⁶ 50119/1895. Letter from Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, to curator Lóránd Eötvös on the appointment of specialist teachers. Budapest, 17 September 1895. MDKL box 40, file 71/3.

¹⁰⁷ Petition of Baron Eötvös Loránd to the MRPE Minister on the issue of the Collegium teachers. Budapest, 1 October 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

¹⁰⁸ Report by Riedl Frigyes on the literary history classes in the academic year 1895/1896. Budapest, June 1896. MDKL, box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁰⁹ After passing the town of Dugaresa, he locked himself up in the toilet and shot himself. His body was buried in Karlovac, because he had no relatives. It is presumably for this reason he ended his life, because he highly appreciated his work at the Collegium, but did not like being a grammar school teacher. In his spare time, he spent a lot of time together with the Bartoniek family. He showed no signs of depression at that time. However, after the evening gatherings, which specialist teachers held at the Szikszai café on Fővám Square, on his way home he often complained to Alexander Mika that his life was pointless. At his funeral, all of the Collegium’s staff was present and his grave, due to the Kisfaludy Association’s efforts, was moved to Budapest in 1901. Péterfy reports on his tragic death: Zoltán Ambrus (1899): Chronicle III. Péterfy Jenő. *‘A Hét’* [The Week], No. 10.46. 756–757. MDKL box 41, file 72/4.

¹¹⁰ 158/1899. Letter from Eötvös Loránd to the MRPE Minister. Budapest, 11 November 1899. MDKL box 41, file 72/4.

¹¹¹ MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 21.

2nd district of Budapest and although Eötvös had repeatedly asked that he be dismissed and finally appointed to the Collegium, this happened only in October 1908.¹¹² Horváth taught Hungarian and French literary studies at the Collegium until his appointment as a university professor in 1923 (Tóth 1995b: 113).

In 1902, the monarch appointed Móricz Szilasi as a regular teacher of the University of Cluj-Napoca, thus the teaching of classical philology was taken over by Géza Némethy. Némethy taught at state grammar school in the 5th district of Budapest, but from 1902 onwards he was assigned to work at the Collegium¹¹³ where by 1909 he achieved the 7th remuneration category, then, in August 1909, the King appointed him a regular classical philology teacher at the University of Cluj-Napoca.¹¹⁴ In addition to Némethy, Gyula Gyomlay, who taught ancient Greek, was also contracted to head the classical philology department. The dual division of the classical science field remained characteristic in upcoming periods: the institute employed a special teacher to teach Latin and Greek. Gyomlay was a teacher at the practising grammar school in Budapest and his annual remuneration was established at 800 crowns.¹¹⁵ Starting with the academic year of 1906/1907, he received a permanent appointment at the Collegium and, similarly to Némethy, in the 7th remuneration category.¹¹⁶ Miklós Szabó who had also been the institute's student, became Némethy's successor.¹¹⁷ It was characteristic of the Collegium's personnel policy that it always filled its teaching faculty with its own former students, scholar candidates who knew the internal conditions of the institute well.

With the departure of Szilasi, the Department of Hungarian Linguistics also became vacant, for which Bartoniek chose Zoltán Gombocz, a member of the institute's very first generation. Already in 1900, he was assigned to the Collegium as a certified secondary school teacher for a remuneration of 2000 crowns.¹¹⁸ In addition to Hungarian language history, Gombocz also taught Finnish and beginner French classes.¹¹⁹ The academic achievements of the young scholar candidate were always excellent, therefore, in 1900 he was awarded the title of doctor *sub auspiciis regis*.¹²⁰ He had remarkable achievements in the field of teaching as well, thus, already in the early years of his activity he had the opportunity to take part in the management of the institute.¹²¹ By 1909, his salary reached 2600 crowns plus an extra 800 crowns for hous-

¹¹² 90.164/1908. Letter from MRPE Minister to curator Loránd Eötvös on the appointment of János Horváth. Budapest, 26 October 1908. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

¹¹³ 62.213/1902. Letter from Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, to Loránd Eötvös curator. Budapest, 15 September 1902. MDKL box 40, file 71/7.

¹¹⁴ 101.585/1909. MRPE Minister's letter to curator Loránd Eötvös. Budapest, 15 September 1909. MDKL box 40, file 71/7.

¹¹⁵ 125/1902. Letter from director Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister. Budapest, 1902. MDKL box 40, file 70/5.

¹¹⁶ 18/1906. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gyula Gyomlay. Budapest, 5 March 1906. MDKL box 40, file 70/5.

¹¹⁷ MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 55.

¹¹⁸ 43.960/1900. Letter from Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, to curator Loránd Eötvös in relation to the position of Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 3 July 1900. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

¹¹⁹ Budapest, June 1900. MDKL box 52, file 101/c.

¹²⁰ 68/1900. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 13 June 1900. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

¹²¹ This is confirmed by the fact that, in 1909, he issued a criminal record certificate for Ferenc Kölcsey who was forced to leave the institute due to his illness and he signed it as deputy director (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

ing allowance¹²² and in the same year the ministry finally acknowledged his appointment.¹²³ In 1909, he continued to move up in the office hierarchy: With Némethy's departure, Gombocz was promoted to the 7th remuneration category because *"after the imminent relocation and expansion of the Collegium, there is a need for a young in-house teacher who, besides acting as a head of section, can provide regular help to the headmaster in writing tasks, in managing the archives, in supervising the building and, in general, in the many small tasks of managerial administration that are beyond the capacity of one man."*¹²⁴ That is how János Horváth got appointed to the vacant position of teacher in 8th remuneration category.¹²⁵ In the same petition Bartoniek suggested that Miklós Szabó be appointed into the 9th remuneration category into deputy lecturer position. Although the MRPE provided its consent in principle, Szabó assisted Gyula Gyomlay in his work from the academic year of 1909/1910, but, due to a lack of budget coverage, his final appointment was made only in 1911.¹²⁶



*Image 4: Gyula Gyomlay, teacher of classical philology
at the early period of the Collegium*

¹²² 22/1/1909. Letter from Géza Bartoniek on the increase of Zoltán Gombocz's salary. Budapest, 10 March 1909. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

¹²³ 52.716/1909. Letter from Lajos Tóth, Ministerial Counsellor, to Director Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 1 July 1909. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

¹²⁴ 83/1909. Petition of Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE on the promotion of Zoltán Gombocz and János Horváth. Budapest, 10 November 1909. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

¹²⁵ 98/1909. Report by Géza Bartoniek on the oath documents of Zoltán Gombocz and János Horváth to the MRPE Minister. Budapest, 20 December 1909. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

¹²⁶ 19/1911. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 23 February 1911. MDKL box 40, file 67.

From among the first members of the staff there is very little information about József Suták, the teacher of mathematics; he definitely stayed a member of the staff until 1898, but then resigned from his position as head of department, explaining this by being busy with other tasks.¹²⁷ He, however, presumably held mathematics classes later, but there are no study reports or other documents of any nature about that, only a letter from 1915 exists, which serves as the basis for this conclusion. Sándor Mika, a teacher of the practising grammar school who obtained his qualification at the most famous historical schools in Europe (École des Chartes, historical department of École pratique [Glatz 1989: 42]) was also successfully brought to the Collegium. Although in 1904 because of the recurrence of his eye disease he resigned from his position as head of the history department, eventually, as his health condition improved, Eötvös managed to convince him to stay. Thus, from the academic year of 1906/1907 and onwards, he became a regular, appointed teacher of the institute, classified into the 7th remuneration category. Until his death in 1912, generations of young historians were educated in his classes at the Collegium. His appointment fits into a process, as he received his final status together with Frigyes Hoffmann, Gyula Gyomlay followed somewhat later by Zoltán Gombocz and János Horváth. Subsequently the MRPE considered the Collegium not only as an experimental institution, but, due to its successful operation, it also scheduled its conceptual development. One element of this was the appointment of five permanent teachers to head the faculties of the institute.¹²⁸

Frigyes Hoffmann a girls' upper school teacher was also one of the first teachers of the institute, who taught German linguistics and literature. Hoffmann was also appointed as a regular collegium teacher from 1906 onwards and classified into the 7th remuneration category. He taught at the institute without interruption until his retirement in 1925.¹²⁹ By 1906, his salary reached an annual 4,000 crowns with 800 crowns as personal supplement and 1,200 crowns for housing allowance.¹³⁰ Hoffmann, as Bartoniek's confidant, took over the management of the institute on a temporary basis when the director was obstructed in his duties. In 1897, he directed the Collegium for half a year while Bartoniek was studying the boarding schools of the University of Leipzig, the University of Tübingen and the University of Strasbourg, the grammar school of Heidelberg and the École Normale Supérieure in Paris.¹³¹ Between February and May 1898, it was Hoffmann again who acted as director. During this period Bartoniek suffered from severe upper respiratory disease.¹³² From the academic year of 1897/1898, nature classes at the Collegium were held by Nándor Filarszky. In 1899 he was appointed to the Hungarian National Museum to replace Aladár

¹²⁷ Letter written by József Suták to Géza Bartoniek on the issue of resignation, 14 June 1898. MDKL box 41, file 72/4. Budapest, 14 June 1898.

¹²⁸ 8769/1906. Letter from György Lukács, MRPE Minister to Loránd Eötvös curator on the appointment of Sándor Mika, Frigyes Hoffmann and Gyomlay Gyula. Budapest, 21 February 1906. MDKL box 40, file 71/3.

¹²⁹ 16/1906. Letter from Loránd Eötvös curator to Frigyes Hoffmann on his appointment. Budapest, 5 March 1906. MDKL box 40, file 70/6.

¹³⁰ 75.926/1906. Letter from the MRPE Minister to Loránd Eötvös curator on the remuneration of Frigyes Hoffmann. Budapest, 22 October 1906. MDKL box 40, file 70/6.

¹³¹ 35/1897. Loránd Eötvös's report to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Hoffmann Frigyes as interim director. Budapest, June 1897. MDKL box 38, file 63.

¹³² Letter from Frigyes Hoffmann to Géza Bartoniek on the Institute's end-of-semester affairs. Budapest, 27 May 1898. MDKL box 40, file 70/6.

Richter, botanical guard, thus he never became a regular teacher at the Collegium and remained a remunerated lecturer until his departure in 1934.¹³³

However, the Collegium's training was enhanced also by linguistic and literary history studies held by foreign language lecturers in the early years of its founding. In his petition submitted in October 1895, Loránd Eötvös curator noted that it would be necessary to employ a French language teacher at the institute.¹³⁴ He was probably already thinking of employing a foreign language lecturer, which is supported by a letter of the Ministry dated 12 November 1895, in which the Ministry informed the curator that it had contacted Ignác Koncz, a Parisian teacher, with the aim to find a language teacher for the Collegium with an annual salary of 1,000 forints.¹³⁵ Eötvös's idea was that the task of the French teacher would be not only to teach the collegium students who specialise in the French language, but also to familiarise them with French culture, therefore, he had to live with his students and take part in their joint meals to introduce them to all areas of social life.¹³⁶ Several people applied for the job, still, until February 1896, the status of the language teacher was not filled. Bartoniek's journey and personal meeting with Georges Perrot, head of the Ulm Street Institute, most likely convinced the French about the seriousness of the Hungarian government's intention. A promise was made to him that a language lecturer would be sent to Budapest each year from among the winners of the *agrégation* competitive examination (Nemes 1989: 100). Lecturers were usually contracted for two years, but with a few exceptions, they barely stayed for the whole period in the Csillag Street institute. The first lecturer was Emil Giradot who started his job in the academic year of 1895/1896. However, in December 1898 he became seriously ill and suffered lengthy hospitalization due to tuberculosis. Language teaching was temporarily taken over by Zoltán Gombocz and Jagelló Fail.¹³⁷ The *École* delegated Ernest Tharaud as his replacement to its Hungarian sister institution, who received his qualification in History and Geography in Paris. At the request of Izidor Fröhlich, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Bartoniek very warmly recommended him to be the university's French lecturer,¹³⁸ and eventually he was elected to this position with an annual salary of 1,600 crowns.¹³⁹ He had a very informal relationship with the collegium students; this was mentioned by Dezső Szabó when he wrote about his knowledge of the Hungarian language, which did not extend beyond: "Beer and jug, please" (Szabó 1965: 719). Tharaud changed his job as a lecturer to a position at the French scientific institute and Henry Lebeau

¹³³ Letter from the director of the Hungarian National Museum to Loránd Eötvös curator on the appointment of Nándor Filarszky. Budapest, 16 January 1899. MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

¹³⁴ Petition submitted by Baron Eötvös Loránd to the MRPE Minister on the issue of the Collegium teachers. Budapest, 1 October 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

¹³⁵ 61.881/1895. Letter from Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, to Loránd Eötvös curator. Budapest, 12 November 1895. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/1.

¹³⁶ 21/1895. Letter from Loránd Eötvös curator to Wlassics Gyula, MRPE Minister. Budapest, November 1895. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/1.

¹³⁷ 15/1899. Géza Bartoniek's report on Emil Giradot's illness. Budapest, 3 February 1899. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/1.

¹³⁸ Letter from Georges Perrot to the Rector of the University of Budapest (translated by Géza Bartoniek), Paris, 22 June 1900. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/2.

¹³⁹ 872/1899–1900. Letter from Dean Izidor Fröhlich to Géza Bartoniek on the issue of the French lecturer for the university. Budapest, 20 March 1900. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/2.

became the new lecturer who was also recommended as a French lecturer at the university, but despite his interest in modern linguistic philosophy and his proficiency in Hungarian, he quickly left the country.¹⁴⁰ The reason for this was probably that Lebeau had a quarrel with the Dean of the Faculty of Arts (Nemes 1989: 101).

Lucien Bézard filled the position of French language lecturer at the Collegium between 1904 and 1907. His annual remuneration as a teacher of classical philology and Romance studies was 3,200 crowns for a period of 10 months; during his stay in Hungary he learned Hungarian and had a very good relationship with both János Horváth and Bartoniek, which becomes clear from his letters written later. The mutual satisfaction was reinforced by the recommendation provided by the Collegium's Director, which, after 1907, helped him receive his French PhD at the University of Nancy's Faculty of Arts, which is equivalent to habilitation in the German scientific system.¹⁴¹ Between 1909 and 1911, the lecturers were Jean Reynier and Hubert Morand. The remuneration of the former from the academic year of 1908/1909 rose to 4,800 crowns. Until the First World War the amount of their remuneration remained unchanged, which was more than double the salary of a substitute lecturer in the 9th remuneration category. 80 crowns per month were paid from that into the Collegium's pay-box for housing and meals. In return, they had to give classes in the Collegium both to those with and without specialisation (learning French was mandatory for all collegium students) and, those who were appointed as university lecturers, also at the university (Nemes 1989: 101).¹⁴² The work of the French lecturers was very important for the institute, so in 1909 Géza Bartoniek visited the Ulm street institute in Paris again. The visit had a double purpose: on the one hand, he wanted to gather experience on the transformation of the Normale, which was concluded at the turn of the century. This process was also inspired by the Budapest-based sister institution, which was visited by an agent of the French Minister of Public Education in the last months of 1895. The other goal connected with the expansion of the Collegium was to contract a new French lecturer, as the expansion that was planned for 100 persons meant that the employment of one lecturer became insufficient. He wanted to enter into an agreement with Laviess, the new director of the École, according to which one of the arriving lecturers would be a specialist in French language and literature and the other in history. According to his plans, the teacher of modern philology would have lectured at the university and the Collegium, while the history teacher, in addition to language teaching, would have prepared literary works for the French scientific and political circles.¹⁴³ He found suitable supporters for his aspirations both at the Ulm Street institute and in Hungary, but due to external circumstances they were only partially successful.

In the early period of the Collegium's operation, the institute's training system prepared teacher candidates for their future profession, for independent professional orientation and

¹⁴⁰ 89/1903. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest on the issue of Henry Lebeau. Budapest, September 27. MDKL box 46, dossier 84/a/2.

¹⁴¹ Lucien Bézard's letter to Géza Bartoniek. Strasbourg, 1907. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/2.

¹⁴² MDKL box 46, file 84/a/3.

¹⁴³ 37/1909. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the planned study trip to the École Normale Supérieure. Budapest, 6 May 1909. MDKL box 38, file 63.

(Kosáry 1989: 15) for university studies. The Csillag Street building did not have separate classrooms, therefore, the teachers usually held the classes in the library or in the students' suites.¹⁴⁴ Since a significant part of collegium students did not start their studies at the institute as freshers, but as second or third year students, as a result, lessons usually started by assessing their prior knowledge. Differentiation in the curriculum according to the level of knowledge in the early period caused specific difficulties, especially in the modern philology disciplines, as the number of students in the various disciplines was disproportionate.¹⁴⁵ At the beginning of the semester they were introduced to the basic concepts of science and the most necessary manuals were presented to them¹⁴⁶, then they either covered material that was not included in the university curriculum,¹⁴⁷ or they covered the material again with explanations of the problematic parts provided by the teacher.¹⁴⁸ With the equalization of the proportions of the various grades, training soon transformed from individual to grade-based. From the academic year of 1904/1905, first in the fields of history¹⁴⁹ and classical philology,¹⁵⁰ in addition to the studies, the heads of sections sought to prepare students for the basic examination and the specialisation examination and the performance achieved in the exams fundamentally determined the students' assessment at the end of the academic year. This is confirmed by the fact that the postponement of exams was a recurring issue of staff meetings in the first decade. Loránd Eötvös mentioned it already in his report on the academic year of 1896/1897 that the performance of the students was very pleasing, but at the same time he warned them not to postpone their examinations because that was in violation of the organisational rules. Furthermore, support provided to a student who had inadequate performance at a basic exam was suspended until improvement was seen in his or her academic achievement.¹⁵¹ After he was informed about a failure of a student at a basic exam and at a specialisation exam, in a letter dated 31 October 1896 he suggested, among others, that members of the institute whose academic achievement was inadequate should be expelled as the Collegium had been created to facilitate teacher training. In the end, he did not apply the most severe rigour because students with underachievement were not members of the institute from the start of their training. But he warned the younger generations that in a similar case he would act with full rigour in respect of them.¹⁵² At the

¹⁴⁴ József Suták's report on mathematics classes in the academic year of 1895/1896. Budapest, June 1896. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁴⁵ Frigyes Hoffmann's report on teaching the German language in the academic year 1895/1896. Budapest, 13 June 1896. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁴⁶ See Móric Szilasi's report of 12 June 1896 on the studies of students of classical philology and Hungarian linguistics. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁴⁷ Móric Szilasi's report on classical philology and Hungarian linguistics classes in the academic year of 1899/1900. Budapest, 28 June 1900. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁴⁸ See report by Frigyes Riedl on the literary history classes in the academic year of 1895/1896. Budapest, June 1896. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁴⁹ Mika Sándor's report on history classes in the academic year of 1904/1905. Budapest, June 1905. MDKL box 52, file 101/b.

¹⁵⁰ Gyula Gyomlay's report on Greek classes in the academic year of 1904/1905. Budapest, 7 June 1905. MDKL box 52, dossier 101/b.

¹⁵¹ Report of Loránd Eötvös curator on the academic year of 1896/1897. Budapest, 1897. MDKL box 51, file 97/1.

¹⁵² 243/1896. Letter from Loránd Eötvös curator to Director Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 31 October 1896. MDKL

same time, this changed the admission policy as well and after that the number of students admitted in the Collegium who were above the second grade kept decreasing. The issue of postponing examinations eventually led the curator to formulate a clear position in 1903. In an open letter he stressed that most of the members of the Collegium had achieved good results, but that there were many with underachievement again. As an example of avoiding taking an examination, he mentioned Sándor Szőke whose reasons for postponement were not serious enough. He did not expel him only because his conduct and diligence until then had not raised a concern. However, in respect of other collegium students he was considering expelling for failure at exams or to attend university classes, which jeopardized the reputation of the institute.¹⁵³

In addition to the applied seminar method, the success of the Collegium's training system was influenced by at least two other factors. One of these factors was that the number of students in these classes was very low. In the early years it happened that one or two students were supervised by one head of section,¹⁵⁴ but even in the classical philology¹⁵⁵ and modern language classes¹⁵⁶ that were overburdened, the number of students did not exceed 8–10, due to the early introduction of the year-based group breakdown. This changed fundamentally after 1910 when there was an intention to gradually increase the number of students of the institute after the relocation to the new building from the former 40 to 100. This problem was first presented by János Horváth in his report: *"In the smaller groups so far, the work of one or two students filled one or two classes and everyone had enough opportunity to prepare for their turn. With this higher number and with this procedure they could make a presentation only twice a year, although I had to come up with some smaller, simpler, more detailed themes so that they could all work it through and have more opportunities to speak."*¹⁵⁷ Therefore, training in the new Collegium somewhat changed compared to the earlier times. In contrast to contemporary higher education, the low number of classes and the opportunity to establish a direct working relationship with the teacher gave a great

box 51, file 97/1.

¹⁵³ 36/1903. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to the members of the Collegium on the results of the basic and specialist examinations. Budapest, 30 May 1903. MDKL box 51, file 97/1. Szőke specialised in Latin and Greek and was admitted to the Collegium in 1901. He was considered an excellent student. But he missed the basic exam several times due to his fear of it and eventually, in March 1904, he committed suicide (cf. Szabó 1965: 769–771; Laczkó, 1938: 299–300). MDKL box 20, file 19, lot 59.

¹⁵⁴ For example, two history students started the academic year of 1895/1896 under the leadership of Sándor Mika, but during the school year one of them, József Tompa, died, thus, in the first part of the semester Mika held the classes only for Imre Madzsar and in the second semester a few more collegium students joined who wanted to study history of literature. Sándor Mika on history classes in the academic year of 1895/1896. Budapest, 12 June 1896. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁵⁵ According to a report by Géza Némethy, in the academic year of 1904/1905 there were 10 students of classical philology in the first year, only three students in the second year and eight in the third year. Géza Némethy's report on Latin classes in the academic year of 1904/1905. Budapest, 30 June 1905. MDKL box 52, file 101/b.

¹⁵⁶ In the academic year of 1899/1900, the German language classes of Frigyes Hoffmann were attended by seven first year and five second year students. Frigyes Hoffmann's report on German language teaching in the academic year of 1899/1900. Budapest, 16 June 1900. MDKL box 52, file 101/a.

¹⁵⁷ Report of János Horváth on history of Hungarian literature and French language lessons in the academic year of 1909/1910. Budapest, 2 June 1910. MDKL box 52, file 101/d.

advantage to the members of the Institute (cf. Tóth 1995b: 115). The exclusivity of the training was only strengthened by the fact that the members did not have to deal with existential problems like most of their contemporary peers, since they received housing and full board.

The other reason for success is the well-equipped scientific library, which the collegium students could use in a free shelf system. The library had a scientific and literary-historical department (Markó 2011b: 221), its stock contained 16,000 books in 1906 (Kosáry 1989: 17) and more than 30,000 books in 1919.¹⁵⁸ Compared to contemporary educational conditions, this also provided unparalleled benefits to collegium students compared to university students (cf. Kosáry 1989: 18).

5.5. Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE As the Supervising Authority between 1895 and 1910

Already in September 1895, the 4th University and College Department of the MRPE contacted the new institute in a letter written to the curator: *“A new factor has emerged in the framework of our secondary school education, the new Bárá Eötvös József Collegium whose mission is to further develop and even reform our teacher training. Therefore, it has become necessary to examine the relationship between the various factors of our teacher training, especially the relationship between the current teacher training institute of the University of Budapest and the new Collegium, if necessary, in its entirety, but at least in terms of mode and detail.”*¹⁵⁹

The relationship during the existence of the Collegium remained quite problematic throughout the years. Although the recognition of the Collegium as a college was expressed in the departmental classification of the Ministry as well as in the directors’ and teachers’ remuneration, the explicit expression of this did not happen until 1946. There were several

¹⁵⁸ This data can be obtained from the application for appointment submitted by Pál Lukcsics who was employed in the Collegium for managing administrative and library related issues. 88/1919. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 10 September 1919. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

¹⁵⁹ 45.990/1895. Letter of the university department to curator Loránd Eötvös. Budapest, September 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

problems with this: one such problem was the establishment of the final organisation of the institute as a proof of successful operation in the period. The other issue, which was related to this, was the designation of the Collegium's position in the structure of teacher training. This put a burden on the relationship of the university and the Collegium as, from time to time, there were attempts to clearly designate the institute's place in this system, attaching it to the university or to the teacher training institute, but this would have undermined or even destroyed its autonomy.

The latter phenomenon could be observed already in the early period of the Collegium's operation. In 1895 Loránd Eötvös informed the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest about the establishment of the Collegium. The curator informed the dean about the purpose of the institute and that although the provisional organisational rules did not establish a relationship between the two institutions, because of the training in the institute, they needed to work out some kind of cooperation. He invited the dean to visit the institute to discuss this.¹⁶⁰ There is no information about what type of agreement was concluded during the visit, but in the following year, in the enrolment process, the university tried to extend its influence on the Collegium. On 9 August 1896, in a letter written to Gyula Wlassics, Eötvös Loránd expressed his joy that the ministry had increased the staff of the Collegium by 10 persons, but noted in connection with the received applications that altogether there were 90 applicants, 13 of whom were from the university. Of them, seven applications were submitted by the faculty and in this regard he submitted a petition to the Ministry. Recommendation No. 1956/1895–96 of the Faculty of Arts was about the influence the faculty should achieve by filling half of the vacant positions at the Collegium. In this form Eötvös refused the proposal that the ministry sent him for comments and filled all the 10 new places with young fresh secondary-school graduates. He justified this with the view that students from the university could be admitted only if they completed their university studies with excellence. Finally, from among the students recommended by the university he admitted Lajos Kaufmann, but only because he was recommended by Zsolt Beöthy.¹⁶¹

Thus, thanks to the influence of the curator, the Institute's autonomy was preserved and no attempt was made to reduce it in that period due to the fact that the MRPE's appreciation of the Collegium's role increased. One manifestation of this was that, in the budget for the year 1896, the Collegium appeared as a separate entry in the budget line along with the Secondary School Teacher Training Institute of Budapest and the practising grammar school. The minister argued that it was necessary to raise the quality of teacher training and to alleviate the shortage of teachers in the field of philology. For this reason, he earmarked 20,000 forints for the Institute's expenses and another 15,000 forints for 30 students to receive support in the amount of 500 HUF.¹⁶² As seen in the university's proposal, the government increased this number by 10 students and, as a result of the transformation of

¹⁶⁰ 23/1895. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest. Budapest, 25 November 1895. MDKL box 88, file 185/1.

¹⁶¹ Petition of Loránd Eötvös curator to Gyula Wlassics MRPE Minister in relation to admission. Sonderbach, 9 August 1896 MDKL box 50, file 95/3.

¹⁶² Budget appropriation for the year 1896. Title 5. At the Budapest Secondary School Teacher Training Institute and practising grammar school. MDKL box 88, file 185/2.

the institute's infirmary, Eötvös admitted three students from among those who received a 300 forint scholarship of the teacher training institute, after consulting with the dean of the university's Faculty of Arts in order to maintain a good relationship between the two institutes. Of this amount, they had to pay 200 forints to the institute's budget for their annual provision and they could spend the remaining amount on themselves.¹⁶³ This is how, along with Kaufmann, János Bokor, a third-year student¹⁶⁴ and Lajos Rell, a fourth-year student were admitted as well¹⁶⁵. Wlassics, however, considered it necessary to inform the Faculty of Arts that this was only a temporary measure that was made possible only because the Collegium's curator was also a teacher at the Faculty of Arts.¹⁶⁶

The issue of the institute's final organisation was first discussed in the context of the 1899 budget. It was then that the Ministry asked Eötvös to propose a final placement of the institute and the resulting structural changes.¹⁶⁷ In his reply Eötvös stated that he had already proposed the expansion of the Collegium in April 1896 and actually renewed that proposal adjusting it to the organisational rules, which, despite its temporary nature, proved its worth. His proposal was grouped around three main subjects: raising the number of Collegium students, expanding and transforming the staff of the institute and final placement of the Collegium.

In terms of increase of the number of students, the curator suggested a gradual increase to 100 members. In his justification, he noted that with 40 students the institute could supply about 10 graduates per year for public education. However, if the number of students was 100, the number could rise to 25 people. This would not alleviate the shortage of teachers and he did not recommend a higher number because of the disproportionate costs and risking the successful functioning of the institute. In fact, the training at the Collegium, which was based on individual guidance, would become impossible with a high number of students. Based on the experience of the enrolment proposals, he also proposed a change in the form of financing: in addition to the 90 state-funded places, he considered it expedient to maintain 10 semi-funded places as well.

However, such a significant increase in the number of students made it necessary to increase the number of teachers as well. While five heads of sections were employed when there were 40 students at the Collegium, he wished to expand the number of heads of sections for an institution of 100 students to at least eight. In managing the specialisation sections, supervising members of the institute and in relation to tasks of assisting with the library he proposed to retain four senior students who would have remained members of the Collegium for up to two years after obtaining their diploma. Due to the increased number of students, he considered it necessary in addition to the existing French lecturer to contract a normalist student, as well as to employ two German lecturers. In relation to the latter,

¹⁶³ 248/1896. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gyula Wlassics MRPE Minister in relation to admission of students. Budapest, 10 December 1896. MDKL box 88, file 185/2.

¹⁶⁴ MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 5.

¹⁶⁵ MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 49.

¹⁶⁶ 65.438/1896. Letter from Gyula Wlassics MRPE Minister to the Council of the Hungarian Royal University of Budapest. Budapest, 3 December 1896. MDKL box 88, file 185/2.

¹⁶⁷ 23.146/1898. Letter of the 5th Department of the MRPE to curator Loránd Eötvös. Budapest, 13 April 1898. MDKL box 88, file 185/4.

his idea was to employ young Austrian secondary school teachers in the institute in order for them to get acquainted with the Hungarian education system. Therefore, he suggested contacting the Austrian Imperial and Royal Ministry of Public Education. In addition, due to the increased number of students and administration, he considered it desirable to employ a clerk, an economic supervisor who could come from among the heads of sections and a physician. According to his calculations, the salaries of the heads of sections would amount to 30,500 forints per year.

In connection with the placement of the institute, he proposed the purchase of 2,400 square *klafters* (approx. 8,630 square metres) of land in a location that would allow the collegium students to reach the university's central building in 20 minutes. For this he recommended one of the plots on the southern side of Gellért Hill, for the appropriation of which the allocated 100,000 forints would be sufficient. In addition to building the institute, he also planned the construction of a hospital and a gym on the plot. However, of the latter two the construction of the hospital was not implemented. In relation to the building of the institute, as opposed to a "barracks system" structure, he proposed it to be similar to that of the Kerkápoly house: four students in a suite of two connecting rooms, one of which is a bedroom and the other a study room. It was planned that the servants would also live in the building, as well as the director, in order to effectively exercise supervision. According to Eötvös's calculations, the institute's relocation and expansion would mean a one-time cost of 3,889.33 forints and 90 krajcárs and an annual 65,824 forints in the Ministry's budget.¹⁶⁸

The MRPE supported the plan as there was a severe shortage of teachers at the turn of the century for reasons detailed in subsections 4.2-4.3. (Act of 1883 on secondary schools made the conditions for obtaining teacher qualification stricter and in 1890, with the introduction of Greek substitute subjects, the number of parallel classes increased, resulting in a retirement wave, which, with the establishment of the national pension fund in 1894, also affected denominational secondary school teachers). Desk officers of the Ministry were self-critical, admitting that the high drop-out rates also contributed to the low number of secondary school teachers, also many of those who tried to obtain teacher qualifications were from poorer classes and were unable to pay the costs of training, hence, giving up their studies, they found employment as clerks, junior clerks and educators. Their fate was similar to those who, in the 1880s, due to the low appreciation of the career of a teacher, became employees of the railway company or of the post office. The Collegium was therefore seen as one of the tools for combating drop-outs, which could provide a method for the successful training of poorer students. According to the MRPE, there was a need to release 60 teachers annually, of which only 20 were provided by the teacher training institutes in Budapest and Cluj-Napoca, thus the expansion of the Collegium's capacity was considered necessary.¹⁶⁹

Although the MRPE repeatedly urged that the transaction of the purchase should be implemented, the plot was purchased only in 1901. Eötvös invited Ignác Alpár, an architect, to construct the new building, but only in 1908 did the ministry make the decision to

¹⁶⁸ 23/1898. Letter from Loránd Eötvös curator to Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, on the expansion of the Collegium. Budapest, 22 April 1898. MDKL box 88, file 185/4.

¹⁶⁹ 25.874/1898. Opinion of the 5th Department of the MRPE on the planned development of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 18 May 1898. MDKL box 88, file 185/4.

start the construction work, which was completed in September 1910. During the autumn semester of the academic year, some of the students admitted in the admission procedure for the academic year of 1910/1911, however, lived in the Csillag Street building and others in the new building in Ménesi Street. The full relocation of the institute was completed only in the first months of 1911 (Kovács I. 1995: 35-37). Between 1903 and 1908 a fruit orchard was planted in the Ménesi Road plot, the fruit of which were usually given to the students of the institute. But the property was burgled several times, fruits¹⁷⁰ or gardening tools¹⁷¹ were stolen.

The top-level decisions to buy a plot and build a new building for the institute were the closing moments of the period of temporality: it was in this period that the Ministry began to look at the Bárá József Eötvös Collegium, which at that time had already been working for over a decade, as an institution that, because of its role played in teacher training, could also serve national or even imperial goals. The appointment of Sándor Mika, Frigyes Hoffmann, Gyula Gyomlay, Zoltán Gombocz and Gyula Némethy as regular collegium teachers fit well into that change of attitude and the MRPE noted that it also intended to implement a further institutional development of the Collegium.¹⁷² Thus, in the academic year of 1910/1911, after moving into the new building, the Collegium continued its operation while pursuing the fulfilment of its original goals, supplemented by aspects urged by the ministry.

5.6.

Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1895 and 1910

An academic year at the Collegium usually started in the presence of the director and the curator and was launched in a ceremonial manner where the newly admitted students introduced themselves and with their signature undertook to preserve the institution as a whole by observing the disciplinary rules and the code of conduct, as well as the library order (cf. Dénesi 1995: 99).

¹⁷⁰ In 1908, István Király, a Collegium servant, caught several elementary school pupils stealing fruit – 14-year-old Károly Pümper, 16-year-old Ferenc Vida, 14-year-old Ferenc Bozlik, 9-year-old Imre Dolgos and 12-year-old Károly Novák. 452/1908. Géza Bartoniek's report on the fruit thieves. Budapest, 15 September 1908. MDKL box 51, file 98/1/a.

¹⁷¹ 27/1908. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Royal Criminal Court on the return of stolen gardening tools. Budapest, 23 April 1908. MDKL box 51, file 98/1/a.

¹⁷² 8769/1906. Letter from György Lukács, MRPE Minister to Eötvös Loránd curator on the appointment of Sándor Mika, Frigyes Hoffmann and Gyula Gyomlay. Budapest, 21 February 1906. MDKL box 41, file 71/3.

In the Csillag Street building collegium students lived in suites of four interconnecting rooms, called a family system. *“Freshers lived in the first room of the suites and fourth-year students in the inner room. Each suite was officially called a ‘family’. And each family chose from among the fourth-year students a family head, that is, a father who represented the suite towards the director and a mother who took care of the inner order of the suite”* (Laczkó 1938: 246). Older collegium students introduced freshers into the institute’s internal life and supervised their studies. The primary forum for raising any issues related to collegium students was the gathering of family fathers where both educational and organisational issues were discussed. If this remained ineffective, the case was reported to the board of directors (cf. Dénesi 1995: 100). Thus, supervision was exercised primarily by collegium students themselves over the younger members. The family system was also used at common meals – lunch and dinner: in the dining room families sat at the tables, meals followed a strict hierarchy, the oldest had the right to take food first, followed by the younger ones. The end of the meal was closed by a ceremonial gesture: the collegium student sitting at the head of the table stretched his right hand towards the centre of the table, followed by the rest of the collegium students and after the movements symbolizing unity, the meal was considered to be finished and the students left (Kucsman 2006: 118). Common meals had such an important community-building function that those who arrived late were usually mocked (Bassola 1998: 55–56).

Freshers could become full members of the institute in two stages. One was the so-called fresher exam, or repeated enrolment exam. Older collegium students told the new members that their enrolment was not final; it had to be repeated again in the presence of a ministerial commissioner. The fresher exam usually took place before the full body of the institute and the ministerial commissioner was played by an older collegium student. In the early period this was a type of a knowledge contest, in which they tried to break the confidence of newly admitted students who completed their secondary school graduation with excellent results (Laczkó 1938: 249). The exam usually took place at the end of the first week, during which each year one or two members left the institute. The following evening, with the ceremony of initiation, the elders inaugurated the new members of the institute as freshers. As a part of that, in the middle of the night, old collegium students, dressed in costumes, burst into the room of freshers and in a quick trial found them guilty of excessive confidence, made them lie onto their desk and hit them hard on their back side (Dénesi 1995: 104). Initiation qualified the newly admitted as members of the community, as freshmen. The very self-conscious Dezső Szabó noted about the initiation that he wanted to challenge everyone from the participants to a duel, but senior students simply laughed at him. Only after the initiation did he feel a full member of the institute (Szabó 1965: 715–716).¹⁷³ Freshers, however, could become “teachers” only after passing the basic examination at the end of the second year, which gave them the right to vote at a national assembly, or general assembly that was held only a few times a year. A collegium student who had just passed the basic examination at lunch was seated at the head of the table and solemnly inaugurated. Following this he had the right to be addressed with the highly distinguished title of “Teacher” (Kucsman 2006: 62).

There was only one place in the institute where a fresher was an equal partner of the

¹⁷³ When there were festive occasions, so-called all-Collegium initiations were also held. First seniors initiated each other and then the younger ones (Kucsman 2006: 135).

teacher: the library. Collegium students spent much of their time here and in the event of causing a disturbance, even freshers could order their companions to be quiet by knocking with the end of their pencil, without risking retortion. It was the duty of the fathers in the first week to introduce the youngest members of the family into the “sanctuary” of the institute (Kosáry 1989: 18).

Already in the early period, there were signs that members of the institute developed techniques to ease tensions caused by intense, permanent mental work. Two ways to do this were established: cabaret and beer dinners. The former was associated with 25 February 1927, the name day of the director, the day of Géza. On those occasions students of the institute performed a play with musical inserts, followed by merriment. The Collegium teachers were invited to these occasions and after moving into the new building, due to more exclusive conditions, their family members as well. This was the only time in the year when ladies could come to the institute, from which later several relationships and marriages developed (cf. Dénesi 1995: 105; Kucsman 2006: 146–147). Beer dinners were occasions that also emerged in the early period. To these dinners – along with the curator and the teachers of the institute – all members of the Collegium were invited, which provided opportunities for informal conversations among them. In many cases, however, after the end of the dinner, collegium students left the institute and began unrestrained debauchery, although this was prohibited by the disciplinary rules.¹⁷⁴ On 17 December 1905, 12 collegium students left the institute without permission and, with the exception of one student, spent most of the night outside of the Collegium. For this reason, a procedure was launched the following day against each of them, at the end of which the director reprimanded all of them and notified the curator about the incident.¹⁷⁵ At the same time, it was part of the derring-do behaviour of collegium students that next day in the morning they went to the library as if nothing had happened the previous night (Laczkó 1938: 258).

Frequent domestic and foreign trips were also used during the early period of the institute to break away from the intensive work. Many times the whole Collegium went on excursions in the mountains of the Buda area. In 1897, an excursion was made to the Mogyoród mountains for geographic and artistic purposes, in which 43 people, that is, all members of the institute took part. However, due to Mr G.B.'s illness¹⁷⁶, the tour was led by Frigyes Hoffmann and Móricz Szilasi. In September 1897, a study trip was made to Zsámbék¹⁷⁷ and then in May 1898, again a geological and geographic study trip

¹⁷⁴ According to the Time and Work Schedule and the House Rules, after 7 pm it was allowed to leave the building with the director's permission (MDKL box 50, file 95/a). In this period only Zoltán Kodály had permission to do so, as being a member of the Academy of Music he returned to the institute late in the evening (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 29). (Cf. Dénesi 1995: 100.)

¹⁷⁵ 138/1905. Géza Bartoniek's warning to 12 collegium students who were missing during the night. Budapest, 12 December 1905. These 12 collegium students were: Herbert Bauer (Béla Balázs), József Holub, Ferenc Kräuter, Géza Laczkó, Dániel Nádasdi, Károly Novobátsky, Lajos Pintér, Ármin Scharbert, Miklós Szabó (later director), Dezső Szűcs, Béla Thomay and Zsolt Trócsányi. MDKL box 51, file 98/2.

¹⁷⁶ Between each other collegium students called Géza Bartoniek only Mr G.B., because the announcements in the wall newspaper of the Collegium were usually signed using his initials.

¹⁷⁷ 367/1897. Géza Bartoniek: A report on the trip to Zsámbék. Budapest, 16 September 1897. MDKL box 36, file 56.



Image 5: Collegium students acting in a cabaret in the early period of the institute

was also made, but the place is unknown.¹⁷⁸ In 1900, Bartoniek, accompanied by 8-10 students, visited the Reformed College of Debrecen where, besides viewing the institute, they also visited lessons. This was made possible by the friendly relationship between the director and Imre Dóczi, the supervisor of the secondary schools of the Transtisza Reformed Church District, which existed until the end of their life.¹⁷⁹ In 1901, a study trip to Visegrád was made.¹⁸⁰ In addition, in 1905, during the All Saints' Day holidays, they placed a wreath on the tomb of József Eötvös in Ercsi.¹⁸¹ There is no indication of this being regular, but it is certain that in later periods, the tombs of deceased teachers of the institute were regularly wreathed at the end of October or early November (Dénesi 1995). 101). In addition to domestic trips, collegium students could take part in trips abroad as well. At a suggestion put forward by Móric Szilasi, the head of the classical philology section, Bartoniek started to organise a study tour, for which the curator

¹⁷⁸ 26/1898. Géza Bartoniek : A report on a trip to an unknown place. 21 collegium students took part in the study trip. Budapest, 02 May 1898. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁷⁹ Dóczi informed Bartoniek that between 1 and 3 November 1900, an education meeting of the church district would be held, because of which he could guide his guests only after 6 o'clock in the evening. 374/1900. Letter from Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek. Debrecen, 28 October 1900. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁸⁰ Géza Bartoniek's note on the study trip to Visegrád. Budapest, 18 September 1901. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁸¹ 23/1905. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the station manager of the Keleti Railway Station of Budapest. 31 October 1905. MDKL box 36, file 56.

received a financial contribution for the institute. Eötvös himself stated at the teachers' staff meeting on 18 June 1897 that trips abroad could raise the interest of, or deepen the knowledge gained by collegium students and, therefore, he supported Szilasi's initiative. He noted, however, that it would be expedient to organise study tours not only to Greece or Italy, but also to Western countries.¹⁸² The curator asked the ministry for 500 forints for the trip, which he received,¹⁸³ thus, between 23 May and 12 June 1898, 12 collegium students travelled on a study trip to Rome led by Géza Bartoniek and Móricz Szilasi.¹⁸⁴

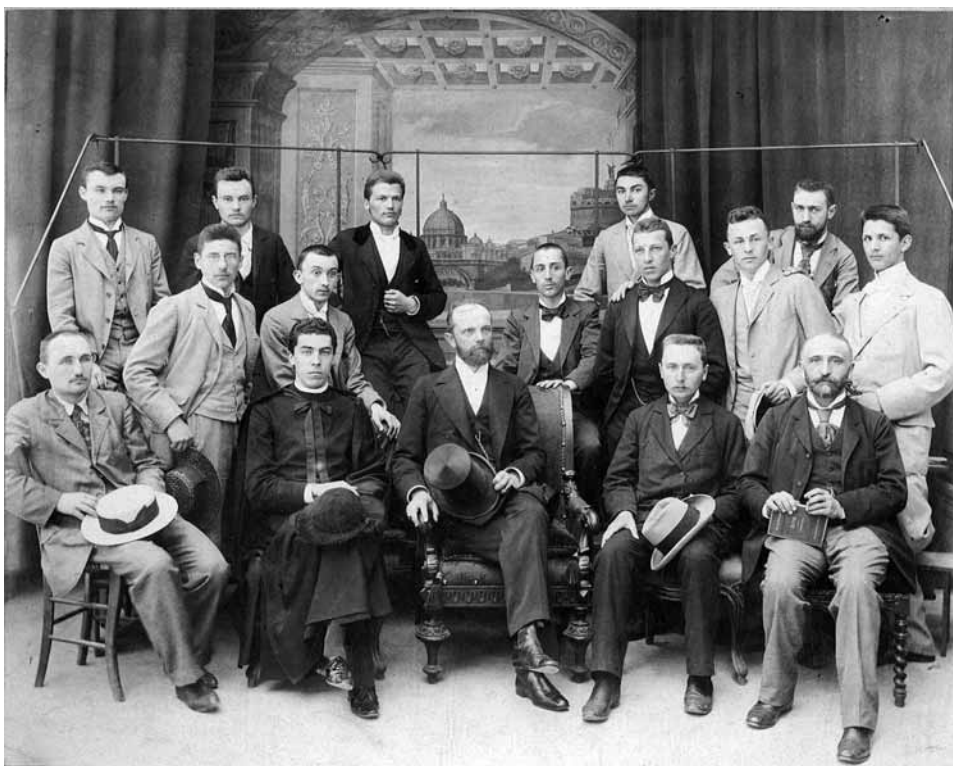


Image 6: Group photo taken during a study tour of the Collegium in Rome in 1898

¹⁸² Minutes of the staff meeting of 18 June 1897. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

¹⁸³ 10/1898. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, requesting a 500 forint travel allowance. Budapest, 21 March 1898. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁸⁴ Ferenc Csürös, Jagello Fail, Béla Falusy, Alajos Gedeon, Zoltán Gombocz, Árpád Hercz, Ferenc Hirschmann, Ferenc Kuzmics, Henrik Schmidt, Sándor Szilágyi, Zalakán Székesz and Gyula Zemplén took part in the study trip. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Rijeka station manager of MÁV to request discounted tickets. Budapest, 23 May 1898. MDKL box 36, file 56.

The MRPE supported the Institute not only financially, but also with its recommendation, as it issued a letter of recommendation in Hungarian and French for the travellers.¹⁸⁵ The visit to Urbs Aeterna was so successful that in the next academic year the director asked for a 2,000 forint grant from the Ministry for a visit to Paris. Bartoniek argued that the success of the trip to Rome could be repeated by a visit to the French capital, as they were invited by the director of the École, Georges Perrot, to attend the Paris Exposition of 1900.¹⁸⁶ However, the MRPE was unable to support the idea due to the lack of financial resources, so the study trip failed.¹⁸⁷

In addition to the excursions, those living in the boarding school – in parallel with the refining of the mind – also had the opportunity to develop their bodies. Until 1905, collegium students could attend Norbert Sztrakay's fencing classes to learn the skills of duelling twice a week, between four and five in the afternoon and on Sundays between eight and nine. The fencing room was at the corner of Csillag Street and Lónyai Street, so it was in the immediate vicinity of the institute (cf. Dénesi 1995: 102).¹⁸⁸ In 1905, the Capital City Council authorised collegium students to use the gymnasium of the 9th district civic school for boys. In his submission Bartoniek stressed that the use would be temporary, as after the completion of the new Collegium building, the institute would have its own gym.¹⁸⁹ For this the Council approved the application in return for the payment of a 180 crown usage fee per year.¹⁹⁰ The next year, however, the Director asked the council supervising the Evangelical-Lutheran Church Grammar Schools to use the gymnasium of the Evangelical-Lutheran grammar school in the capital for a fee of 300 crowns and 100 crowns of cleaning fee per year.¹⁹¹ The reason for the early change was not revealed from the sources, but the Council gave its consent, thus, until 1911 when the handover of the Ménesi street building happened, collegium students had physical training there (cf. Dénesi 1995: 102).¹⁹²

The versatility of the Collegium's training not only manifested in the study trips and the possibilities for physical exercise, but also in the fact that, at the turn of the century, the students came from different strata and ethnic groups of Hungarian society. This was made

¹⁸⁵ “*The students of the ‘Báró Eötvös József’ Teacher Training Collegium’ are attending a study trip abroad. It is my honour to recommend them to all the authorities and to the directors of foreign institutions for their goodwill and support.*” (the same in French). 2393/1898. Letter of recommendation of MRPE state secretary Mihály Zsilinszky. Budapest, 23 May 1898. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁸⁶ 59/1899. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister, on the study tour to Paris. Budapest, 1899. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁸⁷ 48.1482/1900. Letter from MRPE ministerial adviser to Loránd Eötvös. Budapest, 24 July 1900. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹⁸⁸ MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

¹⁸⁹ 119/1905. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Metropolitan Council on the use of the gymnasium of the 9th district civic school for boys. Budapest, 25 October 1905. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

¹⁹⁰ 210107/1905-VII. Decision of the Metropolitan Council No. 210107/1905-VII in the matter of temporary use of the 9th district civic school by the students of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 04 January 1906. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

¹⁹¹ 81/1907. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the church council supervising the Ev. Ref. church grammar school. Budapest, 10 September 1907. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

¹⁹² 414/1907. Permission of the Pest Ev. Ref. church council to use the gym. Budapest, 11 September 1907. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

possible by the foundation of scholarships at the institute.¹⁹³ The Prémontré order of Csorna maintained grammar schools in Szombathely and in Keszthely. The latter was a lower grammar school until 1883, thus it had only four grades, but as a result of the secondary school law, the order had to expand it to eight grades. As a result, a shortage of teachers emerged and Adolf Kuncz, the provost of the Prémontré order in Csorna, intended to remedy this by using the new teacher training institute. This was made possible through his old friendship with Géza Bartoniek, as well as the promise made by the Minister of Religion and Public Education that the order could place five of its members in the institute (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 49).¹⁹⁴ Kuncz asked the ministry in advance to separate the consecrated priests from other members of the institute and to provide them with a special diet during Lent.¹⁹⁵ For all this, the order paid 3,000 forints per year, that is, 600 forints for each admitted member.¹⁹⁶ This was very favourable for the Collegium, as the institute's budget in the early period was temporary within the budget of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. The first five members of the order who were admitted in the institute were Ottó Berkes, Ernő Csigaházy, Emil Láng, Lajos Orbán and Miklós Steiner (1995). 49). Except for the lessons, members of the order did not interact with the other members of the Collegium at all, even their meals were at a different time. The collaboration was very fruitful on both sides, as Kuncz indicated to the director already in May 1896 that in the next academic year he would use the opportunity again.¹⁹⁷ It was an indication of mutual satisfaction that Bartoniek offered three rooms for the members arriving to the Millennium Exhibition in 1896, but Kuncz did not make use of it. He explained his rejection saying that the members of the order who arrived at the exhibition received a lump sum and for any extra costs they had to pay themselves.¹⁹⁸

Even the rooms were converted for the Prémontré guests: they bought wardrobes and bookshelves for themselves. In many cases, for their meals they had wild boar with mushrooms or potatoes and during Lent they usually consumed fish with forest fruits.¹⁹⁹ In 1897 Emil Láng was the supervisor in the Collegium; during his time Tibor Gaál, Gyula Maróthy, Béla Novák and István Vargha were admitted to the institute.²⁰⁰ The issue of supervision was also raised during the school year. In October 1897, Bartoniek pledged to draw up a separate policy for the members of the Prémontré order, but he was unable to complete it because of his illness, which lasted for five months and because of the urgency of preparing

¹⁹³ Resources on foundation scholarships were reviewed also by András Kovács in his study (Kovács A. 1995: 49–58). In this part of my work I rely on his findings and, with the help of other resource groups, I add new aspects to the topic discussed.

¹⁹⁴ 43.046/1895. Letter from Zsolt Leövy, Ministerial Counsellor, to Loránd Eötvös on providing accommodation for the members of the Prémontré order of Csorna. Budapest, 12 August 1895. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

¹⁹⁵ 262/1895. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Gyula Wlassics, MRPE Minister. Türrén, 5 August 1895. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

¹⁹⁶ 341/1895. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek on the costs to be paid for members of the Order. Türrén, 30 September 1895. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

¹⁹⁷ 125/1896. Letter from provost Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek. Türrén, May 1896. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

¹⁹⁸ 131/1896. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek about the Millennium exhibition. Csorna, 1 June 1896. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

¹⁹⁹ 221/1896. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to provost Adolf Kuncz. Budapest, 01 September 1896. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

²⁰⁰ 308/1897. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek on delegating the members of the Order. Türrén, 30 August 1897. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

the Collegium's expansion plan.²⁰¹ Although it was Emil Láng who exercised direct control over his companions, Kuncz vested this right onto Bartoniek. The provost asked the head of the institute to keep an eye on the order members during their leisure activities in order to ensure that they are engaged in useful work. Additionally, also to prohibit any nightly entertainment for them and to report at least once a year on their educational progress.²⁰²

In 1899, the Order delegated only three members to the institute, István Vargha took over the role of supervisor and, in addition to him, Márton Kóhalmy and Ede Gönczi were admitted to the Collegium. However, the institute still received the annual maintenance allowance of 3,000 forints.²⁰³ Adolf Kuncz thought it was very burdensome from a financial point of view, therefore, he asked Bartoniek to make a proposal to the MRPE that the general fee should be reduced to HUF 800 if no member of the Order was staying at the institute and otherwise an amount of 440 forints should be paid for every Prémontré student annually. So the 3,000 forints would only be paid if all of the reserved place were occupied.²⁰⁴ This proved to be a very problematic issue for the Institute's budget, as the Collegium lost a permanent budget line. This explains why the board of directors began to look for other foundation scholarships (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 51). Although in 1900 all the places that were reserved for the members of the Order were filled,²⁰⁵ by 1901 there were only four left in the institute²⁰⁶ and on 24 January 1902, with the departure of Ádám Bakó, the last Prémontré student left the Collegium. Members of the Order were placed in Norbertinum, which opened in January 1902 as the Theological College of the Prémontré Order (ibid. 51).²⁰⁷ The books that had been left at the institute were to be sent by the director to Csorna at the expense of the Order, but other equipment and fixtures purchased earlier could be retained by the institute.²⁰⁸ After that, relations between the Collegium and the Order were cut off for a decade.

In 1897, Bartoniek contacted Imre Dóczi who was the grammar school supervisor of the Reformed Church District of the Transtisza Region. It was in 1896 that Dóczi raised it at the Teachers' Association meeting that the problem of Protestant teacher training could be partly addressed by establishing a relationship with the Eötvös Collegium. He suggested establishing two 500-forint scholarships from donations made to the Faculty of Philosophy in Debrecen and the Church District would pay for another student from its own budget. The long-term

²⁰¹ Géza Bartoniek's letter to Adolf Kuncz. Budapest, 28 August 1898. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

²⁰² 234/1898. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek. Türrén, 5 October 1898. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

²⁰³ Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek on the members of the Order to enrol. Türrén, 11 August 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

²⁰⁴ 455/1899. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek on the reduction of maintenance payments. Csorna, 4 December 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

²⁰⁵ Vilmos Bakó exercised supervision over Ede Frúchtl, Antal Gráczér, Ferenc Joó and József Molnár. 209/1900. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek on the enrolment of members of the Order. Türrén, 19 June 1900. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/1.

²⁰⁶ 218/1901. Letter from Adolf Kuncz to Géza Bartoniek on providing accommodation for the members of the Order. Türrén, 18 June 1901. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

²⁰⁷ Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Adolf Kuncz on the placement of the equipment of the Prémontré order. Budapest, January 1902. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

²⁰⁸ 310/1902. Letter from Adolf Kuncz on the issue of books and furnishings. Türrén, 01 September 1902. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

goal was to achieve that the Reformed Universal Convention should convince the Ministry to cover the training costs of six, or possibly seven Reformed teacher training students.²⁰⁹ Negotiations were accelerated by 1899, in parallel with the reduction of the fee paid by the Prémontre Order. Although the selection of candidates caused some disruption, they finally agreed that the Church District nominated the persons to be awarded the scholarship; from them the curator selected those who had excellent academic achievement and from this group the district could nominate the scholarship winners (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 53).²¹⁰ The church district finally voted for the two scholarships, István Birta and Andor Csépké were granted placement at the institute during their university studies and one year was covered for a scholarship to visit a Protestant university abroad.²¹¹ However, for ten years the members had to carry out teaching activities in the service of the Reformed Church.²¹² Dóczi gave Bartoniek a free hand in the choice of specialisation, but he informed the director that, besides their collegium studies, they would also have to complete one class each semester at the Reformed Theological Academy.²¹³ The Collegium did not object to this, and both students chose the field of science of classical philology based on the guidance provided by the director.²¹⁴ At the academy they studied Protestant Church history in three classes a week.²¹⁵ In the academic year of 1903/1904, the Transtisza Reformed Church District did not have its own scholarship fellow in the institute, because the amount of the scholarship was spent on a university visiting tour of Birta and Csépké abroad.²¹⁶ In the next academic year, among the six applicants, Gyula Czebe and József Gulyás were selected to be the scholarship fellows²¹⁷ who were at the same time the last reformed scholarship fellows at the institute. After 1907, the church district cancelled the scholarship, presumably due to the imminent establishment of the University of Debrecen (Kovács A. 1995: 54).

In 1902, with the departure of the Prémontre order, Bartoniek started to negotiate with several scholarship foundations to reduce financial losses. First he contacted the Greek

²⁰⁹ Letter from Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek about establishing the scholarships. Debrecen, 13 March 1897. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹⁰ Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Imre Dóczi regarding the selection procedure. Budapest, 16 April 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹¹ 2391/1899. Letter from the Transtisza Ev. Ref. Church Bishop to Géza Bartoniek. Debrecen, 24 August 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹² Members were in all respects subject to the rules of the Collegium's Disciplinary and Organisational Rules, but it was the Bishop who had to report the misdemeanour to the Director who either called the misbehaving collegium students to order, or withdrew their scholarship. 1577/1899. Letter from bishop Áron Kiss to the MRPE Minister. Debrecen, 03 June 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹³ Letter from Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek regarding the choice of specialisation. Debrecen, 05 September 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹⁴ Birta István MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 5. András Csépké MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 9.

²¹⁵ 250/1899. Letter from Farkas Szócs, Director of the Ev. Ref. Academy of Theology to Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 12 September 1899. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹⁶ Although Dóczi, arguing in favour of continuity, said that the district should send another scholarship fellow to the Collegium, this was rejected by the diocese in November 1902 in decision No. 308. Letter from Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek. Debrecen, 17 February 1903. MDKL box 36, file 54/b.

²¹⁷ 241/1904. Letter from Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek about the selection of scholarship fellows. Debrecen, 14 July 1904. MDKL box 36, file 54/b. Czebe and Gulyás also graduated from the department of classical philology. The former was more gifted and had serious scientific ambitions, which ended with his tragic death in 1930. On Czebe's life see: Farkas et alii 2011: 463–552.

Orthodox Bishopric of Sibiu, sending the Institute's Organisational rules to Archbishop János Metianu and presenting to him the Collegium's training system.²¹⁸ The Archbishop asked the curator to hold one seat for a Greek Orthodox Romanian youth until he finds a suitable candidate for the scholarship.²¹⁹ Metianu finally chose György Tulbure, an orthodox theologian for the scholarship, but he was soon forced to discontinue his studies due to health problems.²²⁰ To replace him, the Archbishop sent Miklós Regman to the institute.²²¹ Regman was followed in 1907 by János Duma (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 57).²²² However, in 1909, Duma was called back from the Collegium by the archbishopric, because of an allegation of ethnic incitement. The case was reported to Metianu who took action to withdraw the scholarship.²²³ Subsequently, it seemed that the archbishopric did not delegate a member to the Collegium, as the maintenance costs rose to 800 crowns, which the archbishopric did not wish to finance.²²⁴ Finally, it selected Crisian Ascanius, a graduate theologian, to become a scholarship fellow in the Institute's new building, but did so in September, after the enrolment procedure.²²⁵ Finally, despite the difficulties, the candidate was eventually admitted and stayed a member of the Institute until 1912.²²⁶

In addition to the Archbishopric of Sibiu, the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund also sent members to the Collegium. The scholarship was approved by the monarch on 31 December 1888 and was in most cases awarded to the graduates of the Grammar School of the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund.²²⁷ First the Foundation delegated Seni Valér and Miklós Draganu to the Collegium, with a total of 900 crowns per student paid by the organisation.²²⁸ Although the results achieved at their basic examinations did not meet the expectations, this was mainly due to the language barriers, as they had to learn Hungarian as well.²²⁹ In 1906, however, both of them were awarded a certificate of excellence and, at the same time, it was proposed to the Foundation's Board of Directors to continue supporting their training until they pass the one-year pedagogical practice and the doctoral examination.²³⁰ However, this

²¹⁸ 42/1902. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to János Metianu, Archbishop of Sibiu. Budapest, 27 May 1902. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²¹⁹ Letter from Archbishop John Metianu to Loránd Eötvös. Sibiu, 23 June 1902. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²²⁰ 186/1904. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Archbishop of Sibiu, János Metianu, in relation to the inadequacy of György Tulbure. Budapest, 30 September 1904. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²²¹ 10.183/1904. Letter from Archbishop John Metianu to Géza Bartoniek about filling the place of György Tulbure. Sibiu, 12 October 1904. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²²² 8766/1907. Letter from Archbishop János Metianu to Géza Bartoniek on the admission of János Duma. Sibiu, 03 September 1907. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²²³ Minutes of the year-end meeting. 5 June 1909. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

²²⁴ 59A/1910. Letter from Viktor Mihályi, secretary of the archbishopric, to Géza Bartoniek. Sibiu, 23 August 1910. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²²⁵ 9737/1910. Letter from Archbishop János Metianu to Loránd Eötvös. Sibiu, 04 September 1910. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

²²⁶ MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 8.

²²⁷ Naszód Region Scholarship Policy MDKL box 36, file 54/c.

²²⁸ 551/1903. Letter from the Chairman of the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund to Géza Bartoniek. Năsăud, 20 August 1903. MDKL box 36, file 54/c.

²²⁹ 47/1904. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Board of Directors of the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund on the academic achievement of Miklós Draganu and Valér Seni. Budapest, 21 June 1904. MDKL box 36, file 54/c.

²³⁰ 45/1906. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Board of Directors of the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund on

did not happen and it was only in 1913 that the Foundation's board of directors again sent a scholarship fellow (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 57).

György Szerb, President of the Gozsdu Foundation learned about the Eötvös Collegium through his correspondence with Loránd Eötvös curator. Szerb indicated to Eötvös that he intended to award scholarships for two young Romanian people, Sulica Constantin and Micula Vasilie. In addition to their housing allowance in the amount of 800 crowns, 200 crowns were transferred to cover their other needs.²³¹ In 1906, Sulica's scholarship was extended to allow him to take a pedagogy examination and a doctoral comprehensive exam,²³² while Micula finished his studies only in 1907 due to his one-year voluntary military service (Kovács, 1995: 56). From 1908, Sulica's place was given to János Baciú,²³³ and Micula's to István Damian.²³⁴ The idea of reserving a third scholarship place was raised, but it was finally realised only with the handover of the new building of the institute in 1910, in the framework of the enrolment. Then, in addition to Ghita Olimpius and Tódor Nes, Vazul Stoica also became a member of the institute.²³⁵ The latter was awarded a scholarship to Paris for the academic year 1911/1912, but he was not allowed to return to the institute based on Bartoniék's request as he had repeatedly, unreasonably aggressively and provocatively acted against his Hungarian mates (ibid. 56).²³⁶

With two exceptions, scholarship recipients made the internal life of the institute diverse, which most probably helped people living in a multiethnic and multicultural country to accept each other's cultures. And the MRPE could hope that the Collegium with its highly qualified teachers of different ethnicity could help educate Hungarian-friendly intellectuals among the Transylvanian Romanians. This idea was not changed significantly by the post-1907 transformation of educational policy, or by the circumstance that the assimilation efforts intensified, as until the end of the First World War both the archbishopric of Sibiu and the Gozsdu Foundation maintained scholarships at the Collegium. The secular nature of the training was not changed by the fact that scholarship recipients associated with church denominations appeared in the institute, since offering scholarship places was mainly due to the financial emergency caused by the withdrawal of the Prémontré order in 1902 and the canons of Csorna lived almost completely separated from other members of the Institute.

the completion of Miklós Draganu's and Valér Seni's studies. Budapest, 14 June 1906. MDKL box 36, file 54/c.

²³¹ 343/1902. Letter from President György Szerb to Géza Bartoniék. Budapest, 01 September 1902. MDKL box 36, file 54/d.

²³² 41/1906. Letter from Géza Bartoniék to the management committee of the Gozsdu Foundation. Budapest, 01 June 1906. MDKL box 36, file 54/d.

²³³ 342/1906. Letter from secretary György Bogoevics to director Géza Bartoniék. Budapest, 1906. MDKL box 36, file 54/d.

²³⁴ Although Daman's application was first rejected on the grounds of lack of places. 66/1908. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to the Gozsdu Foundation's management committee on Damián's rejection. Budapest, 2 October 1908. MDKL box 36, file 54/d. But finally he was admitted and remained a member of the Collegium until 1912 (MDKL box 4, file 4, lot 10).

²³⁵ 42/1910. Letter from Géza Bartoniék to the management committee of the Gozsdu Foundation. Budapest, 29 July 1910. MDKL box 36, file 54/d.

²³⁶ In his decision No. 73/1912 of 18 December Bartoniék instructed Stoica about this. The complaint against him was presumably made by his former roommates – Károly Medveczky, Olivér Klacskó and Jenő Kasztner (MDKL box 18, file 18, lot 54).



Image 7: The new building of the Bárá Eötvös József Collegium, 1911.

6

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM BETWEEN 1911 AND 1918

6.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1911 and 1918 by Region and Denomination

In the second era of the Collegium's history, 169 students were admitted to the Institute in seven years. Archival resources have been retained for 93 applicants from all those rejected. Of these only one student had no personal documentation. In the previous phase of the Collegium's operation, an average of 68 students submitted their application to the institute each year and this number dropped to 37 in this sub-period. This data in itself shows how the outbreak of the First World War affected the institute.

The territorial balance, which was characteristic of the period between 1895 and 1910 ceased to exist and the majority of applicants were born in the western parts of the country; 24% in the Transdanubian region and 18% in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve

(in the latter the capital city's share was 57%). In this order, Transylvania and Upper Hungary receded to third place with 17% each, the number of successful applicants from the historic region of Southern Hungary was 11% and only 10% came from the Transisza Region.²³⁷ The majority, 51% of admitted applicants were born within the Trianon borders and 47% beyond.²³⁸ Regarding the breakdown by county, the phenomenon that had been established in the previous period further strengthened, namely, the expansion of the capital and its immediate catchment area among admitted collegium students. 13% of admitted applicants were born in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county (77% of the capital city's share). (In 1910, 10.31% of the country's population lived in the capital and Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county ["Statisztika" 1911: 13–18].) The second in the ranking with 7% was Vas county (2.35%), while Sopron (2.52%)²³⁹ and Temes (2.16%) counties came in third place. Bihar county stands out from the average with 4% (3.14%). The county results also confirm the finding that the majority of those admitted were born in the western part of the country.

Regarding the administrative classification of settlement types, the number of children born in small settlements with a population below 5,000 people further increased – to 37% – compared to the previous sub-period. 26% of them were born in municipality towns (taking municipality towns as 100%, the share of the capital city in this sub-category was 40%, thus the number of births in Budapest doubled compared to 1895–1910) and 25% of them in towns with their own councils,²⁴⁰ while 5% of them were born in district seats and 3% in county seats. 2% of the admitted applicants were born in large villages with a population of 5,000–10,000, therefore, their proportion dropped to less than half compared to the previous period. However, admitted applicants moved from smaller settlements towards the administrative centres. Compared to the previous sub-period, there was a greater degree of territorial mobility among successful applicants between 1911 and 1918. 40% of them graduated from secondary school in the place of their birth and 57% in a different location.²⁴¹ This data is significantly different from the conditions of the era, as most of society spent a significant part of its life in the place of birth (cf. Kövér 2006: 62). At the same time, this phenomenon, as well as the increasing number of people born in the capital suggest that, unlike in the previous period, members of the institute were chosen from the rural middle class or from mobile social groups that wanted and were able, to acquire the life of the middle class, as well as from the urbanised strata of the larger settlements.

²³⁷ There is no data on where 3% of those admitted were born in the sub-period.

²³⁸ There is no data on which part of the country 2% of those admitted were born.

²³⁹ Data on the population of Sopron, Temes, Vas and Bihar counties in 1910 are provided in parentheses ("Statisztika" 1911: 13–16).

²⁴⁰ In 1910, 11.26% of the population lived in municipality towns, while 8.23% lived in towns with their own councils ("Statisztika" 1911: 13–14). Therefore, members of the Collegium were overrepresented in both types of settlements in relation to the total population.

²⁴¹ There is no data on the place where 3% of admitted applicants graduated. See Table 4 for information on territorial and county breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants.

6.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1911 and 1918

| Territorial distribution of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | |
| Breakdown by regions | | | Breakdown by county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 1 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 13 | 10.3 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 11 | 21 | Vas | 7 | 2.3 |
| Transdanubian region | 24 | 15 | Temes | 5 | 2.1 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 18 | 15 | Sopron | 5 | 2.5 |
| Transylvania | 17 | 17 | Bihar | 4 | 3.1 |
| Upper Hungary | 17 | 17 | Háromszék | 3 | 0.7 |
| Transtisza Region | 10 | 14 | Békés | 3 | 1.6 |
| No data | 3 | 0 | Veszprém | 2 | 1.2 |
| Rejected applicants | | | | | |
| Breakdown by regions | | | Breakdown by county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 1 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 5 | 10.3 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 9 | 21 | Hajdú | 5 | 0.8 |
| Transdanubian region | 16 | 15 | Tolna | 4 | 1.4 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 13 | 15 | Temes | 4 | 2.1 |
| Transylvania | 21 | 17 | Szolnok-Doboka | 4 | 1.3 |
| Upper Hungary | 17 | 17 | Békés | 3 | 1.6 |
| Transtisza Regio | 17 | 14 | Szatmár | 3 | 1.9 |
| No data | 7 | 0 | Komárom | 3 | 0.9 |

Table 4: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region and county compared to national population data ²⁴²

The territorial breakdown by the place of birth of rejected applicants is significantly different from that of admitted applicants: Transylvania leads the ranking with 21% (17%),²⁴³ while the second place is shared by Upper Hungary (17%) and the Transtisza Region (10%). 16% (24%) and 13% (18%) of unsuccessful applicants were born in the Transdanubian region and in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve (the share of the capital in the latter category was 25%). 9% of those who were not admitted were born in the historic region of Southern Hungary.²⁴⁴ In addition to Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun (15%), in the county breakdown, Hajdú (4%) had 5%. 4% of unsuccessful candidates were born in Tolna (1%), Temes (4%) and Szolnok-Doboka each. There are also proportions that are different from those of admitted applicants in terms of the administrative classification of the birthplace:

²⁴² Data from the 1910 census statistics were used to determine national data ("Statisztika" 1911: 13–19).

²⁴³ Similar data are provided in parentheses for admitted applicants in a breakdown by region and by county and in order to facilitate comparison in terms of the legal status of the settlements.

²⁴⁴ There is no data on where 7% of rejected applicants were born in the sub-period.

43% (37%) were born in small villages with a population of less than 5,000 people and 16% (26%) were born in municipality towns (the capital's share was only 20%). 12% (25%) were born in towns with their own councils, 10% (3%) in county seats and 9% (5%) were born in district seats. The proportion of people born in large villages with a population of 5,000–10,000 people was low, just 3% (2%).²⁴⁵ Compared to admitted applicants, there was a greater degree of mobility in the group of rejected applicants: 31% of them received a graduation certificate in their place of birth and 61% of them in a different settlement.²⁴⁶ These data confirm the social history findings related to territorial mobility. Although at the first glance it seems that the urbanised population among rejected applicants is lower, with the decline in the number of births in municipality towns being especially striking, but this is somewhat compensated by the high proportion of county and district seats. The most noticeable change compared to the previous sub-period is the powerful decline in the number of applicants born in Upper Hungary. The reasons for this are to be found in the internal migration processes of the period and in the regional equalisation of the secondary school system (cf. Kövér 2006: 62–63).

The denominational distribution of admitted applicants differs in many respects from the proportions identified in the previous sub-period. 44% (48.6%)²⁴⁷ of successful applicants were of the Roman Catholic denomination. This is a significant increase compared to the period between 1895 and 1910, but still remains 14% below the similar denominational proportions of students who passed their teacher examination in Budapest between 1897 and 1915 (cf. Karády 2007: 414). At the same time, the Protestant denominations even jointly (24% [11.5%] Evangelical-Lutheran and 17% [16.2%] Reformed) did not exceed their number. The reversal of the proportions between Lutherans and Calvinists among admitted applicants in the field of secondary education in the period of the Reformist expansion apparently contradicts the process (cf. Kende–Kovács 2011a: 92). In terms of the number of students who passed their teacher examination in Budapest, the former were twice, while the latter were one and a half times over-represented in the Collegium. Applicants of the Greek Orthodox and of Jewish denominations were represented at 4% each (2.3% Greek Orthodox, 15.9% Jewish) among admitted students. The former through foundation places and the latter made up just a quarter of Jewish members of the National Secondary School Teaching Examination Committee of Budapest, thus, being below their national proportions, they were far behind their presence at the university's faculty of arts. However, compared to the previous period, their number in the institute doubled. Greek Catholics and Unitarians accounted for 2% (3.5%) and 1% (1.9%) of admitted applicants, respectively.²⁴⁸ The proportion of the former is unchanged compared to the previous sub-period, while the latter doubled their number.

The proportion of Roman Catholics among rejected students was 47% (44%)²⁴⁹ in the researched period. Among Protestant denominations, the Reformed were represented at

²⁴⁵ There is no data on the administrative classification of the place of birth of 7% of rejected applicants.

²⁴⁶ There is no data on the place of graduation of 8% of rejected applicants.

²⁴⁷ The denominational distribution of students at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest in the academic year 1909/1910 is presented in parentheses. ("Statisztika" 1911: 387–389).

²⁴⁸ There is no data to establish the denomination of 4% of students. See Table 5 for information on the denominational classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

²⁴⁹ Details of denominational affiliation of admitted applicants are provided in parentheses for easier comparison.

6.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1911 and 1918

21% (17%) and Lutherans at 14% (24%) among unsuccessful applicants. Thus, in terms of all applicants, the ratio between the two denominations was balanced. The expansion of Reformed students was clearly visible, but Evangelicals were admitted in the institute with more likelihood, which can be explained by their strong positions and educational network in Upper Hungary among those born after the 1880s in the elite with knowledge (ibid. 92). 8% (2%) of those rejected were Greek Catholics and 3% (4%) belonged to the Jewish denomination. Thus, on the whole, in the researched period, from among the latter, one and a half times more applicants applied than between 1895 and 1910. Unitarian students accounted for 2% (1%), while Greek Orthodox students accounted for 1% of those who were not admitted.²⁵⁰

| Distribution of admitted and rejected applicants by denominations (%) | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---|---|---------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | Data on the Faculty of Arts of the University | Data on the Teacher Examination Committee | National data |
| Roman Catholic | 44 | 47 | 48.6 | 58.8 | 49.3 |
| Greek Catholic | 2 | 8 | 3.5 | 6.9 | 11 |
| Greek Orthodox | 4 | 1 | 2.3 | | 12.7 |
| Reformed | 17 | 21 | 16.2 | 8.6 | 14.2 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 24 | 14 | 11.5 | 12.8 | 7.1 |
| Judaist | 4 | 3 | 15.9 | 16.6 | 4.9 |
| Unitarian | 1 | 2 | 1.9 | 0.15 | 0.8 |
| No data | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 5: The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data relating to students of the University's Faculty of Arts, the Teacher Examination Committee and national data.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ There is no data on any denomination concerning 4% of rejected students.

²⁵¹ Information on the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest in: "Statisztika" 1911: 387–389. Denomination related data on students who took the exam before the Teacher Examination Committee is available at: Karády 2007: 414. National denominational data for 1910 in: Kövér 2006: 139.

6.2.

The Breakdown of the Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1911 and 1918 By Type and Field of Science

The expansion of state-run secondary schools that developed during the initial period of the Collegium's operation can be clearly demonstrated in the examined sub-period. Although 37% (31.91%) of admitted students came from grammar schools that were maintained by the Roman Catholic denomination, collegium students admitted from state-run institutions accounted for 24% (32.62%)²⁵² of students (20% of state-run grammar schools, 4% of state-run secondary schools of sciences). 19% (12.76%) of successful candidates who were admitted to the institute came from Evangelical-Lutheran denominational grammar schools and 13% (17.73%) from Reformed denominational grammar schools. 4% (1.41%) of applicants graduated from Greek Orthodox grammar schools, all of whom were admitted to places maintained either by the Gozsdu Foundation or the Naszód (Näsäud) Region Scholarship Fund.²⁵³

The first places in the absolute ranking of secondary schools were occupied by denominational grammar schools: seven collegium students from the Evangelical-Lutheran lyceum in Bratislava and five successful applicants from the Debrecen Reformed Grammar School and College, the Keszthely Roman Catholic Grammar School and from the Veszprém Roman Catholic Grammar School each. The Evangelical-Lutheran lyceums in Prešov, Rožňava and Sopron, as well as the St. Benedictine Catholic Grammar School in Sopron were ranked third with four collegium students each. A significant change compared to the previous sub-period was that a capital-based secondary school, the Practising Grammar School of the Budapest Teacher Training Institute with three admitted students appeared among the top five places in absolute rankings. And several state-run secondary schools were also in the top ten: the Hungarian Royal State Grammar School of Timișoara with three admitted students, which is a significant change, as many applicants from the South region between 1895 and 1910 were unsuccessful.

The seats of the secondary schools of admitted applicants mainly concentrated in towns with their own councils (43%) and in municipality towns (42%). Thus, compared to the previous sub-period, the data show a further increase in favour of these types of settlements, which can be explained by the fact that the expanding state secondary school network was created primarily in these settlements. 7% of grammar schools operated in district seats, 2% in county seats and 2% in small villages. 1% of those admitted completed

²⁵² The complete statistical statement of the maintainers of grammar schools in 1910 is in parentheses ("Statisztika" 1911: 359–360).

²⁵³ There is no information on the type of secondary school 4% of those admitted graduated from.

their secondary education in settlements with a population of 5,000 to 10,000 people.²⁵⁴ Another significant change compared to the previous sub-period was that 53% of the seats of secondary schools were located within the borders of the Trianon region and 44% in the later annexed territories.²⁵⁵ A significant change compared to the previous period was that former students of Reformed grammar schools located in the Great Plain appeared among successful applicants – collegium students who graduated from the Debrecen, Kecskemét, Kiskunhalas and Kisújszállás schools.

The expansion of state-run institutions is noticeable also among rejected applicants, since the joint proportion of those applying from state grammar schools and secondary schools of sciences was 35% (24%)²⁵⁶ (24% state grammar schools, 11% secondary schools of sciences). From among denominational institutions, 22% (37%) of unsuccessful applicants were Roman Catholics, 19% (19%) were Evangelical-Lutheran and 13% (13%) graduated from a Reformed institution. 4% of unsuccessful applications were submitted from Greek Catholic grammar schools and 1% from Unitarian denomination institutes.²⁵⁷ Thus, the total number of applicants from state-run institutions reached the total number of applicants from Roman Catholic secondary schools, but their proportion was still behind that of the denominational students, which can also be attributed to the difference between the school maintainers of the period. In terms of the absolute ranking of secondary schools, the first four places are occupied – with three candidates each – by the Evangelical-Lutheran lyceums of Bonyhád, Nyíregyháza, Bratislava and Szarvas. The state grammar schools of Budapest were in the last half of the ranking (the Hungarian Royal State Grammar School of the 1st District, the later Werbőczy Grammar School, or the Hungarian Royal Grammar School of the 3rd district of Budapest, Árpád Grammar School).

With regard to the administrative classification of the seats of secondary schools, in the case of those rejected, similarly to those admitted, a significant proportion of applicants, 34% received their secondary education in county seats and 31% in municipality towns (the share of the capital city was 14%). Thus, the number of applicants coming from the urbanised population in this group was 20% less than among the admitted. 14% of them received high-school graduation in district seats, 12% in towns with their own councils and 4% in villages.²⁵⁸ Most (50%) of these institutions, just as in the case of the admitted applicants, were located within the Trianon border.²⁵⁹ On the whole, it can be stated that in the examined period, applicants came from the central or western parts of the country and obtained their graduation certificate in state, Evangelical-Lutheran, Roman Catholic or Reformed denominational institutions whose seat was located in a municipal town or a county seat. The chances of those coming from a less urbanised environment, with the exception of a few grammar schools of great traditions (Szarvas Evangelical-Lutheran Lyceum, Aiud Ev. Reformed College), were very low.

²⁵⁴ There is no information on the type of secondary school 3% of those admitted graduated from.

²⁵⁵ Similarly, for 3% of them there is no information whether their secondary schools were located within the borders of before, or after 1920.

²⁵⁶ To facilitate comparison, data on maintainers of high school students are provided in parenthesis.

²⁵⁷ There is no data on the type of secondary school of 5% of the rejected applicants.

²⁵⁸ For 5% of them there is no data in this regard.

²⁵⁹ 45% of them were located in areas that were later detached, for 5% of them there is no data in this respect.

72% of admitted applicants specialised in philology and 24% studied science at the institute.²⁶⁰ Most of the collegium students who studied philology, 34, specialised in the Hungarian-German field; classical philology took second place with 31 students and the third in the ranking were 10 students with a combined specialisation in French and German and 10 with in Latin and history. In the first five, a significant number of students (a total of 11) studied history combined with modern language or science-related specialisations. Students who specialised in history and geography were called “mule philologists” at the Collegium, but they were considered to be more in the philological field. Physics and mathematics remained the most popular combination of specialisations among the so-called “dögész” (natural sciences) students with 31 students. With a considerable lag, in the second and third places in the ranking were geography and natural history (5 people) and natural history and chemistry (4 people). One student specialised in physics and astrology.²⁶¹ Thus, the institute fundamentally preserved its philological training profile, though modern linguistics courses also played an important role in that.

The proportion of those among rejected applicants who chose philological disciplines was 56% and among “dögész” (natural sciences) students 34%.²⁶² If we compare this with the proportions of admitted applicants, it can be seen that it was easier to be admitted to the institute to study philology than to study science. The reason for this was that, in order to preserve the philological profile of the Collegium, there were far fewer places available for “dögész” applicants than for those who wished to study philological disciplines. The most popular combination of specialisations among unsuccessful applicants was physics and mathematics; 26 people submitted their applications in this field. Altogether four students wished to study natural history and chemistry and one student opted for natural history and geography in the Collegium. In the field of philology, the most popular combination was Hungarian and German (eight students), just as among the admitted students. The second place in the ranking was occupied by six applicants each in classical philology and Hungarian-French combinations, while the third place was taken by those specialised in geography and history. As in the previous sub-period, pre-selection again affected negatively “dögész” students and those whose specialisation was in philology.

²⁶⁰ For 4% of them there is no data in this regard.

²⁶¹ Atanáz Popa, a scholarship recipient of the Gozsdu Foundation, had this unique choice of specialisations in contemporary conditions (MDKL box 16, file 16, lot 47). For 9% of them there is no data in this regard.

²⁶² For 10% of them there is no data in this regard.

6.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1911 and 1918, the Reasons for the Academic Failure and Rejection

Only 6% (12.6%)²⁶³ of the guardians of admitted collegium students belonged to the main category of primary producers. Mainly children of smallholders (0–3 hectares) and those of tenants and day labourers applied to the Collegium. Their proportions fall behind those of both the previous period and of the university's academic year of 1900/1901 (cf. Kövér 2006: 182). This could be explained by the phenomenon that was also raised in relation to the territorial location of admitted applicants: members of the Collegium were selected from the more urbanised population of society, or from among members of the rural middle-class who were able to achieve a middle-class level of existence. The latter conclusion is less true for groups that was closer to the state of the agrarian proletariat, presumably this was reflected in their low proportion. However, the urban population that fell in the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport was represented at a relatively low level in the institute: only 5% worked in industry, only 3% of guardians worked in the trade and catering industry and only 1% worked in the financial and credit fields. Their cumulative 9% (19.5%) data represents less than half of the early-century rates seen in higher education (ibid. 182).

43% (40.8%) of the guardians were in the main category of public service. This was higher than the similar data of the previous sub-period and the individual sub-categories clearly highlight the social groups, from which the institute admitted its members. 4% of guardians were employed by the railway company and post office and 5% of them were Protestant pastors. The proportion of the former was unchanged compared to the early period of the Institute's operation, the latter slightly decreased. Those working in the judicial service were represented by 4%, just as those working in other public administration and ministry structures. The former included the chancery assessors, district court interpreters, municipal judges and royal magistrates; the latter included ministry secretaries, office chiefs, municipal clerks or office clerks; this covered mainly those who belonged to public servants in the 7th–8th remuneration category, thus they belonged to the lower segment of the middle class (Kende–Kovács 2011b: 181–182).²⁶⁴ Guardians working in the field of financial administration (3%) became part the “new public officials and workers not classified elsewhere” who worked as office clerks, financial advisors or

²⁶³ The denominational distribution of the parents of students at the Faculty of Arts of the Budapest University of Sciences in the academic year of 1909/1910 is presented in parentheses. (“Statiztika” 1911: 390).

²⁶⁴ Except for magistrates who, by their office, belonged to the 6th remuneration category and thus to the order of “nagyságos”.

city chief auditors at the Hungarian Land Credit Institution and were classified in the 9th–11th remuneration categories. Because of a lack of graduation, some of them did not belong to the middle class, they lived a petty bourgeois life (Kende–Kovács 2011b: 183–184). 1% of guardians belonged to each of these social groups, those who worked as technical advisers in technical, industrial and commercial administration and as forest masters and forestry advisers in agricultural administration. 21% of guardians were in the service of educational and scientific institutes. Thus, the Collegium retained, or further strengthened its profile based on self-recruitment of secondary school teachers. Among the parents of admitted students, in addition to 15 grammar school teachers and directors, three secondary school of sciences teachers and directors and two civil school teachers and directors, eight elementary school teachers and directors appeared as well. In the previous period, the latter were included only among rejected applicants.

1% (1.9%) of guardians were employed in the armed forces and only 6% (6.1%) belonged to the main category of intellectual freelancers. However, this still somewhat increased compared to the previous sub-period. Their persistently low numbers can be explained by the high level of self-recruitment of doctors (2% at that time) and lawyers, notaries (4% in the era); their professions were more prestigious than a teacher's career, which underwent major changes in the period. However, the proportion of guardians and admitted collegium students belonging to the main category of those receiving an allowance (5%) and those unemployed, or those dependent on orphanages (14%) was very high, 19% in total in the examined period. This was partly a result of the effects of World War II on society, but, at the same time, it did not mean that the Collegium would have become more open to lower social groups, as the retired guardians and the husbands of widowed guardians used to be part of the middle class as Evangelical-Lutheran or Reformed pastors, officials, judges or mayors.²⁶⁵

The average rate of selection in the period was 34.6%. 100 out of the 169 admitted students were able to complete their studies, 53 of them left the institute before the end of the training period and there is no data on 16 of them. The growth rate was more than 10% compared to the previous period, just as the increase in the number of people receiving wages and allowances can also be explained by the consequences of World War II. 38% of Collegium students who were unable to complete their studies voluntarily gave up their membership. In these cases, just as in the previous period, there were mainly academic reasons in the background. This is supported by the fact that, starting from the academic year of 1903/1904, the directorate in most cases expelled collegium students whose academic record was inadequate.²⁶⁶ 21% of admitted students were unable to

²⁶⁵ For a breakdown of the social status of those admitted between 1911 and 1918, see Figure 5 in the Appendix. There is no data on the occupation of 16% of guardians. For comparison of the occupations of guardians of admitted and rejected students with the corresponding data of students of the Faculty of Arts and the University of Budapest, see Table 6.

²⁶⁶ Such a collegium student was Miklós Dolinay who did not indicate the reason for his resignation, but the result of his basic physics exam was a pass mark, so he was no longer in the list of members after 1914 (MDKL box 4, file 4, lot 11). It was probably for the same reason that Tibor Eiszen left, as in May 1913 he received a pass mark in his Hungarian basic examination. He was no longer a member of the institute in the next academic year (MDKL box 4, file 4, lot 12).

complete their studies because they died during the period of their membership. Seven of the active members of the Collegium died a heroic death²⁶⁷ and another four died of illness during their membership.

19% of collegium students left the institute due to a career change. As in the previous period, this time they went mainly to the Technical University,²⁶⁸ or chose a medical²⁶⁹ or legal career.²⁷⁰ 9% of admitted applicants had to leave the institute because a health condition did not allow them to take part in intensive intellectual work.²⁷¹ Because of the tense work, neurasthenia was very common among members of the institution.²⁷² 7% of them were forced to give up their membership for financial reasons. This was even worse in the last years of the war and in the wake of the defeat in the war, when the economic blockade of the Entente Powers and returning from a military economy to the normal trail led to an economic downturn on the side of the central powers, including Hungary.²⁷³ Article III.9. of the Organisational Rules was enforced in the case of 6% of admitted applicants, thus, they were expelled due to their inadequate academic results.²⁷⁴ Although in April 1914, Eötvös reprimanded collegium students for failing to attend university lessons, severely damaging the institute's reputation and threatened that in respect of those who are unable to complete a sufficient number of colloquiums necessary for the university tuition fee to be waved, he would have to suspend the payment of half of their remuneration (100 crowns), or withhold for a semester their applications submitted to

²⁶⁷ Antal Bader MDKL box 1, file 2, lot 2, Sándor Doby MDKL box 4, file 4, lot 11, Sándor Hofstetter MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 21, István Prékopa MDKL box 16, file 16, lot 47, László Scholtz MDKL box 17, file 18, lot 51, Dezső Szutórisz MDKL, box 20, file 19, file 59, Emil Thanhoffer MDKL box 21, file 20, lot 61. An additional 11 former members died heroic deaths on battlefields, including outstanding physicist Győző Zemplén who Loránd Eötvös considered to be his own student (MDKL box 23, file 24, lot 69). Ata Refik, who was an exchange scholarship recipient of the Collegium between 1911 and 1913, also died a heroic death on the side of the central powers (MDKL box 34, file 50). Géza Bartonic's personal tragedy is that he lost his only son Emil in the war. Ernst Molden's letter to Géza Bartonic containing condolences. Vienna, 9 March 1915. MTAKK Ms. 492/48.

²⁶⁸ Among others, Béla Ottenreiter also justified his resignation with his enrolment to the Technical University (MDKL box 15, file 15, lot 44).

²⁶⁹ For example, Elek Sélley: MDKL box 18, file 18, lot 52, József Sztraka: MDKL box 20, file 19, lot 59, Kálmán Tompa: MDKL box 21, file 20, lot 61.

²⁷⁰ Pál Lacsny was admitted in 1915, but on 7 March 1918 he resigned and, taking his family's interests into account, admitted at the Faculty of Law of the Bratislava University (MDKL box 11, file 12, lot 33). Pál Liszka also resigned from his membership and continued his studies at the Reformed Law Academy in Kecskemét (MDKL box 12, file 12, lot 34).

²⁷¹ That is why, on the suggestion of the Collegium's physician, for example, István Holecz and Ernő Temesvári also had to resign (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 21, MDKL box 20, file 20, lot 60).

²⁷² For example, Jenő Kási was recommended to take a rest time for the second semester of the academic year of 1912/13 because of neurasthenia, but this did not hinder him significantly in his studies and he successfully completed his training (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

²⁷³ Among others, Dániel Oszvald was forced to resign due to the severe economic crisis resulting from the defeat in the war (MDKL box 15, file 15, lot 44). Géza Radnóti who was admitted in 1917 and specialised in Hungarian and German left in 1920, because his mother was dismissed from her teaching position and thus he had to support the family (MDKL box 16, file 17, lot 48).

²⁷⁴ The membership of Béla Kiss ceased by a decision dated 12 August 1912, the justification for which was that he was unprepared for his basic examination and ignored the related warning from the professor (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 28).

a higher-sponsored place.²⁷⁵ According to sources, such sanctions were eventually not applied. The lower rate of expulsions compared to the previous period can be explained by the fact that the directorate of the institute did not criticise the weaker academic performance of soldiers returning home from front service for a study leave, thus this penalty was not applied during the war. However, not all of the returning soldiers could reintegrate into the changed conditions. An example of this is the case of Gyula Némethy who was admitted to the institute in 1914 to specialise in geography and natural history, but a few months later he joined the army. He was captured on the Russian front and was taken to a Siberian detention camp and could return home only in 1922. In March 1922, however, Géza Bartoniek called him to resign from his membership because at the relocation camp in Csót where soldiers returning from the Russian front were kept under observation, the former collegium student was reported to hold unpatriotic, communist views. The director assumed that, due to the expected condemning outcome of a police inquiry, it would be better not to wait to be deprived of his membership, but to voluntarily resign from it.²⁷⁶ Although the investigation resulted in dropping the charges, the director nevertheless did not recommend his return to the institute, as from the correspondence between them the student seemed to be lacking commitment and the outcome of the investigation did not drop the charges in a reassuring way and the curator did not support his return because of his overage, as he would have been 32 years by the time of completing his studies.²⁷⁷ Bartoniek also obtained the teaching staff's consent to keeping him away from the institution, also referring to lack of commitment.²⁷⁸ Nonetheless, Némethy returned to the Collegium and until 1925 it is possible to track his participation in the training system of the institute, but finally he did not take the professional examination.²⁷⁹

The case of Némethy is twofold: on the one hand, it can be seen that collegium students had to lead an impeccable lifestyle from the point of view of social behaviour and politics. Those who failed to meet this requirement were forced to resign or were deprived of their membership in order to preserve the good reputation of the Institute. On the other hand, the training system of the institute was heavily burdened by the mass of soldiers returning home from the front and by their reintegration into civilian life.

12% (6%)²⁸⁰ of guardians of rejected applicants belonged to the main category of primary producers (smallholders – 10%, tenants and day labourers – 2%). This data was twice as high as similar data of the previous sub-period, but was also one and a half times higher than the proportions at the university in the academic year of 1900/1901 (cf. Kövér 2006: 182). These data confirm the image that has emerged in connection with

²⁷⁵ 42/1914. Loránd Eötvös's reprimanding of the members of the Collegium due to failure to attend university classes. Budapest, 26 April 1914. MDKL box 51, file 97/1.

²⁷⁶ 38/1922 Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Gyula Némethy on resigning from his membership. Budapest, 16 March 1922. MDKL box 15, file 14, lot 43.

²⁷⁷ 134/1922. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Gyula Némethy on his return. Budapest, 22 August 1922. MDKL box 15, file 14, lot 43.

²⁷⁸ Minutes of the staff meeting of 6 July 1922. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

²⁷⁹ Ferenc Fodor's report on geography lessons in academic year 1924/1925. Budapest, June 1925. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/b.

²⁸⁰ To facilitate comparison, information is provided in parentheses on the social status of admitted applicants.

6.3. Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected

| Occupation of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants between 1911 and 1918 (%) | Collegium | | Faculty of Arts 1909/1910 | University data 1900/1901 |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 6 | 12 | 12.6 | 14 |
| Smallholder (0-3 hectares) | 4 | 10 | | 8 |
| Farmer, farm hand | 2 | 2 | | |
| II. Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 9 | 16 | 17.1 | 18.7 |
| Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 5 | 13 | | 16.3 |
| Trade, catering | 3 | 3 | | |
| Money and credit services | 1 | 0 | | 2.3 |
| III. Civil services | 43 | 33 | 40.8 | 62.5 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 5 | 10 | 20.6 | 26.8 |
| Educational services and academic institutions | 21 | 11 | | |
| Judicial services | 4 | 0 | 20.2 | |
| Healthcare management and services | 0 | 0 | | |
| Agricultural management and services | 1 | 0 | | |
| Financial management | 3 | 0 | | |
| Technical/Industrial and commercial management | 1 | 0 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 4 | 8 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 4 | 4 | | |
| IV. Armed forces | 1 | 0 | 1.9 | 0.5 |
| V. Intellectual libera professions | 6 | 3 | 18.3 | 35.7 merged with public service |
| Lawyer, notary | 4 | 1 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 2 | 0 | | |
| Pharmacist | 0 | 0 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 0 | 1 | | |
| Veterinarian | 0 | 1 | | |
| Literature, art | 0 | 0 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, landlords, capitalists | 19 | 27 | 10 | 4.05 |
| Pensioner | 5 | 6 | | |
| Unemployed, dependent of orphanages | 14 | 21 | | |
| No data | 16 | 9 | 0 | 0 |

Table 6: Occupation of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants compared with the data of all students of the Faculty of Arts and the University of Budapest.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ Data on students of the University of Budapest for the academic year of 1900/1901 in: Kövér 2006: 182, data on students of the Faculty of Arts for the academic year of 1909/1910 in: "Statisztika" 1911: 390.

admitted applicants: the institute was not really open to applicants from lower social groups. This is supported by the number of guardians in the main categories of industry, mining, metallurgy and trade: 13% (9%) had industrial and artisan occupations (factory workers, bakers, bootmakers), while 3% were engaged in the retail and catering industry. 33% (43%) of guardians were in the main category of public service. 10% of them were church ministers as Lutheran, Reformed or Greek Catholic pastors and one was a rabbi. 11% (21%) of them worked in educational services or in scientific institutions. However, in contrast to those rejected in the previous sub-period, it was not elementary school teachers who comprised the majority in this sub-category, but rejected children of grammar school teachers. This may be related to the phenomenon of the widespread polemic at the turn of the century about increasing the social and professional prestige of the profession of elementary school teachers. The Collegium could provide a good basis for their children who thus could rise to the middle class. 8% of them were employed as ministry officials, while 4% were in the service of the railway company and the post office. Only 3% of guardians belonged to the main category of intellectual freelancers, reinforcing the finding related to their self-recruitment and their different career orientation. More than a quarter of fathers and applicants – 27% (19%) – fell in the main category of those dependent on allowances (6%) and the unemployed and those supported by orphanages (21%).²⁸² Compared to the previous period, their number increased by one and a half times, which can be explained by the effects of the First World War and the phenomenon that, from these social groups, the doors of the institute were open only to the former members of the middle class, or to outstandingly talented students.

The most common reason for rejection was professional inadequacy, which was determined from secondary school results, or by Géza Bartoniek through his extensive network of relationships. 68% of applicants were rejected for this reason. With a good secondary school graduation²⁸³ or just with good high school conduct²⁸⁴ it was not possible to become a member of the institute. Rejections were not always acquiesced by the applicants, thus there were applicants who, later in the turbulent revolutionary period, tried to become regular members of the Collegium, repeatedly unsuccessfully.²⁸⁵ 10% of applicants were rejected because their application was incomplete. Just as between 1895 and 1910, in the researched period as well, this in most cases meant a complete lack of recommendations or of the type of declarations of support that were relevant to the management of the institute

²⁸² See Figure 6 in the Appendix for the social status of guardians of rejected applicants between 1910 and 1918. For comparison of the occupations of guardians of admitted and rejected students with the corresponding data of students of the Faculty of Arts and of the University of Budapest, see Table 6.

²⁸³ Endre Breduán in 1915 (MDKL box 24, file 26, lot 6), Béla Raszlavszky in 1916 (MDKL box 30, file 43, lot 41), Antal Schreil in 1913 (MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 43) and Gusztáv Stéfán in 1914 (MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 45) were rejected for this reason.

²⁸⁴ It was probably for this reason that Dániel Wickert did not become a collegium student in 1912 (MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 56).

²⁸⁵ Balázs György was first rejected in 1913. In 1919, the Department of Social Affairs of Students at the National Commissioner's Office of Public Education authorised admission for several students to the Collegium, including György Balázs who, after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on 19 August 1919, submitted a request for reclassifying his temporary stay at the boarding school into a permanent one, but was again rejected (MKDL box 24, file 26, lot 2).

(social dignitaries and an increasing number of former collegium students working in public education or in higher education). 4% of applicants were found suitable in all respects and Bartoniek, too, suggested their enrolment, but due to a lack of places, eventually they did not become members of the institute. 2% of applicants withdrew their application during the admission procedure, or proved to be unsuitable for cohabitation in the boarding school. In the latter cases, the candidates were generally over-aged.²⁸⁶ 1% of them did not become a collegium student because they died during the admission procedure, or submitted their application after the deadline, or, because of their chosen field of science, they could not have applied to the institute.²⁸⁷



Image 8: The Collegium's faculty in 1911

²⁸⁶ János Hermann applied to the institute in 1914, at the age of 21, but he was not admitted (MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 19). Mátyás Vértés applied as a theologian at the age of 28 in 1913. Though Bartoniek praised his qualities, he rejected his admission (MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 55).

²⁸⁷ In his application in 1913, Kálmán Mező had an ambition to become an art teacher, so his application was refused (MDKL box 29, 39, knot 32). There is no indication of the reasons for the failure of applications concerning 11% of rejections.

6.4.

Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1911 and 1918

Since the ministry decided to develop the institute in a planned manner starting with the academic year of 1906/1907, several lecturers were nominated into permanent regular teacher status, ending the period of temporary status of almost a decade since its foundation. Thus, there was no change in the persons of the Collegium's chief heads (curator, director).

However, there were significant changes in the teaching staff as a result of the outbreak of World War II. Zoltán Gombocz, who was appointed with the 7th remuneration category in 1909 and also helped with the administration of the institute, joined the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) in 1914 and was the teacher of the comparative Hungarian and Ural-Altai linguistic seminar until 1919²⁸⁸ when he had to resign due to the occupation by Romania. Loránd Eötvös replaced him with János Melich who was in charge of teaching Hungarian linguistic lessons until 1919 for a remuneration of an annual 1,200 crowns.²⁸⁹ Also for the replacement of Gombocz, Gyula Németh, a former student of the institute,²⁹⁰ was contracted as a lecturer to lead the Hungarian and Finno-Ugric linguistics studies for a remuneration of an annual 600 crowns.²⁹¹

János Horváth started the academic year of 1914/1915 in the battlefield in the 3rd Infantry Regiment of Debrecen.²⁹² Although, due to his indispensable services, the curator several times tried to achieve his exemption, he was able to do so only in the summer of 1917. Horváth took part *“in all Serbian and Montenegrin campaigns, after Montenegro's capitulation he was sent to the coast of Styria. He battled through the 1916 summer offensive around Czartorysk.”*²⁹³ After receiving several honours and after 36 months of service on the front, in the rank of Lieutenant in May 1917, he was sent by military command to the Eötvös Collegium (cf.

²⁸⁸ Minutes taken in Cluj-Napoca on 12 May 1919 on taking over the Hungarian linguistic and Ural-linguistic seminar in the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). Cluj-Napoca, 12 May 1919. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

²⁸⁹ Melich first refused Eötvös's proposal referring to his work carried out on the Hungarian etymological dictionary together with his outgoing colleague and to the editorial work on a periodical titled *“Magyar Nyelv”*. János Melich's letter to Loránd Eötvös curator. Budapest, 04 June 1914. Finally, at the curator's request, in his resolution No. 140.631/1194 dated 6 November 1914, Minister of the MRPE Béla Jankovich contracted Melich to lead the Collegium's Hungarian Linguistic Studies (MDKL box 41, file 72/3).

²⁹⁰ Németh was a member of the Collegium between 1909 and 1913 as a philologist specialising in Hungarian and German. He pursued his studies with good results all the way (MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 42).

²⁹¹ 115/1914./A. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Gyula Németh, a teacher candidate, on his appointment as a lecturer. Budapest, 19 November 1914. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

²⁹² 97/1915. Letter of Loránd Eötvös curator to the Minister of the MRPE on the exemption of János Horváth from battlefield service. Budapest, 11 November 1915. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

²⁹³ 17/1917. Letter of Loránd Eötvös curator to the Military General Headquarters on the exemption of János Horváth Budapest, 26 March 1917. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

Korompay 2003: 16).²⁹⁴ In 1918, he was appointed in the 6th remuneration category, thus his salary increased to 5,000 crowns, supplemented with 1,400 crowns of personal allowance, 2,000 crowns of housing allowance and 3,200 crowns of war aid.²⁹⁵

Two individuals were nominated from the Institute's former graduates to replace him. In the academic year of 1914/1915, the Ministry commissioned Géza Laczkó to teach French language and literary history lessons for a remuneration of 1,200 crowns per year. Thus, in addition to Horváth's lessons, Laczkó also undertook to fill the gap created by the lack of French lecturers. In 1915, however, he was no longer among the Institute's teachers. He was replaced by Sándor Eckhardt,²⁹⁶ from November 1914, first on a temporary basis²⁹⁷ and then, due to his successful work, on 4 August 1915, by MRPE Decree No 81.871/1915 was appointed as the regular teacher of the Collegium to teach Hungarian and French linguistics as well as French literary history.²⁹⁸ Therefore, he actually inherited Laczkó's dual role. The idea to employ him was raised most probably due to his successful work in the academic year of 1912/1913.²⁹⁹ In November 1915, Eckhardt was also found suitable for military service, thus, in January 1916, he had to move to the front for military service. This would have caused an interruption in the Collegium's French studies, as Horváth still did not receive exemption. At the suggestion of Bartoniek, Minister Béla Jankovich established Eckhardt's indispensability in maintaining the operation of the institute, which led to an exemption from joining the armed forces.³⁰⁰

Classical-philological studies were taught by Gyula Gyomlay who was appointed in 1912 into the 6th remuneration category by the highest level decision made by Franz Joseph. The appointment meant an annual salary of 5,000 crowns, supplemented with 1,400 crowns as personal allowance and 2,000 crowns as housing allowance.³⁰¹ In 1917, the Director sent his application to the Department of Classical Philology at the Erzsébet University of Pozsony (Bratislava), which was approved; therefore, in April 1918, he left the institute.³⁰² His workload was made less burdensome from the academic year of 1909/1910 by Miklós

²⁹⁴ 35/1917. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Minister of the MRPE on the payment of János Horváth's salary. Budapest, 07 May 1917. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

²⁹⁵ 72.541/1918. Letter from János Nagy, State Secretary of the MRPE, to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of János Horváth. Budapest, 04 May 1918. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

²⁹⁶ Between 1909 and 1913 he was a member of the Collegium specialising in Hungarian and French language and literature. He completed his studies with excellence (MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12).

²⁹⁷ 114/1914. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Sándor Eckhardt on his appointment to the Hungarian department. Budapest, 19 November 1914. At that time he taught French language and literature only temporarily (MDKL box 40, file 70/1).

²⁹⁸ Sándor Eckhardt's official oath Budapest, 14 August 1915. MDKL box 40, file 70/1.

²⁹⁹ 105/1914. Géza Bartoniek's confirmation on the work performed by Sándor Eckhardt in the academic year of 1912/1913. Budapest, 12 October 1914. The director was very pleased with his work: he had a Hungarian group and taught French studies. Bartoniek rated his work as excellent (MDKL box 40, file 70/1).

³⁰⁰ 14.580/1915. Letter from ministerial counsellor of the MRPE to Géza Bartoniek on the exemption of Sándor Eckhardt from military duty. Budapest, 13 December 1915. MDKL box 40, file 70/1.

³⁰¹ 79.669/1912. Notification of MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of Gyula Gyomlay into the 6th remuneration category. Budapest, 17 June 1912. MDKL box 40, file 70/5.

³⁰² After 1919, Gyomlay continued his work in Pécs where he was the rector of the university and also held the position of the dean of the Faculty of Arts. He died in 1942. 35/1918. Géza Bartoniek's thank-you letter to Gyula Gyomlay. Budapest, 11 April 1918. MDKL box 40, file 70/5.

Szabó, but due to lack of budget his final appointment was made only in 1911. His salary of 2,000 crowns, supplemented with a 400-crown personal allowance and a 1,000 crown housing allowance, was replaced with a salary of the 9th remuneration category.³⁰³ In barely three years, Szabó was promoted into the 8th remuneration category, thus, his salary rose significantly, to 3,600 crowns, supplemented with 1,300 crowns of housing allowance.³⁰⁴ However, the payment of his increased salary was discontinued, since he was in the military service without interruption for 51 months starting from 30 July 1914 and was demobilised on 15 November 1918 (Markó 2009: 19). There is no indication in archival sources that the management of the Collegium ever requested his exemption. The long military service, however, made a deep impression on his character: during his later years as a teacher and director, collegium students often called him “sergeant”. In May 1918, on the proposal of Loránd Eötvös, the Minister of the MRPE appointed him into the 7th remuneration category with a salary of 4,000 crowns, with 800 crowns for personal allowance and 1,600 crowns for housing allowance.³⁰⁵ However, he received it only after his demobilisation, at the director’s request.³⁰⁶ In the academic year of 1914/1915, Szabó was substituted by József Huszti³⁰⁷ for an annual remuneration of 1,200 crowns.³⁰⁸ Until June 1915, he taught second-year students who specialised in Greek and Latin studies, after which Gyula Gyomlay took over his duties until his departure in 1918. At that time, Eötvös suggested that Huszti be transferred from the Secondary School Teacher Training Institute to the Collegium and, at the same time as, as the 6th remuneration category became vacant, that János Horváth be moved into the 6th, Miklós Szabó into the 7th and Sándor Eckhardt into the 8th remuneration categories.³⁰⁹ The ministry fulfilled the request, thus, they all received the promotion and Huszti received a final appointment to the institute. This was beneficial for the Collegium, as the return of large numbers of soldiers on leave between March and May 1918 posed serious challenges to the institution’s training system.³¹⁰

Until 1912, the history department was headed by Sándor Mika. In May 1911, based on his years of service, Eötvös requested that, in addition to Gyomlay, Mika also be appointed into the 6th remuneration category.³¹¹ Although, on the proposal of the MRPE, on 18 April

³⁰³ 26545/1911. Letter from the Ministry of the MRPE to Loránd Eötvös curator on the appointment of Miklós Szabó into the 9th remuneration category. Budapest, 04 August 1911. MDKL box 40, file 67.

³⁰⁴ 64/1914. Letter from the MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of Miklós Szabó into the 8th remuneration category. Budapest, 15 July 1914. MDKL box 40, file 67.

³⁰⁵ 50/1918. Letter from János Zichy, Minister of the MRPE, to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 27 May 1918. MDKL box 40, file 67.

³⁰⁶ 83/1918. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Minister of the MRPE regarding the payment of Miklós Szabó’s salary. Budapest, 17 November 1918. MDKL box 40, file 67.

³⁰⁷ Between 1908 and 1911 he studied classical philology at the Collegium, with excellent academic results throughout (MDKL box 8, file 8, lot 22).

³⁰⁸ 117/1914. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to József Huszti on his appointment as a lecturer. Budapest, 19 November 1914. MDKL box 40, file 70/8.

³⁰⁹ 27/1918. Letter from Eötvös Loránd to the Minister of the MRPE on the appointment of József Huszti. Budapest, 05 March 1918. MDKL box 40, file 70/8.

³¹⁰ 47.980/1918. Letter from the MRPE Minister’s 4th Department to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment and promotion of József Huszti, Miklós Szabó, János Horváth and Sándor Eckhardt. 9 April 1918. MDKL box 40, file 67.

³¹¹ 46/1911. Submission of Loránd Eötvös curator to the Minister of the MRPE for the appointment of Gyula

1912, the monarch promoted both of them to the order of “nagyságos”, for Mika his deed of appointment could not be issued, as on 1 May 1912, he died.³¹² He also made a provision related to the appointment of his successor: from among his former collegium students he found Gyula Szekfű suitable to take over his assignment (imperial and royal home, court and state archival scribe) and Imre Madzsar (teacher of the state grammar school of the 1st district). Szekfű did not want to give up his position as a researcher in Vienna, therefore, Eötvös asked Madzsar in his capacity as lecturer (with annual remuneration of 1,600 crowns) to lead the history department. The candidate proved to be suitable for the task in all respects, as he had previously replaced Mika several times during his sick leave. Since he requested his appointment to be for the academic year of 1912/1913, Eötvös believed that there was no reason to expect that he would request a final appointment.³¹³ The curator's prediction proved to be correct, as until 1941, with minor interruptions, he indeed held lessons in history to collegium students as a lecturer.

Frigyes Hoffmann continued to teach German studies and in June 1913, upon a request submitted by Loránd Eötvös, he was nominated for the 6th remuneration category.³¹⁴ In the academic year of 1915/1916, to make Eckhardt's workload less burdensome, he took over teaching Hungarian literary history until the return of János Horváth.³¹⁵ It was a new element in the Collegium's training system that, with the involvement of Sándor Fest³¹⁶ who taught German studies to second year students already in the academic year of 1911/1912, starting from the academic year of 1915/1916, an opportunity emerged for collegium students to take English lessons.

Although, with the addition of the new College building due to the increased number of students, Géza Bartoniek's plans were to employ two French lecturers, this failed to happen. Between 1911 and 1912, René Bichet moved from the Ulm Street building to the Ménesi Road building. Bichet was considered to be one of the most outstanding members of the École, as he won the first prize at the agrégation competition, thus became a lecturer at the institute and at the Faculty of Arts of the university.³¹⁷ Like his predecessors from 1908, Bichet received a salary of 4,800 crowns. However, the end of his work was overshadowed by

Gyomlay and Sándor Mika into the 6th remuneration category. Budapest, 02 May 1911. MDKL box 40, file 71/3.

³¹² 55.944/1912. Letter from MRPE Minister to Loránd Eötvös curator on the appointment of Gyula Gyomlay and Sándor Mika. Budapest, 08 May 1912. Mika left behind six orphans and the financial situation of his family was so shaken by his death that, upon the request of Loránd Eötvös, the Ministry paid 1,000 crowns for the funeral. 34/1912. Request submitted by Loránd Eötvös to cover Sándor Mika's funeral related expenses. Budapest, 4 May 1912. MDKL box 40, file 71/3.

³¹³ 82/1912. Request submitted by Loránd Eötvös curator to the Minister of the MRPE for the appointment of Imre Madzsar as lecturer. Budapest, 01 October 1912. MDKL box 41, file 71/3.

³¹⁴ 100.219/1913. Letter from the Minister of the MRPE to Loránd Eötvös curator on the promotion of Frigyes Hoffmann to the 6th remuneration category. Budapest, 18 June 1913. MDKL box 40, file 70/6.

³¹⁵ See Frigyes Hoffmann's teacher's report on German and Hungarian literature lessons in the academic year of 1915/1916. Budapest, 08 June 1916. MDKL. box 52, file 101/2/a.

³¹⁶ He was a student specialising in Hungarian and German language and literature at the Institute between 1902 and 1906. He received several scholarships to Anglo-Saxon countries and later he dealt with the history of British literature (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 14).

³¹⁷ 56/1911. Géza Bartoniek's letter to the dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest. Budapest, 30 May 1911. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/3.

a severe tragedy, as on 22 December 1912, he died as a result of an allergic reaction induced by a morphine injection (cf. Nemes 1989: 101).³¹⁸



Image 9: Aurel Diegon, May 1913

Aurel Diegon who arrived at the Collegium in May 1912 briefly worked together with Bichet.³¹⁹ Although originally Diegon had planned to stay until the end of the academic year of 1913/1914, in May 1913 he left, because he received a doctoral scholarship for habilitation. He was replaced by Charles Baux who also won the first prize at the aggrégation competition. On the suggestion of Bartoniek, he also received the job of lecturer at the Faculty of Arts.³²⁰ Baux could not take his new position and he had to leave the Collegium as well, since on 12 August 1914, a state of war emerged between England and France and the Monarchy. Maurice Taillander had to leave Budapest earlier, as similarly to some of his predecessors he had tuberculosis, thus, despite the intention of Collegium's management, the dual French lecturer system survived in the institute for only a few months (cf. Nemes 1989: 101).³²¹ János Horváth and Sándor Eckhardt replaced the work of the lecturers until

³¹⁸ He attended a Christmas dinner with his friends at Normale, after which Jean Bourget, a well-known figure of Parisian nightlife, invited him to a hotel on Vaugirard Road where he persuaded him to try out morphine. Bichet felt bad from the injection, but instead of calling for medical help, Bourget rushed away from the place. A few days later, the hotel staff found Bichet's dead body. 102/1912. Eötvös Loránd curator's report to the MRPE Minister on Bichet's death. Budapest, December 1912. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/3.

³¹⁹ Although Diegon was the second French teacher in the institute, after Bichet's death he worked at the institute together with Maurice Taillander, who was chosen for the Collegium by the French Minister of Education only for a few months. 43109/1912. Letter of Lajos Tóth, State Secretary of MRPE, to Lóránd Eötvös curator on the appointment of Aurel Diegon and Ernst Molden. Budapest, 18 May 1912. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/4.

³²⁰ 3173/1913–1914. Deed of appointment issued by the Dean's Office of the University of Budapest for Charles Baux. Budapest, 12 August 1914. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/4.

³²¹ Back in July 1914, Bartoniek was informed that Maurice would be employed as a university lecturer for a 960-crown fee. See: 3161/1913–1914. Transcript of the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Arts of the University to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of Maurice Taillander as a lecturer. Budapest, 17 July 1914. But on

1921 when a lecturer in the person of Jean Mistler d'Auroile was contracted to work in the Hungarian capital.

From 1912 onwards, however, not only French, but also German lecturers diversified training at the institute. The importance of this was pointed out by Imre Ress: part of the literature on the Collegium held that the French orientation of the Institute wanted to ease the one-sided Austrian-German cultural dominance, which was characteristic of Hungarian intellectuals by the second half of the 19th century.³²² However, with the end of the temporary nature of the institute in 1907 and with the transfer of the new building in 1911, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education involved the Collegium also in issues of state and imperial relevance. This was due to the fact that with the dual French lecturer system, a dual German lecturer system was created at the same time, which played an equally important role as the relations with the *École*. The creation of the lecturer positions had a political function as well: the Hungarian party tried to counterbalance for the Austrians the state's legal disputes that arose in the 1910s with a cultural approach. This explains why before World War I both lecturers were Austrian and then from 1925 one of them German (Ress 2007: 21–22). Just like in the case of the French, one of them was a historian and the other was a modern philologist. Ernst Molden was recommended to Loránd Eötvös who was personally informed about the identity of the new lecturers in Vienna by Oswald Redlich, Rector of the University of Vienna, head of one of the Historisches Institut's departments.³²³ Molden also helped Imre Madzsar in his work, as he held historical methodology, Latin palaeography and German language classes at the Collegium. The aim of his work was to enable teachers of history to hold lectures in German and to receive information related to their professional work (cf. Ress 2007: 22).³²⁴ Molden received 3,600 crowns per annum, somewhat less than his French colleagues, which was at the same time an indication: the work of which lecturers the ministry of culture and the management appreciated more.³²⁵ In spite of the short time spent at the institute, he established a very good relationship with both collegium students and Géza Bartoniek. Although in September 1914 he was mobilised to the front, he later regularly inquired about collegium students who were mobilised and also sent a mourning telegram on the occasion of Géza Zemplén's heroic death.³²⁶

The Head of the Secondary School Department of the Austrian Ministry of Public Education recommended Hugo Kleinmayr to the curator to fill the position of teacher of German language and literature.³²⁷ Kleinmayr took his place at the institute on 7 October 1912, just like

August 12, just on the day of the declaration of war, it was already Baux who was the new university lecturer as Taillander's job suddenly became vacant.

³²² See, for example, Kosáry 1989: 13–14. The starting point for the myth was the commemoration written by Géza Laczkó on the occasion of Géza Bartoniek's death in 1930, in which he points out Mr G.B.'s merit that in the Germanic ocean he created the Gallic island, that is, the Collegium. Géza Laczkó (1930): Mr. G.B. Recollection of a former Eötvös collegium student. "Pesti Napló", 81. 41. No. 2 (Wednesday, 19 February 1930).

³²³ 62/1912. Submission of Loránd Eötvös to the Minister of the MRPE on the selection of German language lecturers. Budapest, 28 July 1912. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

³²⁴ 37/1913. Géza Bartoniek's confirmation for Ernst Molden. Budapest, 13 April 1913. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

³²⁵ 47/1912. Letter from Géza Bartoniek on contracting Ernst Molden. Budapest, 28 May 1912. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

³²⁶ See Molden's correspondence, MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

³²⁷ 62/1912. Presentation of Loránd Eötvös to the Minister of the MRPE on the selection of German language lecturers. Budapest, 28 July 1912. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

Molden, who received 3,600 crowns per year for his services in the initial period of his teaching.³²⁸ Since Bartoniek was very pleased with his work, his residence permit was extended every year until 1925 and from September 1914, his remuneration rose to 4,000 crowns, which, however, did still not reach the remuneration of French lecturers before the war.³²⁹ In February 1915, he was exempted from military service for an indefinite period³³⁰ and in July, the Austrian Minister of Public Education promoted him into the 8th remuneration category.³³¹ Kleinmayr held 12, mainly German literature and linguistic classes a week at the Collegium, but beyond that he did not establish particularly good relations with the management or collegium students.

Two lessons can be drawn from the examination of the changes in the teacher's faculty: on the one hand, it is visible that outstandingly talented collegium students supported by the management who were also involved in the training system of the institute were able to reach the 6th remuneration category, which involved access to court and high financial appreciation. From among the older Collegium teachers, with the exception of Frigyes Hoffmann and Sándor Mika, all gave up their jobs at the Collegium in favour of university professor jobs. Therefore, the institute was able to offer not only social mobility, but also a notable academic career. On the other hand, with regard to the lecturers's work, it can be established that, in principle, the work of the French and German teachers was equally important to the Ministry of Religion and Public Education and for the board of directors, still, from their remuneration and the nature of the institute (the Hungarian *École Normale Supérieure*) the role of French teachers proved to be somewhat more important, since the Collegium was considered as one of the means of maintaining relations with France. It was able to fulfil this role only from 1921, but then under completely different conditions.

Despite the changes in teaching staff, the training system of the institute did not change fundamentally. The main reason for this was that all of the new teachers were collegium students or students of those who were leaving the Collegium. With the inauguration of the palace on Ménesi Road, the number of members of the institute doubled in the short period between 1911 and 1914. This inevitably resulted in the admission to the Collegium of students with lower level secondary school education. Due to the decline in the quality of classical philology classes, Gyula Gyomlay suggested that applicants should be admitted not only on the basis of the results of their grammar school and recommendations, but that a personal interview should also be introduced. Gyomlay argued that it is not worth enrolling students to the institute who in their subjects are below the level of graduation and cannot read in at least one modern foreign language, since then they would be unable to use the institute's greatest treasure, the library.³³² However, the introduction of the admission interview was not put on

³²⁸ 95/1912. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Hugo Kleinmayr on his assignment. Budapest, 27 November 1912. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

³²⁹ 165026/1914. IV. Letter from Lajos Ilosvay, State Secretary of the MRPE to Géza Bartoniek on increasing the remuneration of Hugo Kleinmayr and doctor József Szinnyei. Budapest, 11 February 1915. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

³³⁰ 1033/1915. IV. Letter from Lajos Ilosvay, Secretary of State to Géza Bartoniek on the exemption of Hugo Kleinmayr from military service. Budapest, 09 February 1915. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

³³¹ 51970/1915. Letter of Lajos Tóth, Ministerial Counselor to Géza Bartoniek on the promotion of Hugo Kleinmayr into the 8th remuneration category. Budapest, 07 July 1915. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

³³² Gyula Gyomlay's departmental report on students of Latin and Greek in the academic year of 1911/1912, Budapest, 29 May 1912. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/a.

the agenda of the teachers' meeting. The drastic increase in the number of students in each department was also a major problem: in the academic year of 1910/1911, according to a report by Frigyes Hoffmann, there were 26 students of German with whom he had eight lessons per week in six groups.³³³ János Horváth also complained that the number of second-year students of Hungarian was so high that he had to divide them into two groups and even then there were still nine students in each seminar.³³⁴

After the outbreak of the World War, new teachers appeared at the institute and collegium students could return to the institute according to the timing of their leave. In the period between 1915 and 1918 this was a problem in terms of a significant reduction in the number of classes. In the second semester of the academic year of 1915/1916, in the populous classical philology department there were only two students.³³⁵ A year later, in the second semester of the academic year of 1917/1918, only three students studied in the previously very populous Hungarian department.³³⁶ However, by March 1918, this became a major problem, as soldiers of several grades returned, raising the number of classes again. Their catching up and returning to civilian life was not without conflicts. A significant part of them were enthusiastic about plunging again into academic work and successfully passed their basic or professional examinations, but there were also students who were unable to finish their studies because of the experienced war actions.³³⁷

The new teachers usually continued the work of their predecessors. In the early period of his work, Sándor Eckhardt mentioned in his reports that in developing the semester curriculum, he relied on the syllabus used by János Horváth.³³⁸ Mika's successor, Madzsar, continued his master's work: first-year students studied the methodology and criticism of the science of history and then, in most of the lessons, they examined various periods through source-based interpretations. First-year students generally read ancient or early medieval universal sources, second-year students read St. Stephen's Admonitions and laws, as well as the legislative work of St. Ladislaus in the original language and then, when they became third-year students, they dealt with universal historical issues again and in the final year, they focused on completing their thesis and doctoral dissertation.³³⁹ Following the traditions of the classical-philological

³³³ Frigyes Hoffmann's report on teaching German and Hungarian literature in 1910/1911. Budapest, 27 May 1911. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/a.

³³⁴ János Horváth's report on the work of groups of students of Hungarian and French. Budapest, 17 May 1911. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/a.

³³⁵ Gyula Gyomlay's report on students of Greek and Latin in the second semester of the academic year of 1915/1916. Budapest, 29 May 1916. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/a.

³³⁶ János Horváth's report on Hungarian and French lessons in the academic year of 1917/1918, Budapest, 21 August 1918. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/b.

³³⁷ József Huszti's report on Latin and Greek lessons in the academic year of 1917/1918, Budapest, June 1918. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/b.

³³⁸ He relied on his predecessor mainly in connection with the history of Hungarian literature. See: Report by Sándor Eckhardt on the Collegium's students of French and Hungarian in the academic year of 1914/1915. Budapest, May 1915. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/d.

³³⁹ Imre Madzsar's report on the lessons and studies of first-year and third-year students of history in the academic year of 1912/1913. Budapest, 28 May 1913. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/b. In the academic year of 1917/1918, he also tried using new methods and highlighting issues related to Hungarian social history by parallel use of original sources and literature. See: Report by Imre Madzsar on history studies in the academic year of 1917/1918. Budapest, 18 June 1918. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/b.

classes of the Collegium, József Huszti,³⁴⁰ like Miklós Szabó³⁴¹ and Gyula Gyomlay³⁴² made their students process primarily the ancient authors specified for the basic and special examination, then their homework was to find foreign language, mainly German commentaries, which the collegium students found in the library's European-level classical philology department. Similarly to the classical studies, Hoffmann also subordinated his program for the semester to the requirements of the basic and professional examinations: first-year students first learned German through short stories, then they read old Old High German texts (Gospel translation of Ulphilas, Edda) and studied the Gothic language. Senior students read old and new Saxon texts and 18th century authors, mostly Schiller's dramas. Fourth-year collegium students only prepared their theses and prepared for the final examination, mostly individually.³⁴³ In this respect, the continuity of the Collegium's old and new teachers was maintained, but there was a significant change in that former collegium students who became teachers assessed their students' academic qualities in their reports and the results achieved at the examinations.

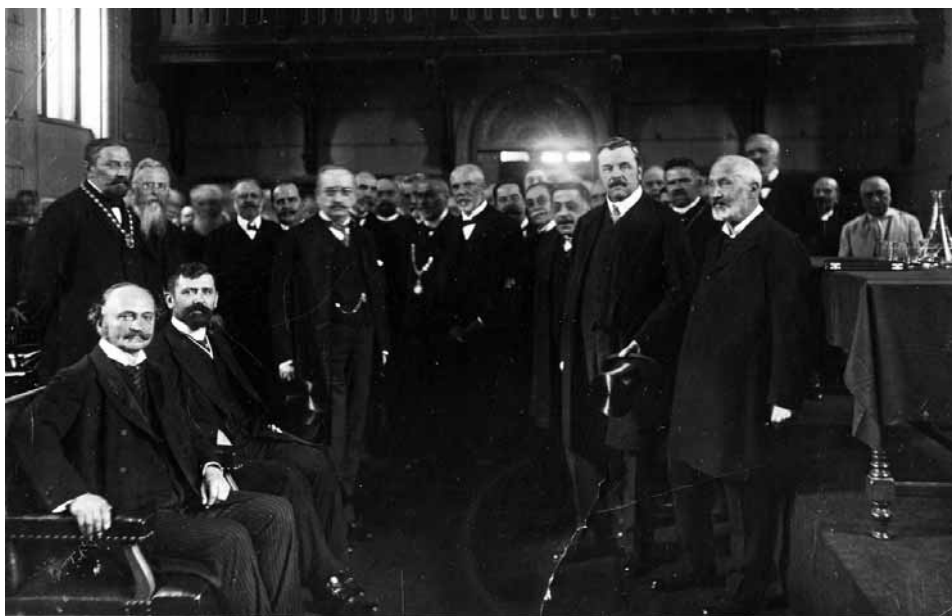


Image 10: Inauguration ceremony of the new Collegium building, 1911

³⁴⁰ József Huszti's report on the studies of second-year students of Latin and Greek, Budapest, 12 June 1915. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/d.

³⁴¹ Miklós Szabó's report on groups of second- and third-year students of Latin and a group of third-year students of Greek. Budapest, 28 May 1913. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/b.

³⁴² Gyula Gyomlay's report on the studies of first- and third-year students of Greek and Latin in the Collegium, Budapest, May 24 1915. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/d.

³⁴³ Frigyes Hoffmann's report on teaching German literature in the academic year of 1895/1896. Budapest, 13 May 1914. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/c.

6.5.

Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE As the Supervising Authority Between 1911 and 1918

One of the outstanding events of the 1911-1918 period was the transfer into possession of the Ménesi street building and the ceremony related to the inauguration of the building. At the event held on 26 October 1911, the crème of the political and scientific elite were present, which meant the expectation and recognition of the institute's operation. A significant part of the contemporary press also reported on the outstanding event (Kovácsik 2011: 211–212), to which, besides the rector of the University of Budapest and the rector of the Technical University, several university professors were invited, along with János Zichy MRPE Minister and Jenő Balogh State Secretary, their official predecessors, including Gyula Wlassics, Fontenay, the French Consul and Emil Borel as the ambassador of the École Normale Supérieure and of the Paris University (Kovácsik 2011: 216).

In addition to the inauguration ceremony, the changes in the social status of the director show the position of the Collegium in the Hungarian higher education of the 1910s. In May 1911, Loránd Eötvös made a proposal to the ministry to award the title of ministerial counsellor to Géza Bartoniek in recognition of his merits in the organisation and operation of the institute. In his justification, he stated, on the one hand, that Bartoniek had successfully managed the institute for 16 years and that despite the initial development of the operating principles and the increase of the number of students first to 40 and then, in 1911, to 72, there was no notable decrease in the level of training. The Collegium managed all its affairs itself, which was desirable at the initial stage, but became very burdensome after the expansion of the institute. On the other hand, he pointed out that in 1897, the ministry appointed Bartoniek into the 6th remuneration category with a salary of 5,000 crowns, which in 1907 was raised to 8,000 crowns. However, the heads of other college-type institutes who were appointed after Géza Bartoniek after 1905 when the Collegium also became a separate budget item, already received an allowance of 4,000 crowns in the form of personal allowance. In addition, by the 1910s the 6th remuneration category became available also to secondary school headmasters, therefore, the Collegium had suffered unfair detriment compared to other institutes and its distinction as a college, which it was still entitled to in its early stages of operation had been abolished.³⁴⁴ In 1912, upon proposal by the curator, Bartoniek received a ministerial councillor's personal allowance in the amount

³⁴⁴ 45/1911. Letter by Loránd Eötvös to János Zichy, Minister of the MRPE on the appointment of Géza Bartoniek as ministerial counsellor. Budapest, 02 May 1911. MDKL, box 38, file 63.

of 2,000 crowns.³⁴⁵ Thus, the institute reached the peak of its pre-war operation, as the recognition of its college status was expressed again and, additionally, the new building and the representation at the inauguration ceremony did make the impression that the ministry of public education had serious plans with the institute. This was also supported by the fact that, between 1911 and 1918, the MRPE delegated eight foreign students to the Collegium with the aim to educate intellectuals devoted to the Hungarian culture (6 Bosnians, 1 Turkish and 1 Tartar).³⁴⁶

The practice of enrolling Bosnian and Turkish students confirms the earlier conclusion related to the inauguration ceremony and the selection process of French and German lecturers, that is, the appreciation of the Institute's role in achieving the cultural diplomacy goals of the Monarchy. In 1910, the Minister of Commerce asked the Prime Minister to make the necessary arrangements so that as many Bosnian students could start their training at the University of Budapest as possible. Educating intellectuals able to speak in Hungarian became urgent for the political elite due to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. To this end, starting from the academic year of 1907/1908, the Hungarian language became also a compulsory language in addition to German in the secondary schools operating in the province, but it was chosen by a very small number of students. According to the Minister of Commerce, the reason for this was that the Bosnian press usually wrote in a hostile tone about Hungarians and, additionally, the administrative language of the province was German. Thus, Bosnians who continued their education preferred to chose this language. Orientation towards the German language was reinforced by the fact that in the academic year of 1909/1910, the Bosnian government established an institute in Vienna with a budget of 70,000 crowns and 44 places and also awarded 27,000 crowns for scholarships a year for studies at universities in Vienna and Graz. From among the countries belonging to the Hungarian Crown, only the University of Zagreb was attractive to Bosnians.

Therefore, the Minister of Commerce proposed various incentives to increase the attendance at the University of Budapest. Thus, he recommended publishing in the newspapers the university's decision to abolish the need for Bosnians to pass a Hungarian language, literature and history graduation examination and also requested that MRPE decree No. 30.788/906 requiring Hungarian citizens living in Bosnia to pass the Hungarian history and history of literature exam in case of applying to a higher education institution be repealed. He also recommended to make it possible for students of the Seriat School³⁴⁷ in Sarajevo to continue, without restrictions, their legal studies in the Hungarian capital and

³⁴⁵ 70.080/1912. Letter from Lajos Tóth, ministerial counsellor to Géza Bartoniek on his ministerial counsellor's personal allowance. Budapest, 24 May 1912. MDKL box 38, file 63.

³⁴⁶ Their personal materials can be found under ref. no. MDKL box 34, file 50 – box 53, file 52. More about them in the chapter on the internal life of the institute.

³⁴⁷ In the interpretation of the Faculty of Law of the University of Budapest, the seriat school was a legal secondary school where students were trained to become judges, and where the syllabus consisted of the Muslim religious standards and envolved the resulting legal consequences. The peculiarities of European law development were taught at school only to marginally. 1448/1910. Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Budapest on the admission of Bosnian law students. Budapest, 01 June 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

in Cluj-Napoca, as this advantage had already been granted to them in Zagreb. Finally, he urged that negotiations be started with the MRPE and the Common Minister of Finance who managed the annexed province about the possibility of giving the Eötvös Collegium, which had just been expanded, 10 free places for people coming from the province or for youth of Turkish origin, if there were not enough Bosnian applicants to fill in the announced places.³⁴⁸ The Minister of Commerce had already contacted the MRPE in the matter related to Turkish students, as following the visit of the persons involved in the reform movement of the young Turks in Hungary, the need arose for 30–40 Turkish university students to receive training at Hungarian universities, thus familiarizing themselves with the achievements of Western culture. The Ministry of Commerce would have supported their studies at high schools of commerce, at the University of Budapest, at the Technical University and at the Academy of Music.³⁴⁹ It seems that there was a kind of competition between the university cities of the empire for Turkish students, to which the Hungarian capital joined with some delay.³⁵⁰

In September 1910, the Prime Minister explicitly asked the MRPE to donate state-funded places to 10 Bosnians and Turks in Collegium for the next academic year, so that the training of Hungarian-friendly intellectuals could begin as soon as possible.³⁵¹ The granting of the 10 places occurred on the basis of Eötvös' oral promise, which was later modified in such a way that he as a curator provided his approval to the placement of two Bosnian and one Turkish students. In addition, he stipulated that all three students had to be teacher candidates, as it was only in this case that the institute was able to provide substantial assistance to their studies.³⁵² Thus, the MRPE prepared a call for applications for admission to the Collegium³⁵³ which was sent to the Common Ministry of Finance to publish in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁵⁴ He also asked the Common Minister for Foreign Affairs to coordinate with the Turkish government whether it would accept the scholarship offered. At the same time, the MRPE also envisaged awarding further scholarships to students of commercial academic, veterinary and artistic fields in case of establishment of a new state institute. The minister noted that the language barriers could be bridged quickly, as in the Hungarian language environment, students would certainly learn Hungarian soon, and the exercise of religious faith was also ensured, as a Muslim pastor was based in Budapest.³⁵⁵ The Common

³⁴⁸ 50.046/1910. IV. Transcript of the Minister of Commerce to Prime Minister Károly Khuen-Héderváry Budapest, 13 August 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁴⁹ 96.245/1909. IV. Transcript of the Hungarian Minister of Commerce to the Minister of the MRPE. Budapest, 17 December 1909. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁰ 50046/1910. IV. Letter of the Hungarian Minister of Commerce to the Minister of the MRPE. Budapest, 03 October 1910. MNL K 500 box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵¹ 4666. M.E. I./1910. Prime Minister's letter to MRPE Minister. Budapest, 11 September 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵² 100.63/1910. IV. Letter of the MRPE Minister to Prime Minister Károly Khuen-Héderváry on the placement of Bosnian and Turkish students. Budapest, 11 September 1910. MNL OL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵³ 100.63/1910. IV. Scholarship announcement for Bosnian students to the Baró Eötvös József Collegium. Budapest, 11 September 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁴ 100.63/1910. IV. Letter of the MRPE to the Imperial and Royal Common Minister of Finance in connection with scholarships for Bosnian students. Budapest, 11 September 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁵ 100.63/1910. IV. Letter of the MRPE to the Imperial and Royal Common Foreign Minister on offering a

Ministry of Finance welcomed the offer to provide further training for Bosnian students, but, at the same time, anticipated that probably only a small number of people would take advantage of this opportunity, as compulsory Hungarian language teaching had been introduced in secondary schools in the province only recently.³⁵⁶ The announcement was finally published in the spring of 1911, emphasising that the evaluation of the applications had to take place by 15 August.³⁵⁷ As it had been expected, teacher candidates did not apply for the scholarship, but two Muslim pastor candidates indicated through the Julian Association their intention to apply. The Prime Minister explicitly supported their admission on the grounds that, through their studies in Hungary, they could create a favourable climate in relation to Hungary among their followers.³⁵⁸ In addition to the announcement of the Bosnian scholarship, the arrangement related to the place offered to a Turkish student also moved in a positive direction, as in July 1911 the Sublime Porte indicated that it would accept the offered place and would later name the applicant.³⁵⁹

The MRPE also requested the Council of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest to comment on the admission of Bosnian students.³⁶⁰ The position of the faculty council was that if Bosnian students wanted to study in Hungary using their own sources, then a graduation certificate in the history of Hungarian literature proving Hungarian language skills did not need to be requested, but if they were studying with a Hungarian scholarship, proof of language proficiency could be expected. The issue of the autonomy of the Eötvös Collegium was also raised at the meeting of the faculty council, since Loránd Eötvös, as curator, stated that the faculty council could not take a position on their admission to the Collegium; he noted that Bosnians would become full members of the institute and everything would be done for them to master the Hungarian language and become familiar with Hungarian culture.³⁶¹

However, the First World War significantly changed the situation of the *Collegium*. The MRPE instructed Bartoniek to observe hostile citizens and, should he experience unusual changes in their behaviour, to report it immediately. At the same time, the instruction stated that, despite the existing circumstances, the ministry did not wish to restrict these nationals in their freedom.³⁶² The director informed the ministry that lecturers of French nationality

state-funded place at the Baron Eötvös József Collegium. Budapest, 11 September 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁶ 17.485/B.H.sz. The Imperial and Royal Common Ministry of Finance on issues related to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Transcript to the MRPE Minister on the issue of Bosnian students. Budapest, 29 December 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁷ 42/1911. Request submitted by curator Loránd Eötvös to the Minister of the MRPE on the text of the application for scholarship for Bosnian students. Budapest, 25 April 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁸ 3398 M.E. III./1911. Letter of Prime Minister Károly Khuen-Héderváry to the MRPE Minister on the admission of Bosnian priest novices. Budapest, 16 June 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁵⁹ Letter No. 53563/8a of the Imperial and Royal Foreign Ministry to the MRPE Minister. Vienna, 24 August 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁶⁰ 150.657/1910. IV. Letter of the MRPE Minister to the Faculty of Humanities at the Budapest University of Sciences on the issue of admission of Bosnian students. Budapest, 29 December 1910. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁶¹ 1233/1911. Remig Békefi, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Budapest on the admission of Bosnian students. Budapest, 12 April 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

³⁶² MRPE ministerial decree No. 4569/1914 on surveillance of citizens of hostile states. Budapest, 06 October

had already left the institute, thus, apart from two Bosnian students and Hugo Kleinmayr there were no foreigners at the Collegium.³⁶³ With the intensification of the war tension, Eötvös had already expressed his concerns to Bartoniek in August 1914 that the institute would sooner or later become a barrack or some other military facility.³⁶⁴

The curator's fears were not unfounded. The institute had to introduce rigorous austerity measures, resulting in savings of an annual 53,000 crowns for the budget until 1916. This was made possible by the circumstance that a significant part of the Collegium's active members were on the battlefields of the war, but, at the same time, because of this, in the academic year of 1914/1915, 32 sick soldiers were convalescing at the institute for ten months and then, in the academic year of 1916/17, as a result of the Romanian attack on Transylvania in August 1916, the ministry accommodated 16 refugee families, 68 people in the building of the institute.³⁶⁵ Although accommodation of war victims did not cause any particular disruption to the operation of the Collegium due to the low number of students, their catering was quite burdensome to the Institute's budget. This was exacerbated by the public supply related problems that emerged by 1917 due to the protracted war, which did not spare the institute either. For example, the director turned to the ministry in mid-October 1917, because the Metropolitan Gasworks supplied only barely half of the pre-paid amount of fuel for the heating of the institute, which was sufficient for less than a month.³⁶⁶ However, due to increased inflation following the defeat in the war and because of the additional semester in the summer of 1918, the Collegium's budget became unsustainable, therefore, from November 1918 the board of directors tried to avoid economic bankruptcy with extra loans, successfully.³⁶⁷

It was also one of the consequences of the war that the Minister of Defence initiated that the pedagogical skills of officers who performed teaching be raised, as there was a lack of

1914. MDKL box 50, file 96/2. Hungarian citizens who had been trapped in France did not receive similar treatment. Already before the declaration of war, German and Austrian-Hungarian citizens had been forcefully relocated due to suspicion of espionage. This is depicted in Aladár Kuncz's novel entitled "Fekete kolostor" [Black Monastery]. It was the letters written by his former collegium peer, Géza Laczkó, that helped him survive in the noirmontier fortress and in the citadel of Île d'Yeu (Kuncz 1975: 163). Forced relocation had to be endured also by László Weifert who was imprisoned in the Black Monastery together with Kuncz, but was released sooner and sent to Switzerland in 1917 on a train for patients (MDKL box 23, file 23, lot 68). It was in a similar way that Albert Szegő (Gyergyai) and Géza Bárczi were released from forced relocation and, in 1917, they wrote letters already from Lausanne where they had been admitted at the university. It was there that Szegő learned to speak French very well, as a result of which he later became the Collegium's French teacher (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 56).

³⁶³ 98/1914. Request submitted by Géza Bartoniek to the Minister of the MRPE on the citizens of hostile countries. Budapest, 08 October 1914. MDKL box 50, file 96/2.

³⁶⁴ Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Géza Bartoniek on sending his documents. Schulderbach, 9 August 1914. MDKL box 39, file 65.

³⁶⁵ 81/1918. Request submitted by Loránd Eötvös to the Minister of the MRPE on the disbursement of an extra loan in the amount of 50,000 crowns. Budapest, 17 November 1918. MNL OL K 636. box 85, file 25, lot 79 (1920).

³⁶⁶ 81/1917. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to Ministerial department counsellor Lajos Tóth on the issue of supply of fuel for heating. Budapest, 18 October 1917. MDKL box 50, file 96/2.

³⁶⁷ 81/1918. Request submitted by Loránd Eötvös to the Minister of the MRPE on the disbursement of an extra loan in the amount of 50,000 crowns. Budapest, 17 November 1918. MNL OL K 636. box 85, file 25, lot 79 (1920).

officers with secondary school education. First, the lack of professionals with pedagogical training was resolved not from among actual officers, but the Defense Ministry wanted to train officer-teachers in an ascending system at the University of Budapest.³⁶⁸ The plan was widely supported by the university and college department, as well as by the secondary school department. In his letter, the MRPE minister indicated that he was pleased with the Minister of Defense's ambition to employ secondary school teachers as officers and that he made a plan to arrange for the pedagogical training of officers. For the latter, he envisaged the development of training of officer-teachers.³⁶⁹ The Budapest Secondary School Teacher Training Institute and the Eötvös Collegium also took part in the implementation of the plan in such a way that, with the consent of the MRPE, the Minister of Defence sent officer-teacher candidates to these institutes.³⁷⁰

Due to the short term of existence of the education policy of the "People's Republic" that was established on 16 November 1918, the operation of the institute did not change significantly. In December 1918, however, talks began led by linguist József Balassa and State Secretary Sándor Imre on the transformation of the structure of secondary school teacher training. The idea represented by Balassa was to separate the training from the university and to have the Secondary School Teacher Training College be in charge, as, in his view, the university's faculty of arts alone was unable to handle the task. He intended to compile the teaching staff of the institution from teachers experienced in secondary education. The Faculty of Arts of the university and the college would have been closely linked and at the beginning of each semester they would have had to decide jointly about announcing the institute's lessons to facilitate the training and deepening of professional knowledge. While the university would have been in charge of teaching academic subjects, the task of the teacher training institute would have been teaching didactic and methodological subjects. The ministry designated the location of the institute at the Faculty of Arts and the Eötvös Collegium was also included.³⁷¹

Balassa's report on the operation of the Secondary School Teacher Training Institute raises at least two problems. On the one hand, he did not make a clear statement about the Collegium's training autonomy and, on the other hand, he left the issue of the relationship between the institute and the college in obscurity. Since the Teacher Training Institute was established in the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and Balassa, too, was appointed at that time, therefore, these issues will be dealt with in the next chapter of Collegium's history.

³⁶⁸ 132.695/1917. IV. September 10. Notification of the University of Budapest and of the National Secondary School Teaching Examination Committees on the measures related to the training of army officers. Budapest, 10 September 1917. MNL K 500. box 473, lot 25 (1918).

³⁶⁹ Letter of the MRPE Minister to the Minister of Defence No. 14284/el. 11 on the training of teacher-officers. Budapest, 03 August 1917. MNL K 500. box 473, lot 25 (1918).

³⁷⁰ 332.048/11–1918. Letter of the Minister of Defence to the MRPE Minister on sending military officers to the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 08 July 1918. MNL K 500. box 473, lot 25 (1918). In the researched period, it is certain in relation to three people that they were sent to the institute in this way: Géza Huszár MDKL box 8, file 8, lot 22; József Rózsás MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 50; László Varga MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 65.

³⁷¹ 297/1918–1919. József Balassa's report on the plan and operation of the Secondary School Teacher Training College. Budapest, 11 August 1919. MNL OL K 636. box 49, lot 25 (1919).

6.6.

Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1911 and 1918

The new building, which was delivered in October 1911, also had a significant impact on the Institute's internal life, as community spaces became much larger. At the same time, the number of students increased significantly as well, adding up to 85 students in 1911 and to 100 students by 1914.³⁷² Like on Csillag Street, the collegium students on Ménesi Road lived in a family-based system, but the nature of the suites changed. The second and third floor of the palace on Gellért Hill housed the suites of collegium students, which consisted of two interconnecting rooms: one functioned as the study room and the other as the bedroom. At the end of the corridors, living quarters were set up for the seniors. Two large rooms were provided by the Institute for young, unmarried teachers. On the first floor was the library of the Collegium, a magazine reading room and the lounge, which was later converted into a radio room, as well as the lecture rooms and lecture halls. The director's suite and office were on the ground floor, just as the infirmary and the medical room³⁷³ and the dining room. The gym, which was also used for representational purposes on major celebrations, was located between the two levels. In the basement were the boiler room, the maids' suites, the bathrooms, the kitchen and the food storeroom (Kovács I. 1995: 37–38).

The change of the building had no significant impact on the students' habits, only their locations changed: the fresher exam was usually held in the gym, while the subsequent initiation was either carried out in the freshers' room, or the freshers were taken to the basement room blindfolded where the "teachers" performed the ceremonial initiation. Unlike in the Csillag Street building, assemblies and family meetings were held in the lounge of the Ménesi Street building (Bassola 1998: 59), but the cabaret associated with Géza name day and the subsequent dancing event were usually held in the hall (cf. Dénesi 1995: 103–105).

Until the First World War, similarly to the previous sub-period, collegium students could take part in domestic and foreign study trips. Between 1–3 November 1913, Frigyes Hoffmann organised an excursion to study the folk and landscape geography of the Great Hungarian Plain, which was attended by 12 collegium students and also by German lecturer Ernst Molden and French lecturer Taurice Maillander.³⁷⁴ After that, another study trip was

³⁷² Minutes of the teachers' meeting held on 21 September 1911. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

³⁷³ The first doctor of the institute was József Szinnyei, replaced by István Gönczy from 1927, who used to be the student of the institute. Gönczy was a student of Hungarian-German at the institute and graduated in 1913. In the First World War he suffered a severe facial injury, therefore, he gave up his teaching career and graduated from a medical university. He was already a paid doctor in the year 1927/1928 and thereafter he was in charge of health care at the *Collegium* until 1950. He was included in the student register as "Gönczi", but in later documents he consistently used the name "Gönczy" (MDKL box 6, file 7, lot 16).

³⁷⁴ The 12 participants were: Ata Refik Bey, Oszkár Bruder, Alfréd Csallner, Andor Dudich, Oszkár Firtás, Béla Husz, Béla Kossányi, Ernő Lendvay, György Márton, Balázs Nagy, Lajos Szóts and Sándor Zayzon. Report by Frigyes Hoffmann on the excursion between 1–3 November 1913. MDKL box 36, file 56.

held on 28 September 1918 when visitors could visit a factory on the island of Csepel.³⁷⁵ The study tour of 1898 to Rome was followed by another one between May 29 and June 13, 1911. By issuing a letter of recommendation,³⁷⁶ the Ministry supported the Collegium's undertaking both financially³⁷⁷ and morally. When organising the trip, Bartoniek mentioned to the ministry that participation in the trip would be a reward for academic achievement and that apart from two third-year students mainly fourth-year students would take part. The director's plans were to repeat the trip to Rome every two or three years, therefore, they also took Miklós Szabó with them to gain experience in guiding city tours with regard to future trips.³⁷⁸ The ministry supported the idea, thus, in April 1913 Bartoniek asked the MRPE again, similarly to previous trips, to request from the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Rome free tickets to the state and papal collections.³⁷⁹ This trip with 11 students was led by Szabó.³⁸⁰ After 1914, partly due to the war and partly because of the tightening of the institute's budget discipline, there was no possibility for study trips either domestically or abroad. It seems that the traditions dating back to 1898 did not revive even after 1918, as there is no indication in the later history of the institute up to the 1950s that collegium students were able to take part in study trips organised by the management.

Similarly to the previous sub-period, in the period 1911–1918, the presence of scholarship recipients sent by foundations also enriched the institute's training system. Members of the Prémontré order of Csorna returned to the Collegium after a decade of transition. In 1912, three theologians who graduated in Friborg arrived at Ménesi Road: Lajos Kónya, Emil Ladányi and József Ujhelyi (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 51–52).³⁸¹ Although the joy from the re-established relations was reciprocal on both sides,³⁸² the initial steps were overshadowed by the fact that Lajos Kónya was expelled from the order, thus, he had to leave the Collegium as well. The provost had received a message from Fribourg, which claimed that Kónya had had an intimate relationship with a Hungarian girl.³⁸³ There was a very good

³⁷⁵ MDKL box 36, file 56.

³⁷⁶ *"Students of the 'Báró Eötvös József Collegium' secondary school teacher training institute travel to Italy for educational purposes under the leadership of the director. It is my honour to recommend the aforementioned to all those honourable authorities, institutes and individuals to whom they will turn to in order to ensure the success of their study trip"* (the same also in French). 2193/1911 Letter of recommendation from State Secretary János Zichy. Budapest, 31 May 1911. MDKL box 36, file 56.

³⁷⁷ 6245/1911. Letter from State Secretary János Zichy to Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 20 May 1911. MDKL box 36, file 56.

³⁷⁸ 50/1911. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Minister of the MRPE concerning the organisation of the study trip to Rome. Budapest, 06 May 1911. MDKL box 36, file 56.

³⁷⁹ 47/1913. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Minister of the MRPE concerning the study trip to Rome. Budapest, 29 April 1913. MDKL box 36, file 56.

³⁸⁰ The following people took part in the study trip: Géza Bánai, Oszkár Brúder, Endre Horváth, Károly Jákó, István Jánossy, Lajos Kántor, Lajos Kardos, Béla Kossányi, Imre Lukcsics, Ede Mészáros (Weissberger), and Gyula Németh. 61/1913. Géza Bartoniek's request to the Minister of the MRPE on suspending the prohibition of border crossing for members of the Collegium. Budapest, 06 June 1913. MDKL box 36, file 56.

³⁸¹ 53/1912. Gergely Burány's letter to Géza Bartoniek. Csorna, 24 May 1912. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸² This was in fact expressed by Loránd Eötvös when he, as curator, allowed the members of the order to be admitted to the institute. 49/1912. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gergely Burány, provost of Csorna. Budapest, 15 June 1912. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸³ Letter from Gergely Burány provost to Loránd Eötvös on the expulsion of Lajos Vilmos Kónya. Csorna, 26 May 1912. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

relationship between the order and the management of the institute; Burány acknowledged with satisfaction that the academic results of the monk fellows were excellent and according to their reports they had a very cordial relationship with the collegium students, thus, unlike their predecessors, they did not seclude themselves completely from the other members of the institute.³⁸⁴ As a result, the number of premontre students rose from three to five with Aurél Breznyánszky and Imre Szerecz joining their canon fellows.³⁸⁵ At the end of the next academic year, due to their poor health, János Gulyás and Emil Ladányi left the institute. Their places were taken by Ferenc Tihamér Jancsó and Lajos Gáspár Gárdonyi.³⁸⁶ However, due to the lack of professional commitment, Gárdonyi left both the order and the institute in May 1915.³⁸⁷ Szerecz, Breznyánszky and Ujhelyi completed their studies and their places were taken by Nándor Kolozs Kőmíves and István Rezső Kovács.³⁸⁸ Like Gárdonyi, Kovács left the order and also the institute. The number of students from Csorna thus dropped to two.³⁸⁹ Jancsó completed his studies in May 1917 and Nándor Kőmíves stayed for the academic year of 1917/1918 and he was the last premontre scholarship recipient in the history of the Collegium.³⁹⁰ In April 1918, Burány expressed his gratitude to the management of the institute for providing excellent training at the Collegium for a number of students of the order (26).³⁹¹ Although no mention was made of the elimination of the foundation places, after the revolutions, no more canons were admitted in the institute. However, the relationship was not discontinued completely, as many of the graduated members rose to high positions (Kovács A. 1995: 53). Eötvös himself also thanked the provost for the financial support provided to the institute, as, in addition to the foundation fees, Burány usually sent 200 crowns to the Collegium, from which the institute bought equipment and also József Eötvös's portrait, to which Jancsó called the curator's attention.³⁹²

After the departure of Crisian Ascanius, the scholarship of the Greek Orthodox Bishopric of Sibiu was awarded to János Tampanariu in 1912.³⁹³ In 1918 his place was taken by Carpinsianu Silvius and Mihály Jacob.³⁹⁴ However, due to the end of the World War and,

³⁸⁴ Letter of Gergely Burány provost to Géza Bartoniek. Csorna, 23 December 1912. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸⁵ 57/1913. Letter from Loránd Eötvös to Gergely Burány provost. Budapest, May 1913. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸⁶ 44/1914. Letter from Gergely Burány provost to Loránd Eötvös on János Gulyás and Emil Ladányi. Csorna, 20 May 1914. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸⁷ Gergely Burány's condolence telegram to Géza Bartoniek. Csorna, 06 May 1915. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸⁸ 19/1915. Letter from Gergely Burány provost to Loránd Eötvös on the application of Nándor Kőmíves and István Kovács for admission. Csorna, 10 April 1915. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁸⁹ 35/1916 Letter from Gergely Burány provost to Loránd Eötvös on the departure of István Kovács. Csorna, 19 April 1916. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁹⁰ 34/1917. Letter from Gergely Burány provost to Loránd Eötvös about Ferenc Jancsó's completion of studies. Csorna, 12 May 1917. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁹¹ 28/1918. Letter from Gergely Burány provost to Loránd Eötvös on the maintenance of the foundation places. Csorna, 18 April 1918. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁹² 40/1918. Thank you letter written by Loránd Eötvös to Gergely Burány. Budapest, May 1918. MDKL box 36, file 54/a/2.

³⁹³ 70/1912. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the archbishop of Sibiu about the admission of Tampanariu János. Budapest, 12 August 1912. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

³⁹⁴ 61/1918. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the archbishop of Sibiu on the admission of Silvius Carpinsianu and Mihály Jacob. Budapest, 02 August 1918. MDKL box 36, file 54/e.

in parallel, with the intensification of Hungarian-Romanian relationships, they both left the institute no later than January 1919.³⁹⁵ Bartoniek himself recommended in 1913 poor Romanian young people for support by the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund – Miklós Popa and Augustine Popa. The former was a Greek Catholic pastor and the latter was the son of a poor smallholder in Torda-Aranyos county.³⁹⁶ However, the chairman of the scholarship fund refused to support both of them, instead they recommended Demeter Tiganatea for admission to the institute, for whom 1,000 crowns were approved, but there is no information as to whether he completed the term of his scholarship. What is certain is that in academic year reports for 1914/1915 he was not among the students any more (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 55).³⁹⁷ In 1913, the institute admitted Ardeleanu Vichentius, a Romanian young man born in Lokve, on the Gozsdu Foundation scholarship.³⁹⁸ His career can be traced up to 1917 on the basis of academic reports, which is when he apparently graduated from the university and left the institute. His case is interesting, because previously, the Gozsdu Foundation had been supporting mainly Greek Orthodox students coming from the Transylvanian and Arad diocese, but Ardeleanu was from the southland and belonged to the Greek Orthodox diocese of Caransebeş (cf. Kovács A. 1995: 56).³⁹⁹ After 1919, due to Romania's role in the world war and the disintegration of the Monarchy, it was not possible for young people of Romanian nationality to be admitted to the Collegium again and until 1950 there were no Romanian students even among foreign scholarship recipients.

With the change in the position of the Collegium in 1911, not only the country's national minorities could receive scholarships through foundations, but also students from foreign states, with the objective to educate Hungarian-friendly intellectuals. Thus, János Zichy, MRPE Minister, established one state scholarship for a Turkish student and two scholarships for Bosnian students (Nagy 1995: 84). The first Turkish scholarship recipient was Ata Refik who graduated from the Ottoman Imperial Lyceum in Constantinople. At the same time, Refik's selection was preceded by some complications that probably arose from the misunderstanding on the Turkish side regarding the nature of the Collegium. The Turkish Consulate General informed Bartoniek by telephone that soon an industrial school student would submit his application in the Ménesi Road institute. As a result, the director expressed his protest at the MRPE Ministry and requested that the Hungarian authorities

³⁹⁵ At least this is indicated by the fact that Carpinsianu left the institute on 18 January 1919. In Jacob's case, there is no data on this, but it is hardly possible that he remained in the Collegium in that tense political situation (MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 8).

³⁹⁶ MDKL box 30, file 42, lot 40. In his letter No. 55/1913 Bartoniek made a promise to the board that managed the scholarship fund that if Romanian-speaking youngsters apply to the Collegium who are worthy of support, they would indicate this to them. 67/1913. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund director's committee. Budapest, 28 June 1913. MDKL box 36, file 54/c.

³⁹⁷ 664/1913. Letter from the board of directors of the Naszód Region Scholarship Fund to Géza Bartoniek on the admission of Tiganatea Demeter. Násăud, 15 September 1913. MDKL box 36, file 54/c.

³⁹⁸ 85/1913. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to dean vicar Bogoevici Ghenadie, executive secretary of the Gozsdu Foundation, on the admission of Ardeleanu Vichentius. Budapest, 06 September 1913. MDKL box 36, file 54/d.

³⁹⁹ 5987/1913. Letter from the Gozsdu Foundation's Management Committee to Géza Bartoniek on the admission of Ardeleanu Vichentius. Budapest, 8 September 1913. MDKL box 36, file 54/d.

should inform the Turks that only secondary school teacher candidates could be admitted.⁴⁰⁰ The proposal sent by the Consulate General on 6 September 1911 already contained the Refik's certificates, in relation to which Eötvös was reassured that they corresponded to the Hungarian secondary school graduation, therefore, there was no obstacle to the admission.⁴⁰¹

He studied mathematics and physics at the Collegium, although he also attended the German language lessons of Frigyes Hoffmann where he drew others' attention to himself with his speech defect and grumpiness. According to Hoffmann, the latter was attributable to the fact that the Turkish Empire had suffered significant territorial losses in the first Balkan war of 1913.⁴⁰² In 1913, he had to leave the Hungarian capital for health reasons and in 1915 he died a heroic death in World War I.⁴⁰³ At the same time as Refik, Dusan Bugarszky and Mujagic Sulejman were also admitted to the institute. As the former pursued philosophical studies and the latter legal studies, as opposed to the Turkish student, they were not regarded as full members of the institute and both were treated as guests. The reason for this was that, according to Eötvös, the Organisational Rules approved also by Franz Joseph considered it possible only for students of teacher training to receive full membership. At the same time, he noted that he was concerned about the admission at the institute of people coming from other fields of science, because even if the linguistic barriers were overcome by Bosnian students, they would not be able to establish a meaningful relationship with the rest of the students, since the basis for social contacts was often based on shared reading experiences related to their chosen field of science. The curator warned the ministry supporting the admission that these obstacles could lead to the discouragement of the guests and ultimately the whole undertaking could fail. At the same time, he stated that if the MRPE insisted on their admission, the Collegium would do its best to make them feel alright.⁴⁰⁴ Instead of Dusan Bugarszky, the scholarship was awarded to Muftic Salih, a Muslim pastor candidate, but in the meantime he was appointed to a seriat court, thus his place was taken by a young man who studied philosophy.⁴⁰⁵

Repeating the curator's argument, Bartoniek stated at a teacher meeting in September 1911 that he was opposed to delegating students to the Collegium who were not admitted at the University of Budapest, or were not preparing to become a secondary school teacher.⁴⁰⁶ In addition, according to a report by the president of the Julian Association, Sulejman published an article in 1912 in a Croatian-oriented Muslim newspaper in Bosnia called "Zeman" about his experiences in Budapest, in which he was probably inspired by Croatian youth studying at the Technical University with whom he had regular contact. After

⁴⁰⁰ 92/1911. Letter from Géza Bartoniek, Director of the Eötvös Collegium, to the Minister of the MRPE regarding the placement of the Turkish youth. Budapest, 1 September 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

⁴⁰¹ 101/1911. Letter from Eötvös Loránd curator to the Minister of the MRPE on the case of Ata Refik. Budapest, 11 September 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

⁴⁰² Hoffmann Frigyes's report on managing the German department in the academic year 1912/1913. Budapest, 28 May 1913. MDKL box 52, file 101/1/b.

⁴⁰³ MDKL box 34, file 50.

⁴⁰⁴ 74/1911. Letter from Loránd Eötvös curator to the MRPE Minister on the placement of Bosnian students at the Collegium. Schulderbach, 23 August 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

⁴⁰⁵ 115/1911. Report of Loránd Eötvös curator to the MRPE Minister on the placement of Bosnian students in the *Collegium*. Budapest, 15 October 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

⁴⁰⁶ Minutes of the teachers' meeting held on 21 September 1911. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

the publication of the article entitled “Hungarian Barbarianism”, he did not return to the Ménesi Street institute (cf. Nagy 1995: 84).⁴⁰⁷ However, the possibility of the scholarship had a positive impact on the MRPE’s aspirations, as, according to the Julian Association’s report, at the news of the first admitted Bosnian students, many youngsters admitted in Hungarians language courses both in Sarajevo and at the Hungarian Cultural Association of Mostar in order to be able to continue their further studies in the Hungarian capital.⁴⁰⁸

Between 1915 and 1917, Dzuda Omer, Hamzic Haszán, Muftic Omer and Sikiric Sacir were also students of the institute. In the case of Sikiric Sacir Bartoniek himself asked the president of the Julian Association in February 1916 to finance his studies, as he originally had been admitted as a guest after Mujagic had once abused the Collegium’s hospitality, but he passed his basic examinations with excellent results and also learned Hungarian, thus, he could become a normal paid member of the institute.⁴⁰⁹ Contrary to the previous period, there was no nationality based conflict between either the foundation or the foreign scholarship recipients, which would have led to the expulsion of the students.

The world war fundamentally changed the institute’s internal relations, as a significant proportion of the students had to perform military service. The board also tried to get information about the collegium students from the front through personal correspondence, or by way of the military authorities. That is how they learned about how their bravery, about their awards or about the heroic dead. At the end of November 1916, as was the case when Queen Elizabeth died,⁴¹⁰ the monarch Franz Joseph’s death was also commemorated. Although the ministry ordered the leadership to do this, Bartoniek acted as a result of his own conviction, as he supported the Habsburg dynasty⁴¹¹ and neither the war nor the loss of his son changed that.

The issue of 1 February 1918 of the Official Gazette contained the ministerial decree, which allowed college students who went to war to receive leave between March and May 1918 and to continue or complete their studies in an additional semester in the summer. According to Eötvös Loránd’s report, 78 out of the 110 students of the Collegium were on the battlefields at that time.⁴¹² According to the curator’s report, in the spring of 1918, 22 students appeared at the institute due to the fact that the military leadership had decided to grant university students who had been serving as soldiers on the battlefields for three years or more a three months’ leave. Subsequently, an additional 25 students returned to

⁴⁰⁷ 1016/1912. Letter from the chairman of the Julian Association to Géza Bartoniek on the article published by Sulejman Mujagic in the journal entitled “Zeman”. Budapest, 26 March 1912. (The article was sent to the president by Bartoniek in a translated version.) MDKL box 34, file 51.

⁴⁰⁸ 5864 M.E. III./1911. Official letter of the Prime Minister’s Office to the MRPE Minister on the placement of Bosnian students. Budapest, 06 November 1911. MNL K 500. box 141, lot 8 (1917).

⁴⁰⁹ 32/1916. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Julian Association on financing Sikiric Sacir’s studies. Budapest, 30 June 1916. MDKL box 35, file 52.

⁴¹⁰ Queen Elizabeth was commemorated on 15 September 1898 at a school year opening ceremony and at a teachers’ meeting, Bartoniek himself praised her. School year opening ceremony on 15 September 1895 and minutes of the staff meeting. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

⁴¹¹ MRPE Ministerial Decree No. 15370/1916 on measures taken related to the death of Franz Joseph. Budapest, 22 November 1916. MDKL box 50, file 96/2.

⁴¹² 11/1918. Loránd Eötvös curator’s report to the MRPE Minister about the Collegium’s members. Budapest, 2 February 1918. MDKL box 51, file 97/1.

the alma mater for the post-semester period (June–August 1918). During these periods, it was the task of the returnees to achieve a goal in their studies that could be easily grasped. For many it was possible to prepare for one of the teachers' examinations by offsetting the military service. Eötvös was pleased both with the results of the teachers of the students and the achievements of the collegium students who returned home, as most of the examinations were successful. In addition to regular lessons, the teachers (Frigyes Hoffmann, János Horváth, József Huszti) usually prepared their old students for the exams through personal guidance, or in smaller groups, therefore, the curator of the institute proposed that an extra fee was paid to them.⁴¹³



Image 11: Collegium students who were soldiers during World War I

The majority of the returnees were eager to work, the main purpose of which was the successful completion of basic and final examinations. In his report, János Horváth analysed collegium students who had returned from the war from a psychological point of view: *“Those who have come from a battlefield are usually in a healthier state than those who have returned from captivity (although the latter is represented only by Farkas). On the battlefield there was hardly any time for pensiveness, there, even at rest they were in an active environment.”*⁴¹⁴ However, the studies were soon severely hampered by the uncertain public conditions and by the dramatic deterioration in the food supply to the public. Although the civil democratic transformation was supported by the vast majority of the Institute's students, the

⁴¹³ 58/1918. Letter by Eötvös Loránd to the MRPE Minister about the studies in the post-semester. Budapest, 31 July 1918. MNL K 500. box 473, lot 25 (1918).

⁴¹⁴ János Horváth's report on the history of Hungarian literature classes in the academic year of 1917/1918. Budapest, 18 June 1918. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/b.

proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic strongly divided the collegium members (Féja 1965: 20–21; Kosáry 1989: 27). Food supply drastically deteriorated. According to Dezső Győry's recollection, in the first third of 1919, the collegium students were practically starving. "Mr G.B.'s" vegetable broth was also more and more often replaced by prune compote, of which students received only very small portions, only seven prunes per person (Győry 1960: 89; Kosáry 1989: 26). For this reason, instead of attending lessons, collegium students queued up for "war jam" and bread on Fehérvári Street and Keleti railway station, thereby supplementing their poor diet (Győry 1960: 90).

Returning collegium students sent a memorandum to their board of directors to repeatedly strengthen discipline. The preamble to the proposal states that the decrease of performance and the disorderly relations are mainly the fault of the youth, but in order to eliminate them, they felt obliged to formulate proposals that the director might consider. The remarks made about the servantry stand out from among these: on the one hand, they complained that their chatter disrupted the traditional silence of the Collegium and, on the other hand, because the collegium students often had to provide reception service, they had to let the servants who were outside into the building, which could lead to the formation of confidential relationships. They asked Bartoniek to discipline service staff and to arrange that the reception was operated by the staff. A similar remark was that the staff performed their work, including cleaning, superficially, thus, the various common rooms were dirty, or that cockroaches were often found in the ever poorer food. To assist control over them, collegium students elected József Rózsás⁴¹⁵ to be house chief and they asked the leadership to confirm his position. However, there is no information as to whether the confirmation was actually given. The authors of the memorandum also suggested the renovation of the bathrooms and the gym, repair of the telephone and provision of a more precise telephone service, improvement of meals, provision of free theatre tickets for collegium students, like in the previous period and the restoration of the library order.⁴¹⁶

On the one hand, the memorandum highlights the autonomous character of collegium students, which originated from the student government, which had existed from the early times (some elements of which were described in section 5.6) and the very difficult situation the Collegium was in. Among the suggestions, it was most probably the restoration of discipline that Bartoniek supported most, since he himself was a supporter of serious, hard work. On the other hand however, he remained helpless in respect of initiatives that would have required additional resources, as the budget rigour and revolutions resulted in one of the most difficult periods in the history of the Collegium in the 1920s.

⁴¹⁵ Rózsás was a student of history and geography between 1914 and 1919. He became crippled in the war and in a letter of 8 October 1919, he wrote to the director asking not to have to share the room, as the Ministry of Defence sent him for training to the Ludovika Academy to become a certified officer teacher, so he did not want to hinder others' pace of work. This request was presumably rejected by the Board of Directors. Nevertheless, he wanted to continue his university studies, but apparently he did not complete them, as he left the institute the same year (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 50).

⁴¹⁶ 98/1918. Memorandum to the Collegium Director requesting him to stabilize discipline. Budapest, December 1918. MDKL box 51, file 98/2. It also provides the text of the memorandum: Kósa 1995: 187–188.

7

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM BETWEEN 1919 AND 1927

7.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1919 and 1927 by Region and Denomination

In the last period of the Bartoniek era, a total of 481 people, on average 60 per year, submitted applications to the Collegium. Of these, 247 became members of the institute, while 234 were rejected. Out of the rejected applicants 17 are known only by name, none of their personal documents remain, therefore the analysis concerns the remaining 217 applicants. The increase in the number of applicants is obvious compared to the previous period, especially when we consider the fact that between May 1919 and January 1920, university education was essentially suspended due to the chaotic conditions (cf. Bassola 1998: 50).

Following the Treaty of Trianon, which ended the First World War, changes in the territory of the country, such as those detailed in subsections 7.1. – 7.3, strongly influenced the recruitment processes of the Collegium. 42% of admitted applicants were born in the Danube--Tisza Interfluvium region or in Transdanubia (23% and 29% respectively). This data matches exactly the similar results of the previous sub-period. The share of the capital out of the individuals from the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium is 43%, which shows a strong decrease compared to the data of 1911–1918.⁴¹⁷ One of the reasons for this is that students from the western parts of the country were able to attend the institute without interruption in the 1919–1920 period, since those areas were not affected by the intervention of successor states, with the exception of Pécs and Sopron and their surroundings. The other is the phenomenon observed in the previous period, namely that a significant number of collegium students arrived from the more urbanised, western areas. The proportion of those arriving from the occupied or divided parts of the country fell sharply, with only 12% of admitted applicants born in the Upper Hungary region and 10% in Transylvania. Out of the collegium students 11% were born in the Transisza region and only 4% in Southern Hungary.⁴¹⁸ It can also be explained by territorial changes and the repressive minority policy of successor states that 63% of admitted applicants were born within and only 27% were born outside of the Trianon borders.⁴¹⁹

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 15 | 25.9 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 4 | 0 | Vas | 8 | 3.3 |
| Transdanubian Region | 29 | 27.5 | Sopron | 5 | 2 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluvium | 23 | 56.7 | Zala | 4 | 4.3 |
| Transylvania | 10 | 0 | Tolna | 4 | 3.3 |
| Upper Hungary | 12 | 0 | Hajdú | 4 | 3.3 |
| Transisza Region | 11 | 15.6 | Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok | 3 | 4.8 |
| No data | 11 | 0 | Békés | 3 | 3.8 |

⁴¹⁷ In 1920, the capital and its agglomeration compacted 15.17% of the population (1930 census 1941: 2). In the 1923/1924 academic year 67.6% of all university students frequented higher education institutions in Budapest (Asztalos 1924: 270). Therefore, the proportion of students from the capital was under-represented within the institute.

⁴¹⁸ There is no birth data for 11% of applicants applying in the sub-period. See Table 7 for information on regional and county classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

⁴¹⁹ For 10% of admitted applicants there is no data regarding the county, to which the settlement they were born in belongs. According to the reports of József Asztalos, in the 1923/1924 academic year 81% of the students of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences had a Hungarian residence, while 0.85% had Romanian, 2.39% had Yugoslav, 7.17% had Czechoslovak and 0.32% had Austrian addresses (Asztalos 1924: 272).

7.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1919 and 1927

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Rejected applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 22 | 25.9 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 1 | 0 | Zala | 6 | 4.3 |
| Transdanubian Region | 25 | 27.5 | Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok | 6 | 4.8 |
| Danube--Tisza Interfluve | 40 | 56.7 | Heves | 6 | 3.7 |
| Transylvania | 3 | 0 | Csongrád | 5 | 1,7 |
| Upper Hungary | 11 | 0 | Borsod | 5 | 3.2 |
| Transtisza Region | 16 | 15.6 | Hajdú | 4 | 3.3 |
| No data | 8 | 0 | Baranya | 4 | 2.9 |

Table 7: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region and county compared to national population data⁴²⁰

The county breakdown⁴²¹ also confirms the findings relating to the regional distribution of admitted applicants. The leading county is Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County with 15% (the proportion of students from the capital is 63%, this figure also shows a decrease compared to the previous period),⁴²² which is followed by other western counties: Vas (8%), Sopron (5%), while in fourth position, with 4%, there are three counties Zala, Tolna and the first eastern county, Hajdú.⁴²³ Regarding the administrative classification of birth places, it can be stated that 57% of the admitted applicants were born in municipal or county towns (28% and 29%, with the proportion of students from the capital being 35%, taking municipality towns as 100% of the former). Thus, compared to the previous period, the number of successful applicants from urban settlements increased somewhat. This is in line with the changed social conditions after World War I, as one third of the population was a city dweller (Gyáni 2006: 207–208). In contrast, slightly more than one third of admitted applicants, 32%, were born in villages with a population of less than 5,000, or in large villages with a population of 5–10,000 (25% and 7%, respectively). Their proportions are somewhat lower than those

⁴²⁰ Provides data on the distribution of the population in the 1920s: *1930 census* 1941: 2.

⁴²¹ With regard to public administration, I relied on the new administration set out by Act XXX of 1929 in relation to both counties and settlement types.

⁴²² According to the 1920 census data, 25, 97% of the population lived in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and in the capital (*1930 census* 1941: 2).

⁴²³ See Figure 7 in the Appendix for the map detailing the full distribution of birthplaces of admitted applicants between 1919 and 1944. During the period under review, no collegium students were admitted to the institute from Túróc, Esztergom, Szilágy, Torda-Aranyos, Nagy-Küküllő, Fogaras, Varasd, Belovár-Kőrös, Verőce, Modrus-Fiume or Lika-Krabava counties. According to the data of the 1920s, 3.34% of the population lived in Vas County, 2.08% in Sopron, 4.33% in Zala, 3.30% in Tolna and 3.38% in Hajdú County. (*1930 census* 1941: 2).

of the previous period, underlining the establishment of urbanisation relating to collegium students.⁴²⁴ At the same time, the proportion of mobile and immobile individuals (43% and 41%, respectively) was more balanced compared to the previous period, although no data exists for 16% thereof, but this is probably also explained by the World War and the subsequent economic downturn.

In relation to rejected applicants, nearly two-thirds, 65%, were born in the Danube--Tisza Interfluvium (40%) or in the Transdanubian Region (25%). 16% were born in the Transisza Region, 11% in Upper Hungary (7%), Transylvania (3%) and Southern Hungary (1%).⁴²⁵ The low proportion of unsuccessful applicants from annexed territories can be explained by the fact that at the beginning of the 1920s, there was an admission practice of holding at least five places for cross-border applicants.⁴²⁶ Thus their applications were refused only under specific reasons. In the breakdown of counties, it can be observed that the number of unsuccessful applicants from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County (22%, considering the category as 100%, with a 60% share of students from the capital) was higher than the number of admitted applicants.⁴²⁷ Ranked second were Zala (4%),⁴²⁸ Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (3%) and Heves (1%) counties, also faring well among rejected applicants, with 6% respectively, followed by Csongrád (1%) and Borsod (2%) counties both with 5%. In the rest of the ranking, it is once again the eastern and southern parts of the country that are represented, by Hajdú (4%), Békés (3%), Baranya (1%) and Fejér (1%) counties, all with 4%.⁴²⁹

Rejected applicants came from urbanised municipal (28%, the capital share being 43% taking the category as 100%) and county towns (28%) in numbers similar to admitted applicants. At the same time, the proportion of small villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants (30%) and large villages with 5-10,000 inhabitants (6%) is slightly higher, at 36% (only 32% in the case of admissions).⁴³⁰ The balancing out of unsuccessful and successful applicants in this category may possibly indicate that the institution chose its members from social groups who lived in urban areas, or possibly in smaller settlements, or showed that they were able to maintain their social position by obtaining a degree through funding their university studies, or wished to enter the middle classes, with their efforts being

⁴²⁴ According to the census data of 1920, 19.22% of the population lived in municipality towns (*1930 census* 1941: 2). However, according to the reports of József Asztalos, in the 1926/1927 academic year 45.5% of the students lived in non-urbanised settlements, in villages of the county territories, 30.8% were residents of the capital city, with a total of 44.6% living in municipality towns. (Asztalos 1927a: 1030). Thus, the Collegium selected its members from the urban population in a proportion exceeding that of university student's.

⁴²⁵ No birth data is available for 8% of the applicants rejected during the sub-period. See Table 7 for information on the regional and county classification of the admitted and rejected applicants.

⁴²⁶ 89/1921 Géza Bartoniek's report to the MRPE Minister on the issue of admission. Budapest, 15 July 1921 MNL OL K 592. lot 172, item 18 (1921).

⁴²⁷ The proportion of those arriving from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County was 15%.

⁴²⁸ I include, in parentheses, the similar data of the admitted applicants to facilitate comparison.

⁴²⁹ See Figure 8 in the Appendix for the map detailing the county distribution of birthplaces of rejected applicants between 1919 and 1944. In the examined period no students were rejected from the counties of Árva, Liptó, Túróc, Ugocsa, Szolnok-Doboka, Beszterce-Naszód, Csík, Kisküküllő, Nagyküküllő, Szeben, Fogaras, Szerém, Pozsega, Belovár-Kőrös or Lika-Krabava.

⁴³⁰ There is no data for 8% of rejected applicants in relation to the administrative classification of their place of birth.

unsuccessful (Gyán 2006: 280). There is a significant difference between the two groups in terms of mobility, as the proportions of mobile and locally living, immobile students was balanced out among admitted applicants, while in the case of rejected applicants, the latter still constituted a clear majority (56%), with only 23% of applicants graduating in locations other than their place of birth.⁴³¹

A clear majority of the admitted applicants, 53% (63.5%)⁴³² belonged to the Roman Catholic denomination. This is a significant increase compared to the previous sub-period, but still lags behind its social and university rates, thus their under-representation in the Collegium can be considered conventional (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216). The trend also continued during the period under review when the combined number of students belonging to Protestant denominations did not exceed the total number of collegium students belonging to the largest religious community (Reformists 19% [15.32%], Evangelical-Lutherans 12% [9.73%]). Of the smaller denominations, only Greek Catholics were represented among admitted applicants, with 1% (0.79%). The Greek Orthodox (0.23%) and Unitarian (0.55%) denominations completely disappeared among collegium students and only 1 individual belonging to Judaism (9.65%) was successful in their application, most probably due to the Numerus Clausus.⁴³³ The essence and requirements of Act XXV of 1920 were observed more by universities of the capital than by their rural counterparts (Gyáni 2006: 278).⁴³⁴

Among those who were rejected, the proportion of Roman Catholics was 66% (53%),⁴³⁵ which is even higher than their university rate. At the same time, this means that the Catholic students altogether hardly fell behind their university proportions, but they did go through a very rigorous pre-selection. The proportion of Protestant denominations among rejected applicants was lower (27%) (Reformists 18% [19%], Evangelical-Lutherans 9% [12%]), so they were somewhat more successful than their Catholic counterparts. Unlike those admitted, Unitarian (1%) and a greater number of Jewish (2%, only 1 person of admitted applicants) applicants were among rejected applicants. Overall, however, they are far behind their social and university proportions (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216).⁴³⁶

⁴³¹ No data is available for 21% of rejected applicants with regard to their graduation location.

⁴³² In brackets I present the data of József Asztalos on the denominational distribution of students of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences for the 1926/1927 academic year (Asztalos 1927a: 1020–1021).

⁴³³ Ferenc (Fejtő) Fischelc, who also applied to the institute in 1929, but was rejected by the director due to the requirement of the Numerus Clausus, also refers to this in his autobiography *From Budapest to Paris* (MDKL box 25, file 31, lot 13). “*In principle, nothing could have prevented my admission to the elite institution, because I was successful in the national academic competition. However, during my application to the collegium, the director said that he regretfully had to adhere to the numerus clausus act restricting the admission of »non-Christian« students. He advised me to get baptised, »if only for the sake of conforming«*” (Fejtő 1990: 75).

⁴³⁴ There is no data available for 15% of admitted applicants that would enable the establishing of their religious affiliation. See Table 8 for information on the denomination classification of the admitted and rejected applicants.

⁴³⁵ Here, I indicate in brackets the denomination data of the admitted applicants for easier comparison.

⁴³⁶ There is no data available for 4% of rejected applicants that would enable the establishing of their religious affiliation. See Table 8 for the data on the denomination classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

| The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---|---------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | Data of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences | National data |
| Roman Catholic | 53 | 66 | 63.5 | 62.9 |
| Greek Catholic | 1 | 0 | 0.7 | 2.2 |
| Greek Orthodox | 0 | 0 | 0.2 | 0.6 |
| Reformed | 19 | 18 | 15.3 | 21 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 12 | 9 | 9.7 | 6.2 |
| Judaist | 0.1 | 2 | 9.6 | 5.9 |
| Unitarian | 0 | 1 | 0.5 | n.a. |
| No data | 15 | 4 | 0 | 0 |

Table 8 The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data relating to students of the University's Faculty of Arts and national data⁴³⁷

7.2. The Breakdown of Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1919 and 1927 by Type and Field of Science

The secondary school education of the examined period was generally defined by two circumstances. One was the fact that more than half of the secondary schools located within territory of historic Hungary fell outside of the new state borders. The other was the trifurcational secondary school system, established in accordance with Act XI of 1924, which entered into force at the end of the period, and which placed the grammar school of sciences between the grammar school and the secondary school of sciences. In this type

⁴³⁷ Details the data relating to the University's Faculty of Arts: Asztalos 1927a: 1020–1021. The 1920s national data can be found in *The 1930 census* 1932: 27.

of school, students could learn a third, modern language (French, Italian or English) in addition to Latin and German (Németh 2004: 448).

35% (27.63%)⁴³⁸ of admitted applicants came from institutes maintained by the Roman Catholic denomination (31% from Roman Catholic secondary schools, 4% from Roman Catholic grammar schools of sciences), with 25% (46.05%) graduating from state institutions (15% from state run grammar schools, 6% from state run secondary schools of sciences and 4% from state run grammar schools of sciences). From the Protestant denominations more applicants came from Reformed institutions, with 16% (13.81%) of the admitted applicant (15% from Reformed grammar schools, 1% from Reformed grammar schools of sciences) graduating there, while the proportion of Evangelical-Lutherans was only 10% (1.97%).⁴³⁹ The lower number of the latter can be explained by the fact that the territorial annexation impacted Evangelical-Lutherans more out of the two Protestant denominations, as they lost their entire secondary school network located in the Upper Hungary area, while most of the Reformed institutions were located in the Calvinist market towns of the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium and the Transisza region, which remained under Hungarian control.

Due to territorial changes, the full ranking of secondary schools also went through significant changes. The institutions of the country's western region replaced the Upper Hungary institutions. The top position was taken by the Sopron Evangelical-Lutheran Lyceum and the Szombathely Premonstratensian Catholic Grammar School with 8 applicants each. They were followed by the Ferenc József Catholic Grammar School of Sciences of Kőszeg (7 people) and the Royal Hungarian Garay János State Grammar School of Sciences of Szekszárd (6 people). Besides the Sopron Evangelical-Lutheran grammar school, the only other Lutheran grammar school in the top ten was the Bonyhád Augsburg Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School (5 people), but at the same time, contrary to earlier periods, several metropolitan institutions succeeded in joining the group of secondary schools providing the most successful applicants: the Budapest Saint Emeric Grammar School of the Cistercian Order (5 people), the Budapest District IV Grammar School of the Pious Pastor Order (4 people) and the Budapest Reformed Grammar School (4 people). The prestigious grammar schools listed towards the top of the list in the previous period (the Reformed Grammar School of Cluj-Napoca, the Pious Roman Catholic Grammar School of Levice, the Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar Schools of Bratislava and Banská Štiavnica), which provided many members to the Collegium languished between the twentieth and thirtieth positions together with the Reformed grammar schools of the Great Plain (the Debrecen Reformed Grammar School and College, the Hajdúnánás, Hajdúböszörmény and Kunszentmiklós Reformed Grammar Schools). Thus, it can be stated that students arriving from institutions across the border were replaced mainly by graduates from Protestant secondary schools in the Great Plain and those arriving from institutions with a vast history (the Hungarian Royal State Kossuth Grammar School of Sciences of Cegléd, the St. Benedictine Order Catholic

⁴³⁸ I indicate in brackets the reports of József Asztalos on the entities running secondary schools in 1927 (Asztalos 1927b: 206).

⁴³⁹ There is no data available for 14% of the admitted students regarding the type of secondary school they graduated from.

Gergely Czuczor Grammar School of Győr and the Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School of Szarvas), as well as graduates from Budapest grammar schools.

40% of the secondary schools of admitted applicants were based in county towns, while 35% were based in municipality towns (the share of Budapest within the category was 40%). The proportion of secondary schools to villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants and that of large villages with 5–10,000 inhabitants increased significantly (to 6% each) compared to previous periods; this can be clearly explained by the institutional structure created by border changes. However, it can be clearly seen that the capital appeared more often among secondary school locations than it did among birthplaces, which can be explained, on the one hand, by the children of intellectuals over the border and civil servants turning to the Collegium, which served as a good starting point for rebuilding their destroyed lives and, on the other hand, by the internal migration processes from small settlements to the capital (Gyáni 2006: 207). 73% of the admitted applicants graduated within the Trianon borders, with only 14% graduating outside of the region.⁴⁴⁰ The number of individuals graduating in institutions beyond the border decreased by 30% compared to the previous period.

One third (33%, among those admitted 25%) of rejected applicants graduated from state run institutions (9% from state-owned grammar schools, 12% from state-owned grammar schools of sciences, 12% from state-owned secondary schools of sciences). Overall, from the applicants, the number of people coming from state institutions fell only slightly behind those who graduated from secondary schools run by the largest institution managing entity, the Roman Catholic denomination. A fourth of the unsuccessful applicants graduated from the latter institutions (20% from Roman Catholic Grammar Schools, 5% from Roman Catholic Grammar Schools of Sciences; 35% among admitted applicants). From among Protestant denominations, the number of students arriving from Reformed grammar schools (13%) and grammar schools of sciences (3%, 16% also among admitted applicants) significantly exceeded the number of students studying in Evangelical-Lutheran institutions (Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools 5%, Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools of sciences 2%, 10% combined among admitted applicants). 1% of the rejected applicants graduated from trade schools. Although this type of institution had a great advantage over the others, its training time was shorter, however, its specialised trade qualification subjects could hardly account for the scientific depth required by the Collegium (cf. Kövér 2006: 179).⁴⁴¹

The full ranking of the secondary schools of unsuccessful applicants is led by the Zalaegerszeg Hungarian Royal State Grammar School with 9 rejected applicants. The second place was taken by the Kemény Zsigmond State Secondary School of Sciences located in District VII of Budapest with 8 rejected applicants, which is unusual, since in previous periods no secondary school of sciences was ever listed at the top of the list for admissions or rejections. The third place was assumed by the Reformed Grammar School and College of Debrecen and Pápa with 6 rejected applicants each. In the top ten, besides an additional secondary school of sciences (Hungarian Royal State István Dobó Real School of Eger, 4 people), mainly institutions of the Great Plains can be found (Hungarian Royal Catholic

⁴⁴⁰ Likewise, there is no data available for 13% of them regarding whether or not their secondary schools were located within the country borders defined prior to or following 1920.

⁴⁴¹ There is no data available for 18% of rejected applicants in relation to their secondary school type.

Grammar School of Gyöngyös, Roman Catholic Secondary School of Sciences of Gyula, Reformed Grammar School of Sciences of Kisújszállás), similarly to the figures of admitted applicants. The top ranking institutions of the capital among admissions rank between the thirtieth and fortieth position among rejected applicants, predominantly with one rejected candidate each.

Secondary schools were mainly in municipal towns (36%, the share of Budapest within the category is 37%, which reinforces the effectiveness of the capital's institutions) and county towns (34%). Similarly to admissions, 6% of institutions were operating in small villages with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants and 6% were operating in large villages with 5–10,000 inhabitants.⁴⁴² In the case of the full ranking it is also noticeable that there were very few secondary schools over the border in relation to rejected applicants and they were listed in last place. This is hardly a coincidence, as only 5% of the rejected applicants graduated from an institution located beyond the 1920 borders and more than three-quarters (77%) graduated in secondary schools under Hungarian jurisdiction.⁴⁴³

For the first time in the history of the institution, the most popular pairing of subjects became mathematics and physics (40 people), therefore it became a natural science curriculum. This was followed, after a significant fall in numbers, by geography and natural history (17 people) and natural history and chemistry (6 people).⁴⁴⁴ However, this did not mean that the institution's training profile had shifted towards natural sciences, as nearly two-thirds (65%) of collegium students were still scholars and only 26% were natural science students.⁴⁴⁵ However, within the field of philosophical studies, the institution's training style changed, as, in addition to Hungarian-German (38 people), the Hungarian-French (29 people) programme became one of the most popular, with classical philology falling to third place (16 people). Thus, modern philological subjects received a greater emphasis, which was probably related to the differentiation of secondary school education and the expected increase in demand for modern linguists. There was also a strong decline in traditional pairings, which had been taken by many collegium students in earlier periods, such as Latin and history (6 people), Latin and Hungarian (5 people) and Hungarian and history (3 people). Of the historical curricula, only the professional pairing of history and geography (12 people) increased modestly compared to the previous period. The management of the institution reacted very quickly to changes in market demand and therefore adapted its training profile to the secondary school market modified in accordance with Article XI of 1924.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² There is no data for 18% of rejected applicants in relation to the settlement type breakdown of their secondary school.

⁴⁴³ Likewise, 18% have no data in this respect during the examined period.

⁴⁴⁴ It can be seen from the reports of József Asztalos that in the 1925/1926 academic year, the share of mathematics and physics teachers was 17.8% and the share of geography and natural history teachers was 8% while that of natural history and chemistry teachers was 3.3% (Asztalos 1927b: 209).

⁴⁴⁵ During the examined period, there is no data for 9% of collegium students in relation to their chosen field of science.

⁴⁴⁶ In the 1925/1926 academic year, out of all secondary school teachers, 10.2% taught Hungarian and German, 1.3% taught Hungarian and French and 12.5% taught classical philology. History and Latin constituted for 8% of teachers, with Hungarian and Latin constituting 18%, history and Hungarian constituting 1.9%, while history and geography represented 7.3% thereof (Asztalos 1927b: 209).

Among those who were rejected, the majority had the professional pairing of mathematics and physics (52 people) who were followed by those with the pairing of geography and natural history (7 people) and chemistry and natural history (4 people). The discrepancies in the field of science among unsuccessful applicants were more balanced than in the case of those admitted, as 47% of non-admitted applicants were scholars, while 33% of them were natural science students.⁴⁴⁷ Despite the vast amount of unavailable data, we can still determine that those on a natural science faculty were affected more by pre-selection, similarly to other sub-periods, due to the limited places reserved for them. Among scholars, the first position was obtained by individuals with the professional pairing of Hungarian and German (19 people), followed by those attending history and geography faculties (15 people) and French and German faculties (12 people). It is interesting to note that, compared to the previous period, there was a large number of applications for courses, the marking of which resulted in the automatic rejection of the application (veterinarian, botanist, metallurgical engineer, chemical engineer). However, it can be seen from the additional data that students who chose modern philological studies, similarly to admitted applicants, also constituted the majority of rejected applicants.

7.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1919 and 1927, the Reasons for the Academic Failure and Rejection

Similarly to the previous sub-periods of the institution's history, only 7% (8.92%)⁴⁴⁸ of the parents of admitted collegium students had an occupation belonging to the main category of production (4% smallholders with 0–3 hectares, 3% farmers, farm hands). Their numbers fell significantly behind their social and university rates (cf. Gyáni 2006: 217). The same applies to the main categories of industry, mining, metallurgy, transport, as only 7% (13.3%) of guardians of admitted applicants belonged thereto, which is a modest increase compared to the previous sub-period, but still lags far behind their social

⁴⁴⁷ There is no data available for 20% of rejected applicants in relation to their faculty.

⁴⁴⁸ In brackets I indicate the data of the reports of József Asztalos on the social status of students who graduated during the 1926/1927 academic year. I only used the data of individuals graduating with distinctions, as the Collegium recruited its members from among those individuals (Asztalos 1928: 972).

and university presence. Within the main category, only 1% of guardians worked in the private sector, in money and credit services (private officers, private officials) and only 1% worked in trade (business manager, wine merchant, flour miller) and most probably belonged to the middle classes due to their qualifications and income conditions. Since a significant part of the Hungarian Jewry was active in these sectors (Gyáni 2006: 272–273), their low number can be explained by their fundamentally different career strategies and the effects of the Numerus Clausus. Although from these, the latter is more important, as their numbers compared to the previous sub-period had decreased by approximately one-third.

38% (35.81%) of guardians worked within the main category of civil services, thus their share had somewhat decreased, but the majority of collegium students did consist of their children. 2% of guardians were employed in ecclesiastical services as Protestant pastors; their number dropped to less than half compared to the previous period. 2% of guardians were also employed within the judicial services sector as district judges, royal presiding judges or chief county prosecutors. Because their qualifications and social prestige elevated them into 4th remuneration category, they belonged to the top layer of the upper middle class. Similarly, 2% of them worked in the field of financial administration as a tax official or a treasury chief advisor. These fathers, together with those working in technical, industrial and commercial administration (1%) were also part of the middle class, due to their qualifications. For those employed in other ministry services (7%) and those involved in rail and postal services (3%) this is difficult to establish, as, within the context of Act XXX of 1929, an official position belonging to the 9th remuneration category, or higher could only be awarded to individuals with a degree in law or economics. Act XVI of 1933 also excluded clerks and junior ministry officers from the middle classes by practically limiting their elevation to the 9th remuneration category, due to the absence of their higher education qualification (Gyáni 2006: 264–265). Thus, some junior county officers, office directors, office chiefs, rail officers, train drivers, or junior postal officers were certainly not part of the upper middle class, at most, they fell within the order of ‘new *tekintetes*’, that is, public officials and workers not classified elsewhere, even though they could elevate themselves up to the 8th remuneration category previously through their office, based on their years of service.

Similarly to the period of 1911–1918, in the examination period, 21% of guardians (13.74%)⁴⁴⁹ worked in educational services or at scientific institutions. Among them 12 elementary school teacher or principal guardians also belonged to the order of ‘new *tekintetes*’ with their monthly salary of 200–300 pengos, falling within the 11–9th remuneration category. (Gyáni 2006: 282). So for their children, the Collegium could mean their elevation to the middle classes. Most of them were secondary school teachers: the guardians of 18 people were grammar school teachers, five were teachers in grammar schools of sciences, similarly to five collegium student’s guardians who were teachers at secondary schools of sciences, while three were teachers in public schools. The secondary school teachers, however, belonged to a pro forma middle class, as their wages could vary

⁴⁴⁹ József Asztalos also combined the sub-category of pastors with those involved in teaching (Asztalos 1928: 972).

between the 9th and 6th remuneration categories, but at the beginning of the 1920s, they received just 30–40% of their salary (Gyáni 2006: 263–264). The stability of their existence was not helped by the fact that many of them were B listed in three waves between 1922 and 1926, so unemployment was very high within their circles. Despite this, those remaining employed were still able to earn 300–550 pengos, while public school teachers could earn up to 400 pengos (Gyáni 2006: 282). As these wages fell only slightly behind the monthly wages of engineers and private lawyers, it is understandable that there was still a great deal of self-recruitment between them. Four university and two college teachers were also among the guardians. Their children may have stepped inside of the institution's walls with the hopes of pursuing a scientific career in order to keep their elegant lifestyle, earning a monthly salary of 800–1,200 pengos, similarly to their parents (*ibid.* 282).

Similarly to the previous period, the number of guardians serving in the armed forces was low at 2%, while physicians in private practice, lawyers and notaries were completely absent from the guardians, with the fathers of only 3 people working as pharmacists. The reason for this was probably due to the propensity to self-recruit, which was due to the existential crisis of teaching, which peaked in the second half of the 1920s. Compared to the previous sub-periods, however, the number of guardians (19%) and collegium students (6%, 18.56% among graduates⁴⁵⁰) living off allowances, unemployed or dependant of orphanages significantly increased, constituting a quarter of admitted applicants.⁴⁵¹ This can probably be explained by the consequences of the World War on society. As it was stated in the previous period, the institution's management also helped to rebuild middle-class existence in their case, as there were many secondary school teachers, pastors, clergy, or even widows of teaches among them, but hardly any craftsman or farmers. So the Collegium continued to be less open to lower social groups, primarily assisting the recruitment of secondary school teachers, with the limitation of urban workers, small-holders and the lower middle-classes or individuals belonging to the 'new *tekintetes*' social group. It is also worth noting that, among the admitted applicants, there were very few guardians who received their wages from the private sector, most of them were public sector employees or living off state benefits.

⁴⁵⁰ This result was obtained by combining the pensioner, capitalist and benefit categories. Asztalos did not separately reference armed forces because he combined this main category with the category of civil servants (Asztalos 1928: 972).

⁴⁵¹ For a breakdown of the social status of those admitted between 1919 and 1927, see Figure 9 of the Appendix. There is no data available for 19% of guardians in relation to their occupation. For the comparison of the data of admitted and rejected applicants, graduates and students of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences see Table 9.

| Occupation of guardians of applicants admitted and rejected between 1919–1927 (%) | Collegium | | Secondary school graduates 1926/1927 | Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences undergraduates 1927/1928 |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 7 | 8 | 8.9 | 9.9 |
| Smallholder (0-3 hectares) | 4 | 7 | | |
| Farmer, farm hand | 3 | 1 | | |
| II. Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 7 | 6 | 13.03 | 15.3 |
| Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 5 | 5 | | |
| Trade, catering | 1 | 1 | 22.2 | 17.02 |
| Money and credit services | 1 | 0 | | |
| III. Civil services | 38 | 26 | 35.8 | 40.1 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 2 | 1 | 13.7 | 11.3 |
| Educational services and academic institutions | 21 | 8 | | |
| Judicial services | 2 | 0 | | |
| Healthcare management and services | 0 | 0 | 35.8 | 40.1 |
| Agricultural management and services | 0 | 1 | | |
| Financial management | 2 | 0 | | |
| Technical/industrial and commercial management | 1 | 0 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 7 | 13 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 3 | 3 | | |
| IV. Armed forces | 2 | 1 | | |
| V. Intellectual liberal professions | 2.4 | 2 | | |
| Lawyer, notary | 0 | 1 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 0 | 0 | | |
| Pharmacist | 1 | 0 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 0 | 0 | | |
| Veterinarian | 0 | 0 | | |
| Literature, art | 0.4 | 1 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, landlords, capitalists | 25 | 26 | 18.5 | 16.7 |
| Pensioner | 6 | 7 | | 15.6 |
| Unemployed, dependants of orphanages | 19 | 19 | | 1.1 |
| No data | 19 | 30 | 0 | 0 |

Table 9: The data of admitted and rejected applicants compared with the data of graduates and the data of students of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵² The data for students graduating with a distinction during the 1926/1927 academic year are detailed in: Asztalos 1928: 972, with the data of students enrolling to the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences during the second half of the 1927/1928 academic year available in: Sine nomine 1929: 353.

The selection rates were 25.2% in the examined period, which is almost 10% lower than in the previous period. Of the 247 admitted students, 169 were able to complete their studies, with no data available in relation to 21 individuals, while in the case of 57 collegium students it can be proven that they left the institution prior to concluding their courses. Nearly a third, 32%, of the admitted applicants resigned their membership voluntarily. As in previous periods, the causes of resignation were most probably due to academic failure. This was probably the case for László Gáspárics who, on 28 August 1928, justified his resignation by not making sufficient progress in his subjects. The faculty informed his parents that it would be advisable for them to pursue another carrier for their child.⁴⁵³ 14% of collegium students resigned their membership because the teaching staff had revoked their membership as a result of their academic performance. Occasionally, despite the call for the fulfilment of study obligations, the student's membership had to be terminated,⁴⁵⁴ however, an insufficient basic exam⁴⁵⁵ or the evading of the vocational exam also resulted in dismissal.⁴⁵⁶ 11% of admitted applicants were unable to complete their studies due to health problems. Although the teaching staff allowed sick leave for the period of one year, in the case of serious, ongoing illnesses, they recommended resignation, as in such cases the continuation of university studies also became questionable.⁴⁵⁷ But departure due to frequently arising mental ailments also occurred among collegium students.⁴⁵⁸

In the examined period, unlike previous periods in the history of the institute, several collegium students (9%) had to be removed from the institution for disciplinary offences. The most serious offence was committed by Zoltán Elemér Dutkó who tried to repay his debts by stealing some of the dinnerware and blankets from the Collegium and taking them to pawn shops.⁴⁵⁹ Stealing from public collections,⁴⁶⁰ or leaving the premises of the institution without permission⁴⁶¹, also resulted in dismissal. Likewise, 9%

⁴⁵³ MDKL box 5, file 7 lot 15.

⁴⁵⁴ László Gedeon was instructed by letter 61/1923 on 27 April 1923 to comply with teacher examination requirements in accordance with the Organisational Rules. Since his efforts in this regard were unsuccessful, he was dismissed (MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 16).

⁴⁵⁵ Jenő Kardeván's membership was probably revoked due to his poor German basic examination result (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

⁴⁵⁶ Endre Endrédy, according to the findings of the 115/1927 decision issued on 2 December 1927: "*Departed the Collegium without registration, evading the vocational examination*" (MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12).

⁴⁵⁷ Sándor Bolla was admitted in 1921 and, in September 1921, he applied for sick leave for the 1922/1923 academic year. After not returning to the Institute in September 1923, he resigned his membership (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 5).

⁴⁵⁸ Ernő Hoffmann resigned his membership on 18 February 1927, referring to mental ailments (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 20).

⁴⁵⁹ MDKL box 4, file 4, lot 11.

⁴⁶⁰ Flóris Holik stole from the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, for which proceedings were launched against him. Although the proceedings against him were closed in 1926, his collegium membership was revoked already in 1924 (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 21).

⁴⁶¹ József Koczor travelled to Vác on 4 February 1931 and returned to the institution the following day. However, he did all this without permission and did not announce it to the board of directors, therefore curator Pál Teleki cancelled his membership. 14/1931. Curator Pál Teleki revokes the membership of József Koczor. Budapest, 12 February 1931 MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 29. In June 1928, Endre Mohácsy resigned following a teacher's instruction to do so. 102/1298. In a letter dated 4 June 1928, Miklós Szabó notified him that he had left the Collegium

of students resigned their membership due to financial reasons. The increase in their numbers compared to the previous period can be explained by the post-war economic crisis and the sudden deterioration in the financial situation of families, most often occurring after the passing of the head of the family.⁴⁶² Of the periods examined so far, the lowest rate of collegium student departures due to career changes occurred in this period, at only 5%.⁴⁶³ 3% of the members died during the period of their membership⁴⁶⁴ and 3% had to resign for political reasons. Two students, Miklós Makay and Ferenc Németh, left the boarding school for that reason. In a letter dated 17 October 1922, the head of the Hungarian News Agency informed the director that Makay worked for them in 1921–1922. He lost his wallet in the editorial office and when his documents were found, it was discovered that he was a member of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party and had communicated data to the party during the 1922 elections. For this reason, he was immediately dismissed and his resignation statement was written two days after the incident came to light.⁴⁶⁵

The case of Ferenc Németh caused an outrage in April 1922, when the MRPE Minister verbally informed the director of the Collegium that he wanted to remove him from the institution, due to the anti-national behaviour of his father, Imre Németh, a teacher at a public school in Arad. Not only did his father collaborate with the Romanian authorities, but his accusations led to several atrocities being committed against the Hungarian population of Arad.⁴⁶⁶ Bartoniek also raised the case at the teachers' meeting where, based on his privately obtained information, he suggested that the youngster should not be admitted to the Collegium in the following academic year, even though he performed well on his basic exam and there were no objections with regard to his behaviour.⁴⁶⁷ The desk officer of the University and College Department was not in favour of his removal for two reasons: on the one hand, he did not see the objections towards the father justified and, on the other hand, the boy could not finish his university studies if he was removed from the Collegium and the Hungarian public education system would lose a good

on 2 June without permission. He called on him to resign his membership (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 39).

⁴⁶² Ernő Kerekes justified his resignation with the financial situation of his family, which was probably due to his father's sudden death. (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

⁴⁶³ József Kühnel pursued a carrier within the field of theology (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 32). Kálmán Tomán wrote in his letter to Géza Bartoniek on 25 October 1922 that he did not want to be a teacher because it was too nerve-racking of a profession for him. But by changing to a different humanities course, he would like to continue his membership at the Collegium. He was not allowed to do so, therefore he left the institution (MDKL box 21, file 20, lot 61).

⁴⁶⁴ Lajos Beke died on 17 February 1922 during his second year. 24/1922. Géza Bartoniek reported on this matter to the curator on 30 February 1922, detailing that he became ill during the Christmas break, returned to the Collegium, although he had not completely recovered, then returned home under the instructions of the director where he later died. (MDKL box 2, file 1, lot 3). Whereas Károly Pauka died during his first year from unknown causes (MDKL box 15, lot 16, file 49).

⁴⁶⁵ MDKL box 12, file 13, lot 36. Géza Féja also referenced Miklós Makay's story in his autobiography titled *Szabadcsapat* [Free Team]. (1965: 22).

⁴⁶⁶ 86.754/1922. The transcript of the MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek in the case of Ferenc Németh. Budapest, 22 July 1922 MNL OL K 636. box 137, lot 25, item 138 (1922).

⁴⁶⁷ Transcript of the Teachers' Meeting of 6 July 1922. Budapest, 6 July 1922 MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

teacher as a result.⁴⁶⁸ Although Németh had been informed about his case following his basic exam, he also held the opinion that he would be unable to finish his university studies after his dismissal and the department considered it unnecessary to admit him to the Collegium again, as he received a scholarship to the University of Cluj-Napoca.⁴⁶⁹ Finally, he graduated from Cluj-Napoca and became a university assistant lecturer, passing away in 1933.⁴⁷⁰ Thus, the institution continued to define political and social integrity as a condition for membership and, in order to preserve its reputation, immediately dismissed its members who breached standards.

In the case of almost one third (30%) of rejected applicants, the occupation of the legal guardian is unknown, so it is difficult to draw valid conclusions. Similarly to admitted applicants, the number of guardians involved in the main category of production was also very low, only 8% (7%)⁴⁷¹ among the rejected applicants (7%, smallholders with 0-3 hectares, 1% farmers, farm hands). 6% of guardians worked within the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport, which was even lower than the number of the admitted applicants (7%), not to mention their social and university rates (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216). The relative majority of fathers, 26% (38%), were employed within the civil services main category. 1% of them worked in ecclesiastical services and 1% in agricultural administration, while 3% were involved in rail and postal services. The proportion of guardians working in educational services or at scientific institutions was 8%. This category was dominated by elementary school teachers (9 people) and grammar school teachers (6 people). In this main category, the majority of guardians were employed by other administrative and ministry officials, accounting for 13% of rejected applicants. However, most of them were excluded from the middle classes by Act XXX of 1929 and the supplementation of the same act, i.e. Act XVI of 1933, that is, they were county non-commissioned officers or town councilmen and their wages could not be higher than the wages 9th remuneration category.

1% (2%) of guardians served in the armed forces and freelance intellectuals, attorneys-at-law, notaries public (1%), literary and artistic professionals (1%) were also present in similar proportions among rejected applicants. There was no physician, pharmacist, engineer or judge among the guardians of rejected applicants. However, the proportion of those living on allowances (7%) and those unemployed or dependant of orphanages (19%) was even higher than the figures observed among admitted applicants (25%).⁴⁷² They include only a few retired grammar school teachers, the majority of whom were unemployed or war orphans. So the data of rejected applicants seemed to confirm that

⁴⁶⁸ 117/1922. Presentation of Géza Bartoniek in the case of Ferenc Németh to the MRPE Minister and the opinion of the MRPE 6th University and College Department. Budapest, 28 July 1922 MNL OL K 636. box 137, lot 25, item 138 (1922).

⁴⁶⁹ Letter from Ferenc Németh to Kunó Klebelsberg MRPE Minister and the opinion of the MRPE 6th University and College Department. Budapest, 20 June 1922 MNL OL K 636. box 137, lot 25, item 138 (1922).

⁴⁷⁰ MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 42.

⁴⁷¹ The data of the admitted applicants are in brackets in order to make comparison easier.

⁴⁷² See Figure 10 of the Appendix for the occupations of guardians of applicants rejected between 1919 and 1927. For the comparison of the data of admitted and rejected applicants, graduates and students of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences, see Table 9.

the Collegium was closed to the lower groups of society. The institute continued to support the mobility efforts of groups that tried to re-establish their one-time middle class existence.

The most frequent reason for rejection at that time was professional unsuitability. This was the explanation why 50% of the applicants failed. 10% were not admitted by the Collegium because their application was incomplete. Just as in the former periods, this meant that they had no referrals. 5% of applicants were not suitable for cohabitation in the boarding school, either because they were too old,⁴⁷³ or they had severe injuries and disabilities collected during the World War. The Collegium was unable to provide special care to disabled veterans and therefore their applications were usually rejected.⁴⁷⁴ 3% of applicants were rejected because of the field of study they had chosen. They included many technical university students,⁴⁷⁵ botanic⁴⁷⁶ or veterinary students.⁴⁷⁷ 2% withdrew during the application evaluation period, while 1% submitted their application after the deadline and another 1% satisfied the requirements of the Collegium, but their applications had to be rejected due to lack of educational capacity. Similarly to the explanations given for the dismissal of admitted applicants, some applicants were rejected due to political reasons (1%).⁴⁷⁸ After May 1919, the Public Education Commissioner's Office, Student Social Department referred a number of university students to the institution. Some of them tried to remain in the institution during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and, after its failure, in the first half of August 1919 by submitting an application for admission. However, all student applications were rejected, if there was any sign suggesting any link with the communist dictatorship.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷³ Zoltán Hegedűs fought in the World War for 4 years and applied at the age of 29, in 1925. He was rejected because he was overage (MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 18).

⁴⁷⁴ Jenő Strohbach applied to the Collegium in 1920, but he had acquired a disability so severe during the fights that he would have required special care. The institute was unable to provide that and therefore he was rejected for being unsuitable for the teaching profession (MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 45).

⁴⁷⁵ László Treszkony applied in 1920 as a technical university student. His application was rejected (MDKL box 32, file 46, lot 52).

⁴⁷⁶ E.g. Győző Peja, who applied in 1927 as a botanist (MDKL box 30, file 42, lot 39).

⁴⁷⁷ Edvin Reinwlad applied in 1927 as an employee of the Institute of Zoology (MDKL box 30, file 43, lot 41).

⁴⁷⁸ There are no data regarding the reason of rejection for 27% of rejected applicants.

⁴⁷⁹ György Balázs MKDL box 24, file 26, lot 2; Jakab Boschan MKDL box 24, file 26, lot 6; József Csapodi MDKL box 25, file 28, lot 9; János Ébner MDKL box 25, file 30, lot 11; Ferenc Faludi MDKL box 25, file 31, lot 12; Ödön Garay MDKL box 26, file 32, lot 14; Ferenc Horváth MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 19; Imre Kiszner MDKL box 27, file 37, lot 26; Dénes Nagy MDKL box 29, file 40, lot 35; Kálmán V. Nagy MDKL box 29, file 40, lot 35; Zoltán Rázga MDKL box 30, file 43, lot 41; Bertalan Szechny MDKL box 31, file 45, lot 47; Ignác Torday MDKL box 32, file 46, lot 51.

7.4.

Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1919 and 1927

The last period of the Bartoniek era brought significant changes in the management of the Collegium as well as in the teaching staff. The processes only became stronger with the B lists generated after the revolutions, as a result of which a number of positions became vacant at the Budapest University. The teachers of the Collegium had a good chance in applying for these vacant positions because the institution had already provided significant advantages in terms of scientific carrier building.



Image 12: Pál Teleki, curator of the Collegium in 1922

Loránd Eötvös, who held the highest dignity at the institute died on 8 April 1919. The curator not only watched and guarded the operation of the institute but was also its founder and he was the one who laid down its principles of operation. It was due to his personal influence of the Collegium that it managed to integrate among the college-type institutions of the Hungarian higher education and was able to maintain its autonomous position. *“The great character of the unforgettable Curator was the lifeblood of the institute because even the least member of the Collegium felt the radiation of his warm interest. It is incredibly touching that he never lost interest in the Collegium, not even on his deathbed, amidst his greatest physical*

*and mental pain.*⁴⁸⁰ His worries about the institute were well founded on this occasion too, because Chapter 7.5 reveals that its operation was under serious threat during the Hungarian Soviet Republic period. In September 1919, Bartoniek reported to the MRPE that the founder's death did not cause any interruption in the operation of the Collegium, but the lack of Loránd Eötvös' influence showed that in a tense political situation the mere existence of the Collegium could become doubtful. The director believed that, apart from supervision, the most important task of the curator was to submit proposals, pursuant to Section IV. 13, of the Organisational Rules to the minister, based on which the minister granted collegium positions to successful applicants. However, there was no need for that in September 1919, because the admission procedure was postponed to January 1920. The director also suggested that the ministry should not appoint a new curator for the Collegium, because after 24 years of management he still possessed the managerial skills, with which he would be able to continue working to the satisfaction of the minister.⁴⁸¹

The ministry temporarily appointed the director for the position, yet while drafting the certificate of appointment at the ministry, the desk officers of the University and College Department already noted that minister István Haller intended to offer the position to foreign minister Pál Teleki (25 July 1920 – 14 April 1921).⁴⁸² Bartoniek was pleased with Teleki: *"In my opinion this excellent and important institution would have a great future if its senior leadership were passed on from a great Hungarian scholar to another great Hungarian scholar."*⁴⁸³ Teleki informed the MRPE on 23 October 1920 that he had taken over the supervision of the institution as its curator: *"I will deal with the matters of the Collegium with love and will do my best to ensure that it can continue its efficient work [...] smoothly. At the same time, I also wish to note that for the time being, I only intend to initial the most important submissions concerning personal or organisational matters. Submissions concerning current matters of smaller importance will continue to be presented to your Excellency by the director of the institution directly."*⁴⁸⁴ Teleki's words indicated that his philosophy about the curator's activities was somewhat different from that of his predecessor. As his words above indicated, during his 21 years of curatorship he in fact only presented submissions to MRPE when they were crucial for the Collegium. Teleki took part in the activities of the institute depending on his other, political, public obligations and university teacher duties. At the beginning, he was involved relatively frequently, attending each teachers' meeting and then, from May 1938 when he was appointed minister of culture and later, following his appointment as prime minister on 16 February 1939, the matters of the institute were almost completely pushed into the background. At the same time, Bartoniek's expectations were fulfilled because as

⁴⁸⁰ 92/1919. Report by director Géza Bartoniek on the situation following the death of curator Loránd Eötvös. Budapest, 16 September 1919 MDKL box 88, file 185/6.

⁴⁸¹ Report by director Géza Bartoniek on the situation following the death of curator Loránd Eötvös. Budapest, 16 September 1919 MNL OL K 636. box 49, item 25 (1919).

⁴⁸² 191.327/1920 IV a. department. Temporary curator mandate of director Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 17 May 1920 MNL OL K 636. box 49, item 25 (1919).

⁴⁸³ Letter by Géza Bartoniek to MRPE minister István Haller on offering the curator's position to prime minister Pál Teleki. Budapest, 30 September 1920 MNL OL K 636. box 49, item 25 (1919).

⁴⁸⁴ 115/1920-1. Cur. no. Letter by Pál Teleki to MRPE minister István Haller on his appointment as curator. Budapest, 23 October 1920 MNL OL K 592. lot 143, item 18 (1920).

a scholar, Teleki understood the importance of the Collegium and, using his influence in public life, he managed to protect the institution from political attacks.

With his appointment in February 1919, Géza Bartoniek reached the 5th remuneration category, but his wage did not increase, because his salary, which had been in total 10,000 crowns, was raised to 8,000 crowns plus 2,000 crowns personal allowance.⁴⁸⁵ However, the People's Economic Council stopped the disbursement of his 2,000 crowns personal allowance, thus cutting his remuneration. Bartoniek applied for the disbursement of the amount, or be appointed into the second degree of the 5th remuneration category, because he had been managing the Collegium for 24 years and because the wages of the teachers of the institute had not been regulated since 1912.⁴⁸⁶ The head of Finance Department IV of the People's Economic Council rejected the application and simply filed the case '*ad acta*'.⁴⁸⁷ After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Bartoniek submitted the same application once more, as result of which his personal allowance was granted again. In addition, a teacher's position in the 7th remuneration category was restated into the 6th remuneration category and two teachers' in the 8th remuneration category were restated into the 7th remuneration category.⁴⁸⁸

Following the status arrangements, the University of Budapest ceremonially granted him an honourable doctor's degree in recognition of his work (Kosáry 1989: 29). Later, on 9 June 1921, in an unexpected order issued under no. 6792/1921 József Vass MRPE Minister informed Géza Bartoniek that pursuant to Act LXV of 1912, he would need to retire.⁴⁸⁹ The respective provisions of the act (Section 31 b–c of Act LXV of 1912) in fact provided a unilateral option to order retirement, but it was very unusual in relation to executive officers of public institutions and the measure was not preceded by any prior information.⁴⁹⁰ That is why the assumption of Domokos Kosáry, according to which his removal was also influenced by political reasons, is valid (Kosáry 1989: 28–29).⁴⁹¹ However, it was not in the interest of

⁴⁸⁵ 65889/1919. Letter from the Public Education Commissioner's Office to director Géza Bartoniek on his appointment into the 5th remuneration category. Budapest, 15 April 1919 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁸⁶ 38/1919. Letter by director Géza Bartoniek to the Public Education Commissioner for a wage increase. Budapest, 12 April 1919 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁸⁷ "In response to document no. 80.826 of 25 April 1919, we wish to inform the commissioner's office that we cannot consent to the approval of a 2,000-crown personal allowance p.a. to Géza Bartoniek, director of the Eötvös Collegium, Budapest, because in this particular case we cannot see any exceptional reason that could justify the approval of this personal allowance." Document sent by Finance Department IV. of the People's High Economic Council to the Public Education Commissioner. Budapest, 4 July 1919 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁸⁸ Proposal by state secretary Lajos Tóth to the minister on the submission by Géza Bartoniek registered under no. 116/1919 on 28 December 1919. Budapest, 8 January 1920 MNL OL K 636. box 85, item 25, lot 79 (1920).

⁴⁸⁹ 6792/1921 Letter by MRPE Minister József Vass to Géza Bartoniek on retirement. Budapest, 9 June 1921 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁹⁰ In terms of the circumstances of the retirement, Bartoniek said that he had learnt about being forced to retire from the newspapers. He also complained that an extension of his service by 5 months would have led to a promotion and therefore he lost a 2,000-crown wage increase. He also established that, on the basis of the statements of other officials, the particular individuals had been informed of early retirement even in the case of unsuitability, but that did not happen in his case. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE on his retirement. Budapest, 15 November 1922. MNL OL K 636. box 293, item 22, lot 253 (1928).

⁴⁹¹ As Chapter 7.5 indicates the problems about the Collegium budget and the omission of the invitation of the Minister of Education to the Te Deum, the ceremony organised to celebrate 25 years of the institute, had a huge detrimental impact on the relations with the MRPE. Thus presumably they intended to

Pál Teleki to recognise the removal of Bartoniek, because collegium students unanimously objected to it and Teleki also wished to maintain continuity in the management of the institute. He therefore recommended to the ministry the continuation of the assignment of Bartoniek for the management of the institute, because his presence guaranteed the preservation of the spirit established by Loránd Eötvös. In support of his arguments he added that under Section III 4 of the Organisational Rules, the curator may make a proposal for the management of the Collegium.⁴⁹² Owing to his influence in public life, Teleki first achieved his goal when Bartoniek was temporarily appointed to manage the matters of the institute in the academic year of 1921/1922⁴⁹³ and received the final appointment from 1 August 1922 until further measure.⁴⁹⁴

In 1927, the director suffered a stroke, as a result of which his health drastically deteriorated. As he was unable to fulfil his duties, arrangements had to be made for his succession. Curator Pál Teleki recommended Zoltán Gombocz for the position. At the time, Gombocz was undisputedly one of the most prominent members of the teaching staff of the institute: he belonged to the first generation of the institute and his scientific carrier was developing steadily.⁴⁹⁵ In addition, he also assisted Bartoniek in his duties as deputy director from 1909 until his departure in 1914. He returned to the Collegium in 1919 and then became a professor at the Budapest University.⁴⁹⁶ He was among the first to be selected as an ordinary member of the Hungary Academy of Sciences among Collegium students in 1922. In 1926, Gombocz was appointed as head of the Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin due to the unexpected death of Róbert Gragger.⁴⁹⁷ Although on 3 November 1927, Miklós Horthy in a highest decision appointed the scholar who was still only 40 years old at that time, as Collegium director⁴⁹⁸, he was unable to serve in his office, as he was delegated to Berlin and therefore Miklós Szabó temporarily took over his duties until 1 September 1928.⁴⁹⁹

At the end of his carrier, Géza Bartoniek received the *Officier de la Legion d'Honneur* award

remove Bartoniek from his position on the first possible occasion, for which retirement seemed a good pretext.

⁴⁹² 75/1921. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Géza Bartoniek as director. Budapest, 21 June 1921 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁹³ "Upon the proposal of His Excellency Earl Pál Teleki, curator of the Bárá Eötvös József Collegium, I hereby appoint Your Honour to manage the matters of the Collegium temporarily for one year, i.e. for the academic year of 1921/22." 124199/1921. Letter by MRPE Minister József Vass on the temporary appointment of Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 6 July 1921 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁹⁴ His wages were also increased simultaneously because in his submission no. 162/1922 Mr G.B. complained to the ministry that there had been a severe fault in the accounting of his wages. 164.207/1922 Letter of the MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 7 April 1923 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁴⁹⁵ G/59. Submission by Pál Teleki on the appointment of Zoltán Gombocz as director. Budapest, 24 June 1927 MNL OL K 636. box 243, item 24, lot 279 (1927).

⁴⁹⁶ 195784/1919. Letter by MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek on the temporary assignment of Zoltán Gombocz to the Collegium. Budapest, 15 November 1919 MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

⁴⁹⁷ Gragger was also and Eötvös Collegium student in the German-French programme between 1905 and 1909. He had a key role in the organisation of the Berlin institute (Bodor 1995: 43–47).

⁴⁹⁸ 85.604/1927. Letter by MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Zoltán Gombocz as director. Budapest, 3 December 1927 MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

⁴⁹⁹ 9/1927. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Miklós Szabó as temporary director. Budapest, 28 December 1927 MDKL box 40, file 67.

from the French government for the development of French-Hungarian cultural relations and,⁵⁰⁰ also in 1928, Horthy also awarded him with the Hungarian order of merit second class in recognition of his achievements.⁵⁰¹ With the help of Gombocz's intervention, he was able to spend the rest of his life in the Collegium director's flat where he died on 11 February 1930.⁵⁰² Based on the intervention of Pál Teleki, the Capital City Council allocated an honorary grave to him in the Kerepesi út cemetery as his final resting place.⁵⁰³



Image 13: The teaching staff of the Collegium, 1920

None of the ordinary teachers were convicted for their political acts during the civil democratic revolution and the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Each teacher provided

⁵⁰⁰ Transcript of the teachers' meeting of the Eötvös Collegium of 4 May 1928. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁵⁰¹ 60/1928. Letter by Zoltán Gombocz to Sándor Vértessy, officer in charge of the Governor's Cabinet Office. Budapest, 31 March 1928 MDKL box 38, file 63.

⁵⁰² 45.011/1929. Letter by ministerial counsel Zoltán Magyary to director Zoltán Gombocz on the use of the director's suite. Budapest, 24 January 1929 MDKL box 38, file 63. His death and funeral was covered by the following newspapers: *Nemzeti Újság* 12 February 1930, *Pesti Napló* 12 February 1930, *Magyarság* 12 February 1930, *Magyar Hírlap* 14 February 1930, *Budapesti Hírlap* 12 February 1930, *Új Nemzedék* 12 February 1930, *Képes Pesti Hírlap* 13 February 1930, *Journal des Débats* 19 February 1930.

⁵⁰³ 16/1930. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to Jenő Sipőcz, Mayor of Budapest, Capital City on the grave of Géza Bartonick. Budapest, 12 February 1930 MDKL box 38, file 63.

a detailed declaration on their connections with the two political regimes, in which they mainly stated that they stayed away from the events, or that they, as well as other teachers of the Collegium, joined the trade union of teachers but did not play any role there. In addition, pursuant to Prime Minister's Decree 2708/1920 (1 April), all took an official oath to Governor Miklós Horthy and to preserve the Hungarian constitutional order.⁵⁰⁴

János Horváth left his position as Head of the Department of Hungarian Literature History in 1923 when the Governor appointed him an ordinary professor of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences and upgraded him to the 5th remuneration category.⁵⁰⁵ Although originally Horváth had intended to keep his teacher's status in the Collegium as a sign of his commitment to the institute, but he had to give up that plan soon due to his huge workload at the university.⁵⁰⁶ He was substituted by one of his students, János Bartha, for one year who then went abroad. In the 1925/06 academic year, the literature history lessons were delivered by two new teachers of the institute, Miklós Zsirai and Gyula Moravcsik. The intended head of department was Gyula Farkas, who worked at the Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin.⁵⁰⁷ The Minister of Education appointed Farkas an ordinary teacher of the Collegium in December 1925, classifying him under the 7th remuneration category.⁵⁰⁸ However, due to the death of Róber Gragger, he was granted leave in the subsequent year in relation to the Minister of Education's request to prepare for the mourning ceremony.⁵⁰⁹ Then, in April 1928, Farkas requested an extension of his leave until September and finally he resigned from his ordinary teacher's status because the German Minister of Education appointed him a university professor in Berlin, which meant he practically took over the director's position from Zoltán Gombocz at the Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin.⁵¹⁰

Miklós Zsirai was appointed as head of the Hungarian Linguistics Department with a salary in the 7th remuneration category. He kept his teaching job until 1933.⁵¹¹ A change occurred also in the field of classical philology: in 1923, József Huszti was appointed an ordinary professor of the University of Szeged and was replaced by Gyula Moravcsik⁵¹² who

⁵⁰⁴ This certificate was prepared at the teachers' meeting on 1 May 1920. The meeting certified the director and then each teacher had to individually certify their activities and had to prepare and submit that certificate also in writing. Transcript of the Teachers' Meeting of 1 July 1920. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

⁵⁰⁵ 109.433/1923. Letter by MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to director Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of János Horváth as university professor. Budapest, 28 August 1923. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

⁵⁰⁶ 141/1923. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the Rector Magnificus on the exemption of János Horváth from his teacher's position at the Collegium. Budapest, 11 September 1923. MDKL box 40, file 70/7.

⁵⁰⁷ 84/1925. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg on the appointment of Gyula Farkas. Budapest, August 1925. MNL OL K 636. box 224, item 25 (1926).

⁵⁰⁸ 86.911/1925. Letter from MRPE, Department IV. to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Gyula Farkas. Budapest, 18 December 1925. MDKL box 40, file 70/2.

⁵⁰⁹ 94.984/1926. Letter by Károly Tetzman ministerial department counsellor to Gyula Farkas. Budapest, 22 December 1926. MNL OL K 636. box 224, item 25 (1926).

⁵¹⁰ Resignation by Gyula Farkas from ordinary professor status. Budapest, 22 September 1928. MDKL box 40, file 70/2.

⁵¹¹ 146.558/1924. MRPE, Department IV letter to curator Pál Teleki. Budapest, 26 April 1924. MDKL box 40, file 71/11.

⁵¹² He was a member of the Collegium as a scholar of classical philology between 1910 and 1914. He completed all his studies with excellent results (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 39).

provided not only classes in Hungarian literature history but also gave Latin and Greek classes to relieve the workload of Miklós Szabó.⁵¹³ After four years of war service, Szabó was found suitable for military service by the Conscription Committee in 1919. At that time, Géza Bartoniek applied for his exemption from conscription, because his services were indispensable at the Collegium.⁵¹⁴ He was elected as the 'trustee' of the Collegium and therefore he represented the institute in the Body of Trustees of Colleges. Despite the request, he was not granted exemption from the military service.⁵¹⁵ He was in charge of the institute as a temporary director in the 1927/28 academic year until the return of Zoltán Gombocz. During the period of his service he prepared a number of reforms in the study system of the Collegium. As he served as a substitute to everyone's satisfaction, in 1928 Teleki recommended that he should be appointed deputy director.

The doyen of the teachers of the institute, Frigyes Hoffmann, head of German literature history, retired in 1925 after 30 years of service at the Collegium.⁵¹⁶ In the 1920/1921 academic year he was substituted by the German native language lecturers as a temporary solution instead of the honorary award holder German literature professor of the institute, Béla Pukánszky who gave lessons on behalf of the ill Hugó Kleinmayr at the time. In 1927, János Koszó joined the Collegium and took his position as an ordinary appointed teacher, classified under the 6th remuneration category in the subsequent academic year.⁵¹⁷

The increased administration of the Collegium called for an expansion of the management staff. The person selected for the position was Pál Lukcsics⁵¹⁸ who was advised by physicians not to give long lectures due to his lung injury sustained in the war. He was mainly responsible for providing assistance in managing the library, but he also assisted Imre Madzsar in his duties as head of the Department of History.⁵¹⁹ The changes in his remuneration also reflect the position of the teachers of the Collegium during the period of economic reorganisation after the war. In 1920, he received his appointment with a salary in the 9th remuneration category, in the amount of 2,200 crowns plus 400 crowns personal allowance,

⁵¹³ 114.045/1923. Letter from MRPE, Department IV to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Gyula Moravcsik. Budapest, 30 November 1923. MDKL box 40, file 70/5.

⁵¹⁴ 50/1919. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the Public Education Commissioner's Office on the exemption from military service of Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 20 May 1919. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁵¹⁵ Certification report on the conduct exhibited during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Budapest, 5 August 1920. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁵¹⁶ 2/1925. Proposal by Géza Bartoniek to MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg on the retirement of Frigyes Hoffmann. Budapest, 19 January 1925. MNL OL K 636. box 195, item 25 (1925).

⁵¹⁷ 72/1928. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg on the appointment of János Koszó. Budapest, 3 April 1928. Koszó was also a student of the Collegium studying in the Hungarian-French-German programme between 1910 and 1914. In the 1920s, he was a university private professor and an ordinary professor of the Civilian School's Secondary Teacher Training Institution. The plan was to contract not only Koszó but also Endre Gombocz as head of the Department of Natural History and Chemistry, but it never happened, because instead Jenő Tomasz was appointed (MDKL box 40, file 70/9).

⁵¹⁸ Between 1911 and 1918 he was a member of the institute as a student studying Latin and history. His study results improved significantly only after his injury in the war, sustained in the second half of 1918 (MDKL box 12, file 12, lot 35).

⁵¹⁹ 88/1919. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 10 September 1919 MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

2,000 crowns war and 400 crowns financial assistance and 1,000 crowns housing allowance.⁵²⁰ Later, as a position with the salary in the 7th remuneration category became vacant in 1922, he skipped a remuneration category with an extraordinary appointment and raised his salary from 6,000 crowns in the previous year to 34,400 crowns.⁵²¹ This, on the one hand, indicated that with sufficient support, teachers achieved fast promotion and, on the other hand, it also shows that after the economic crisis, their salaries inflated dramatically at a rate, which only increased in 1926. The 903,000-crown salary of Gyula Moravcsik during that period is a good illustration of the inflation.⁵²² At the same time, the fast promotion led to a situation that in 1926 the ministry refused his due promotion to the 6th remuneration category with reference to an extraordinary preference granted four years before. So he was only promoted in the second half of the 1930s.⁵²³ However, Lukcsics was granted longer leaves for research abroad on a number of occasions. In November 1920, he was permitted to do research in the Vienna archives and then,⁵²⁴ from February 1924 to 31 August 1925, he researched parts of the Papal archives with Hungarian connections and organised the library stock of the institute upon the invitation of Tibor Gerevich, director of the Hungarian Institute of History in Rome.⁵²⁵ The extension of the researcher's leave of Lukcsics was also proposed for the academic year of 1925/1925 but, based on Bartoniek's proposal, the ministry did not approve it, because his two-year absence caused significant problems in the delivery of history classes (the number of classes assigned to Imre Madzsar increased a great deal), in library administration and in the management of financial matters.⁵²⁶

Since Lukcsics was away and the administration had to be managed, Jenő Tomasz⁵²⁷ was commissioned to the Collegium for service. This was made possible due to the fact that a position with a salary the 5th remuneration category had become vacant when Hoffmann left and that the remuneration assigned to the position was not used fully in relation to the appointment of Koszó either. Tomasz dedicated most of his time to financial matters, while the library administration and part of the history classes continued to be managed by Lukcsics.⁵²⁸ The teacher appointed in the 9th remuneration category soon gained an

⁵²⁰ 120/1920. Letter by the MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek on the appointment of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 19 November 1920. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁵²¹ 78.808/1922. Letter by the MRPE Minister to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Pál Lukcsics and his classification in wage category VII. Budapest, 11 January 1923. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁵²² MDKL box 40, file 71/5.

⁵²³ 148/1926. Letter by Géza Bartoniek on the postponement of the promotion of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 6 December 1926. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁵²⁴ 120/1920. Letter by the MRPE Minister to director Géza Bartoniek on the leave of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 19 November 1920. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁵²⁵ 155/1924. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the leave of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 23 October 1924. MNL OL K 636. box 195, item 25 (1925).

⁵²⁶ 96/1925. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the review of the leave of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 3 September 1925. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁵²⁷ Tomasz studied classical philology and history at the institute between 1919 and 1923. He began his teaching career at the Practice Grammar School of the Teacher Training Institute and then became a substitute teacher at the Archbishopric Upper Grammar School of District II. He was transferred to the Collegium for service from there (MDKL box 21, file 20, lot 61).

⁵²⁸ 4/1926. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Jenő Tomasz. Budapest, June 1926 MNL OL K 636. box 293, item 22, lot 253 (1928).

important role in professional management, because Latin was often paired in modern linguistic studies. The number of students of 'mixed classical studies' increased so much by 1928 that the lessons of Miklós Szabó and Gyula Moravcsik became crowded and therefore Tomasz was also given some Latin lessons in addition to his administrative duties.⁵²⁹ After Gyula Farkas left the institute, he took the vacant teacher's position in the 7th remuneration category with an extraordinary appointment, just as Lukcsics. In that position he was responsible for lessons, as well as librarian and secretarial duties.⁵³⁰ With that solution the director managed to share the administration duties of the gradually growing library and financial matters among young teachers at the beginning of their career who could also be involved in the scholarly management of the institute.

The Governor appointed Sándor Eckhardt as an ordinary professor at the Department of French Language and Literature at the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences, so Eckhardt left the Collegium after nine years. His vacant position was not filled by an ordinary teacher until 1936. French literature and language was taught partly by the French native language lecturers and, after 1927, by Albert Szegő (Gyergyai) a teacher of the Kossuth Lajos Senior Boys' Trade School in exchange for housing and free board at the Collegium, because by then the funding of the institute was cut so much that they were unable to pay separate honorary fees.⁵³¹

Among the lessons of the national science programmes the natural history classes were still provided by Nándor Filarszky who, similarly to Imre Madzsar, received a 1,200-crown salary and, at first, 800 crowns aid from the ministry from 1921 and in the subsequent academic year the remuneration for both teachers was increased to 2,400 crowns.⁵³² From 1923, the classes of the geography programme were provided by Ferenc Fodor, in the position of remunerated teacher until he was appointed educational district supervisor in 1939.⁵³³ English classes were organised by Sándor Fest and Sándor Németh⁵³⁴ in the 1927/1928 academic year according to the teachers' reports.

During World War I. the relations broke off with the École Normale Supérieure, because France and the Monarchy belonged to different military blocks. After the revolution, the relations were slowly restored, in which efforts Ernest Tharaud, who visited Budapest in 1920, had a lion share. With the mediation of the former French native language lecturer, Bartoniek conducted correspondence with Gustav Lanson, the new director of École Normale Supérieure. The French influence weakened a great deal in Hungary after the World War and therefore French diplomacy had high hopes regarding the Eötvös Collegium

⁵²⁹ 168/1928. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the involvement of Jenő Tomasz in scientific education. Budapest, 16 October 1928. MNL OL K 636. box 293, item 22, lot 253 (1928).

⁵³⁰ His salary was 255 pengos plus 303 pengos housing allowance. 90.147/1928. Letter from MRPE Department IV. MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Jenő Tomasz into the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 13 December 1928. MDKL box 40, file 71/10.

⁵³¹ MDKL box 41, file 72/4.

⁵³² 129.196/1921. Letter from MRPE Department V to curator Pál Teleki on the remuneration of Nándor Filarszky and Imre Madzsar. Budapest, 31 October 1921. MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

⁵³³ MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

⁵³⁴ Németh studied classical philology and Hungarian at the Collegium between 1908 and 1912 and also took a special exam in French in 1913 (MDKL box 14, file 14 lot 42).

in restoring that influence. That is why Ulm street not only approved the delegation of the two foreign language lecturers to Budapest, but also undertook to pay their remuneration in the amount of 15,000 francs. In addition, the French government donated 5,000 francs to expand the French section of the Library and subscribed for 19 French journals.⁵³⁵ It was a sign of the re-intensification of relations that between 1921 and 1924 the Collegium received three French normalists in the summer of each year, in exchange for which the French government granted a one-year scholarship to eight Hungarian college students, one of whom was the student of the Collegium.⁵³⁶ The first foreign language lecturer arrived in February 1921 due to drastic inflation, until which time Géza Bárczi⁵³⁷ and Jenő Kastner⁵³⁸ fulfilled the duty of the foreign language lecturer for a 1,500–crown remuneration p.a. (cf. Nemes 1989: 103).⁵³⁹

Jean Mistler d'Auroile arrived at Ménesi Road on 13 February 1921.⁵⁴⁰ Similarly to his predecessors, Mistler, who also served as a cultural attaché at the French Embassy, also won the *agrégation* contest and therefore had excellent qualifications. He gave French lessons as a contracted teacher at the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences, because he could not accept native foreign language lecturer duties, presumably because he received his remuneration from the French government.⁵⁴¹ Mistler left the Collegium in 1923. During his service he gave two classes a week and later only one class a week at the institute but stayed in the Hungarian capital until 1925 (cf. Nemes 1989: 103). He was replaced by Aldo Dami in 1923 who completed his studies at the University of Geneva. Originally the French Ministry of Education selected Aurélien Sauvageot for the Collegium but he was unable to take the position in 1922.⁵⁴² Gachot Françoise also performed the duties of the native foreign language lecturer at the institute until 1925. He later settled in Hungary and became the Head of the Department of French Literature and Language at the Budapest University.⁵⁴³

Aurélien Sauvageot arrived in Hungary in 1923 and the period, during which he served at the Collegium as a native foreign language lecturer, had a major influence on his subsequent

⁵³⁵ 52/1921. Letter by Géza Bartonek to the MRPE Minister on the employment of the new French native language lecturers. Budapest, 20 June 1921. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

⁵³⁶ 58/1923. Submission by Géza Bartonek for the acceptance of French students and the study trip of Hungarian students to France. Budapest, 23 April 1923. MNL OL K 636. box 161, item 25 (1923).

⁵³⁷ He studied at the Collegium between 1911 and 1920. Originally he studied in Hungarian and classical philology but, together with Albert Szegő, he fell into French internment during World War I. In the end he took a special exam also in French in 1920 (MDKL box 1, file 2, lot 2).

⁵³⁸ Between 1910 and 1913 he studied Hungarian, French and German at the Collegium in (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

⁵³⁹ 52/1921. Submission by Géza Bartonek on the employment of new French teachers. Budapest, 20 June 1921. MNL OL K 636. box 161, item 25 (1923).

⁵⁴⁰ 21/1921. Letter by Géza Bartonek to dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Budapest University. Budapest, 17 February 1921. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/5.

⁵⁴¹ 1517/1921–1922. Letter by the dean of the Faculty of Arts Dávid Angyal to Géza Bartonek in relation to Jean Mistler d'Auroile. Budapest, 21 February 1921. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/5.

⁵⁴² 167/1922. Letter by Géza Bartonek to the MRPE Minister on the arrival of native foreign language lecturer Aldo Dami. Budapest, 25 October 1922. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/5.

⁵⁴³ 104/1925. Géza Bartonek's certification of the native foreign language lecturer duties of Gachot Françoise. Budapest, 15 September 1925. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/5.

life. Similarly to Jean Mistler, the new native foreign language lecturer was also the cultural attaché of the Embassy and also delivered lectures at the university. Although Mistler's experience disappointed him in the early period of his stay (Sauvageot 1988: 28), because, as members of the Embassy, they felt uncomfortable, but the fine French manner of Bartoniek and his friends, Albert Szegő, Miklós Zsirai and Sándor Eckhardt whom he accepted as friends soon introduced him into Hungarian social and cultural life.⁵⁴⁴ With their help he got acquainted with the outstanding figures of Hungarian literature of the time. He learnt Hungarian before he left in 1931 and successfully defended his doctorate dissertation written under the guidance of Gombocz at the Sorbonne in 1929. After he returned home, he became first a professor and then the head of the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages at the College of Live Foreign Languages. He began to compile the Hungarian-French, French-Hungarian dictionary in the first half of 1920 and published it in 1931 (Sepsi 2009: 47–48).

After the World War, German language teaching was in a crisis at the Collegium. Most applicants for the German programme spoke German as their native language, but the country lost the territories where the applicants lived. There were more and more applicants in the admission procedures who did not speak German as their native language and their German skills were so limited that they were also unable to understand scientific literature. What made the situation even graver was that Kleinmayr who had already worked for the Collegium during the World War and was most knowledgeable in German literature history did not take part in everyday contact with students for health reasons. The reading and explanation of German literature history works did not promise a lot of success to students who were unable to understand even the simplest texts. That is why Bartoniek wished to contract Henrik Becker as a native foreign language lecturer to work with Kleinmayr. Becker was the son of Fülöp Ágost Becker, a professor of the University of Leipzig (between 1890 and 1905 he also worked for the University of Budapest as a professor and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected him as an external member). Becker also completed his studies at the University of Leipzig and then was employed by the University of Leiden as a German native language lecturer. Bartoniek also insisted on him, because due to his Alsatian origin, he also spoke French.⁵⁴⁵ However, it caused some headaches to the University and College Department that the desk officers learnt that Fülöp Becker had issues with the German authorities due to his Alsatian connections even during the war. They did not exclude the assumption that he had raised his son with more pro-French ideas and therefore did not consider it advisable to employ him to educate the young generation of the Collegium due to his Entente feelings. However, Pál Teleki managed to convince the head of the department of the need of his employment.⁵⁴⁶ In the end the MRPE approved his invitation. He was first

⁵⁴⁴ MDKL box 46, file 84/a/6.

⁵⁴⁵ 118/1924. Letter by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the assignment of Henrik Becker as German foreign language lecturer. Budapest, 15 August 1924. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

⁵⁴⁶ *"The department wished to make the following remark to the proposal: »As far as I understand, Dr Becker comes from Alsace and presumably his father, the famous Romanist professor of Leipzig, also had certain problems during the war. The question therefore is whether young Becker was raised more in a pro-French spirit. I dare ask the question that when the young students of the Eötvös Collegium, as future teachers of the next generation, are already taught by a French and an Italian resident professor, would it not be unwise politically and in terms of national issues to employ*

offered a 1,200–crown remuneration p.a.⁵⁴⁷ and then his status was finalised in a position in the 7th remuneration category where he earned 375 pengos a month.⁵⁴⁸ Becker stayed at the Collegium until 1926 when he intended to move to the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna as a German language master, but that plan never came through.⁵⁴⁹

Bartoniék already wanted to reject the extension of the assignment of Kleinmayr in 1924, due to changes in the opportunities of German language teaching. In addition, the director also objected to the fact that he never built any relationships with the students of the Collegium and that he never tried to study the Hungarian language and culture during the 13 years of his service. The native language lecturer, however, managed to extend his mandate through the Austrian Embassy, because he did not want to give up his well-paid job.⁵⁵⁰ The director of the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna, Antal Lábán, recommended replacing the 44-year old Kleinmayr with the then only 25-year old Ernst Häckel. In the 1924/1925 academic year, the new native language lecturer was the associate professor of the People's College in Vienna. Later, he fulfilled the duties of native language lecturer first in the Collegium and then, from the 1926/1927 academic year also at the Budapest University and was also accepted as a teacher at the Secondary Teacher Training Institution in the subsequent academic year. His mandate was extended every five years from the 1927/1928 academic year. Similarly to the situation of French native language lecturers, his service in Hungary was included in the Austrian national service, which made the extensions possible. Thus, similarly to his predecessor, he was classified into the 7th remuneration category VII with a monthly 375--pengo remuneration.⁵⁵¹ Häckel was so successful in his job that he served as foreign native language lecturer until 1944 and only the native language lecturers from Germany changed after his contract.

There were attempts in the Hungarian foreign policy to ease the isolation of the country that followed World War I with an orientation towards Italy. Those attempts also met Italian

an individual as a German professor who might have close feeling for the Entente. Surely we could find a teacher in Germany or Austria who would be more appropriate for the position and in relation to whom the concern indicated above does not apply.” Response to MRPE University and College Department IV to the proposal by Géza Bartoniék 118/1924. MNL OL K 636. box 181, item 25 (1924).

⁵⁴⁷ 183/1924. Letter by Géza Bartoniék to the MRPE Minister on the remuneration of Henrik Becker. Budapest, 30 November 1924. MNL OL K 636. box 181, item 25 (1924).

⁵⁴⁸ Häckel, the other German native language lecturer received a salary granted for a position in the 9th remuneration category at that time, earning 250 pengos a month. 91.056/1925 IV. Letter by state secretary Mihály Tóth to Géza Bartoniék on the remuneration of Henrik Becker and Earnst Häckel. Budapest, 24 February 1926. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

⁵⁴⁹ Letter by Antal Lábán, director of the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna to Géza Bartoniék. Budapest, 12 April 1926. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

⁵⁵⁰ *“...he was promoted to the 7th remuneration category VII and was allocated to the District III. Grammar School in Vienna. His holidays do not cost anything for the Austrian state, because he is on holiday at his own cost, i.e. he pays the cost of his substitution. The Collegium also provides a salary that matches the 7th remuneration category. He also has a three-room flat at the Collegium (the nicest teacher's flat) and therefore it is understandable that he insists on staying also because he is busy here for approximately 3 months, with much fewer lessons than at the Grammar School.”* 88/1925. Report by Géza Bartoniék to the MRPE Minister on the termination of the assignment of Hugo Kleinmayr. Budapest, 1 September 1925. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

⁵⁵¹ Letter by Géza Bartoniék on the extension of the mandate of Ernst Häckel. Budapest, 20 July 1927. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/1.

expectations, because they did not achieve all their objectives in the World War and the states disappointed by the Paris peace treaties soon found each other. One of the sidelines of this process must have been the contract offered to Italo Siciliano for the position of Italian foreign language lecturer at the Eötvös Collegium. The same fact was also confirmed by the personal intervention of Teleki at the Italian government for the contract of a native foreign language lecturer, as a result of which the Italian government agreed to pay the total remuneration of Siciliano and the Collegium only had to cover his boarding costs.⁵⁵² The new secondary school type known as grammar school of sciences, introduced by Act XI of 1924 also made the services of a foreign native language lecturer more important, because, apart from German, French and English teachers, a demand also emerged for Italian language teachers (Krász 1995: 119). In the first year of his service, he gave classes to 19 collegium students and later a number of classical philology students took up Italian as their third subject. Siciliano who also served as the cultural attaché of the Italian Embassy gave classes at the institute until he left in 1933.⁵⁵³



Image 14: Italo Siciliano, Italian foreign language lecturer, 1926

The changes in the teaching staff showed that when Sándor Eckhardt, János Horváth and József Huszti left, the students of the 1895–1910 period followed them as university professors.⁵⁵⁴ A number of students from the 1911–1918 period became teachers at the

⁵⁵² 168/1922. Submission by Géza Bartoniek to MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg on the contract of Italo Siciliano. Budapest, 25 October 1922. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

⁵⁵³ MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

⁵⁵⁴ During the revolutions, a number of collegium students were granted university positions: Gyula Czebe, Géza

institute and many of the students of the Collegium of the same period took part in the control of administration and scholarly management of the institute. Even Frigyes Hoffmann, the last of the teachers active at the time of the foundation retired and, at the end of this period, the director also changed and therefore the 1927/1928 academic year was an important turning point in the history of the Collegium.

The educational system of the institute was also modified by changes in public life and the teaching staff. As a result of the revolutions in January 1920, Imre Madzsar submitted a draft to the Board of Directors for the introduction of a course on social studies for third and fourth year students. The Head of the History Department intended to build a critical approach in students towards political trends that gained a lot of popularity at the turn of the century without solid scientific foundation. The course would also have covered social and sociological issues with the help of articles of authors in foreign languages.⁵⁵⁵ In the end, however, the course was not launched and the sources do not reveal the exact reasons of the failure.

A significant change occurred also in the classical philology programme: upon the proposal of Miklós Szabó, the institute switched from a year-based education to the joint education of the first and second, and third and fourth year students. This shift had a dual objective: they intended to increase the number of Greek lessons, which had been cut significantly in secondary schools as a result of the war and therefore new students came to the Collegium with insufficient knowledge. On the other hand, this gave an opportunity to involve the fourth year students into the activities of the Collegium who earlier had to fulfil only one compulsory requirement of a thesis consultation.⁵⁵⁶ This reform spread to the other departments only very slowly; Gyula Farkas involved the fourth year students in the Collegium work in the first semester in the Hungarian literature history classes in the 1926/1927 academic year for the first time.⁵⁵⁷ At the same time, it occurred as a problem specifically in relation to Hungarian literature history that from the 1920s, the institute began to prohibit simultaneous studies in three subjects and therefore the classical philology students could not take Hungarian as their third subject either. *“However, this had a detrimental consequence of one-sided knowledge of students studying in the Hungarian programme (in modern studies) and the Hungarian literature history, which is an important field of science (review of Latin language documents in Hungary) was also left without a researcher.”*⁵⁵⁸ Madzsar also complained about the fading of classical education in

Laczkó and Gyula Szekfű. However, while Szekfű did not take his position, after 1919, Czebe and Laczkó discredited themselves by accepting their position (Kosáry 1989: 27). The 1920 political transformation and the establishment of the counter revolutionary system gave an opportunity for a new generation of collegium students to become part of the scholar elite.

⁵⁵⁵ The studied authors would have included Gyula Kautz, Wundt, Sombart (Der Sozialismus und die soziale Bewegung), Engels (Der utopische und wissenschaftliche Sozialismus) and Lexis (Volkswirtschaftslehre). Imre Madzsar's draft for the introduction of the course on social studies to third and fourth year students Budapest, 5 January 1920. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/c.

⁵⁵⁶ Report by József Huszti on philology classes in the 1921/1922 academic year. Budapest, June 1922. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/c.

⁵⁵⁷ Report by Gyula Farkas on Hungarian literature classes in the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, 24 June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁵⁵⁸ Report by János Horváth on Hungarian literature history and French language classes in the 1920/1921

1919⁵⁵⁹ and, hardly ten years later, Miklós Szabó warned the director of the Collegium that paring Latin with modern philology or history would lead to a result that such students would not pay more attention to the classical subjects than needed for utilitarian purposes. They would not only not learn the language well, they would also neglect Roman cultural history, not recognising its important role in literature history or historical studies.⁵⁶⁰

During the 1919–1921 period, the crowded years, the interruption of university studies due to the war and the additional admission procedures and, later, growing financial problems also made the conditions of educational management more difficult. In the 1919/1920 academic year, all educational leaders complained that as the students of the Collegium were involved in the university security force, they had less time to concentrate on their studies. As a result, in the 1920/1921 academic year, two⁵⁶¹ and, in the subsequent year, seven students failed their basic exams. The inadequacies of their preparation were the result of disturbed public conditions as Collegium students finished the grammar school in 1917–1919, their missed studies were not reprimanded. It also made education more difficult that five classrooms on the third floor and part of the library were not heated and the books had to be transferred to heated rooms in order to facilitate effective work.⁵⁶² Later, at the end of the 1920s, problems occurred because not all sections of the library could be developed proportionately, due to the shortage in financial resources. So Ferenc Fodor complained in 1927 about decades of lagging behind in geographic works.⁵⁶³

The World War had its last impact in the educational system of the institute at the end of the 1926/1927 academic year. By then, the proportions in the number of students of the various years were restored, because at the end of the previous academic year the last accumulated 34-strong year also left the Collegium. The reports also clearly stated again what Gyula Farkas had also expressed openly: the academic results of the Collegium achieved the same standards as during the period of peace again, for which all old students were grateful and which served as an example to be followed by new students.⁵⁶⁴

academic year. Budapest, 29 June 1921. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/c.

⁵⁵⁹ Report by Imre Madzsar on history programme studies in the 1918/1919 academic year. Budapest, 12 July 1919. MDKL box 52, file 101/2/b.

⁵⁶⁰ Report by Miklós Szabó on the classical philology lessons in the 1927/1928 academic year. Budapest, 31 May 1928. MDKL box 52, file 101/4/a.

⁵⁶¹ Transcript of the teachers' meeting chaired by curator Pál Teleki on 25 June 1921. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

⁵⁶² Transcript of the teachers' meeting of 6 July 1922. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

⁵⁶³ Report by Ferenc Fodor on geography classes in the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, 22 June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁵⁶⁴ Report by Gyula Farkas on Hungarian literature classes in the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, 24 June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

7.5.

Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE as Supervisory Authority Between 1919 and 1927

From November 1918, the Collegium was in a rather difficult financial position, which the management tried to resolve with loans. Although the institute was granted the requested 50,000 crowns, it was not enough to consolidate its budget due to the rapidly rising inflation. The District I People's Guard in Kelenföld imposed a 1,000-crown tax a month on the Collegium in order to cover its operating expenses during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, which made the situation of the institute even more difficult.⁵⁶⁵ After the fall of the dictatorship, the institute was close to bankruptcy, because 75% of the funds allocated for its operation were collected in banknotes that were devalued after 15 August 1919, causing a loss of 15,000 crowns. Consequently, the director applied to the ministry immediately for an additional loan of 18,000 crowns⁵⁶⁶ and then another two loans of 50,000 crowns each in October and December 1919.⁵⁶⁷ Thus, due to the grave financial position, the ministry had to allocate a 168,000-crown extraordinary grant to the institution's budget in the grave economic situation.

The budge of the Collegium was not stabilised in the subsequent year either and therefore in April 1920, Bartoniek applied for another 80,000 crowns of additional loan.⁵⁶⁹ Although the ministry generally fulfilled these requests, in order to avoid bankruptcy, it assigned financial supervisors to the Collegium in June 1920 to review the budget. The inspection was concluded with a settlement deficit, in explanation for which the director stated that József Rüblein, the financial controller deceased in 1919, took the books home due to his illness and therefore no settlement was prepared about the expenses of the Collegium for four months. Although the inspectors proved that the budget deficit matched the amount accumulated due to the lack of accounting for four months, from that time the relationship

⁵⁶⁵ Bartoniek objected to the special tax, but the Treasury Legal Directorate found the People's Guard procedure fair and justified. 7959/V. Letter by the Hungarian Treasury Legal Directorate to the Public Education Commissioner's Office. Budapest, 26 March 1919. MNL OL K 636. box 49, item 25 (1919).

⁵⁶⁶ 83/1919. Submission by Géza Bartoniek for the 18,000-crown additional loan. Budapest, 20 August 1919. MNL OL K 636. box 85, item 25 lot, 79 (1920).

⁵⁶⁷ 94/1919. Submission by Géza Bartoniek for the 50,000-crown additional loan. Budapest, 8 October 1919. MNL OL K 636. box 85, item 25, lot 79 (1920).

⁵⁶⁸ 117/1919. Submission by Géza Bartoniek for the approval of another 50,000-crown additional loan. Budapest, 29 December 1919. MNL OL 636. box 85, item 25, lot 79 (1920).

⁵⁶⁹ 43/1920. Submission by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister for an 80,000-crown additional loan. Budapest, 28 April 1920. MNL OL K 592. lot 143, item 18 (1920).

between the MRPE and the institute fundamentally changed compared to what it had been before.⁵⁷⁰

As indicated in Chapter 6.5, apart from maintaining financial stability, the institute also had to face the risks that occurred during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. József Balassa started negotiations with the ministry on the establishment of a Secondary Teacher Training Institution and the introduction of a new teacher training system in December 1918. The institution was established during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and Balassa was appointed as its leader. The Public Education Commissioner's Office reviewed the Budapest institutes, also including the Collegium in April 1919. Bartoniek fulfilled the reporting obligation only in part, because he did not provide the list of names or positions of students or staff of the Collegium, although it was required under the decree and instead mentioned that the institute functioned with 100 people and 5 teachers and therefore it did not have any vacant flat or bed.⁵⁷¹ However, by July 1919, the Public Education Commissioner's Office made a decision regarding the fate of the institute: deputy commissioner György Lukács merged the institute into the Secondary Teacher Training Institution. According to the decree, the commissioner reallocated some of the Collegium's teachers as the staff of the new teacher training institution. Essentially, this amounted to the dissolution of the institute, as its educational autonomy and teaching staff were withdrawn by the supervisory authority.⁵⁷²

However, the termination could not be carried out in full. This was partly attributable to the unclear public conditions and partly to the activities of Béla Balázs and Lajos Nagy. The former, in the capacity of head of the Department of Literature and Art of the Public Education Commissioner's Office, presumably took substantial steps to decelerate the implementation of the measure.⁵⁷³ The latter, in his capacity as a member of the Collegium's Directory protested against the accommodation of Red Army soldiers in the institution by the Public Education Commissioner's Office.⁵⁷⁴ According to Domokos Kosáry, the Collegium ultimately conserved its independence, but was renamed Lenin College (Domokos

⁵⁷⁰ Due to the fault, Bartoniek considered it necessary to appoint Pál Lukács to the institute to manage the finances and reduce the administrative burden of the director. 57/1920. Report by the director of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium on the transfer and acceptance of the duties of the financial and audit controller of the institute. Budapest, 10 June 1920. MNL OL K 592. lot 143, item 18 (1920).

⁵⁷¹ 42/1919. Report by Géza Bartoniek for the Students' Social Department of the Public Education Commissioner's Office Budapest, April 23 1919. MDKL box 50, file 96/3.

⁵⁷² "While leaving the organisation and management of the institute intact, the Eötvös Collegium is merged with the Secondary Teacher Training Institution for the purposes of secondary teacher training and members of the collegium's teaching staff whose work the Institution will use for performing its own tasks are allocated to the corresponding staff of the Institution named. For the purposes of information, I notify the management about this by instructing it to contact the management of the said Institution in order to discuss the specific measures to be taken to implement the merger and staff unification by the directorate of the Institution and proposals." Department 159.085 VI/1. Deputy commissioner György Lukács on the matter of the merger of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, July 14, 1919. MNL OL K 636. box 49, item 25 (1919).

⁵⁷³ Béla Balázs, originally named Herbert Bauer, was a member of the institute, studying Hungarian and German, between 1902 and 1906 (MDKL box 1, file 2, lot 3).

⁵⁷⁴ Lajos Nagy was a student of Latin and history at the Collegium between 1915 and 1922. He became an elected officer of the Directory, the institution's organisation of confidence, in March 1919. (MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41).

Kosáry 1989: 27). No archive sources are available concerning the restoration of autonomy and the institute's new name was not confirmed officially. Lenin College was not an official denomination and came presumably from Árpád Haász who was the head of the Student Welfare Department of the Public Education Commissioner's Office.⁵⁷⁵

In the second half of 1919, all measures of the dictatorship of the proletariat were nullified, so that the institute also recovered its independence and, having dismissed József Balassa, the ministry abandoned the shift to the new regime of teacher training. Nevertheless, the Collegium's operation was still in jeopardy, as the officers' detachment of the National Army seized a part of its premises for military purposes in September 1919. The military forces put a great burden on the budget of the institute, which suffered from financial problems as it was, requiring constant heating and lighting in the residence rooms occupied by them and the large dining hall, in addition to which their increased number disturbed the scientific education that took off slowly. This is why Bartoniek first requested compensation from the headquarters of the military in November,⁵⁷⁶ and notified the officers' detachment to leave in the first half of December.⁵⁷⁷ The ministry also agreed, after a new military contingent expressed an intention to establish its quarters at Ménesi Road on 8 December 1919.⁵⁷⁸ Upon the intervention of state secretary Lajos Tóth, the Headquarters of the National Army confirmed that the premises of the Collegium may not be seized for military purposes.⁵⁷⁹

Though the soldiers left in the course of January 1920, relations between the institute and the MRPE grew chilly due to budget problems. This is demonstrated by the fact that the minister was not invited to the *Te Deum* held on the 25th anniversary of the Collegium held in the Lazarist church opposite the institute. Mass was celebrated by Imre Szerecz, a teacher from the Premonstratensians of Keszthely, with the assistance of two prebends from the same order who were former students of the Collegium. After the ceremony, a commemorative service was held in the auditorium about the foundation of the institute and war heroes. After the event was published in the press, Bartoniek explained his failure to serve an invitation with the familial atmosphere and the shortage of space. At the same time, he suggested it would be fortunate to organise a separate memorial service for the

⁵⁷⁵ "I am not aware of that ugly offence of being named after Lenin, or rather, I have heard the name being used in practice, but have not imagined an official document having been issued for this purpose. If one has been issued, this must have been committed by Árpád Haas and his fellows." Letter from ministerial secretary Károly Mészáros to Géza Bartoniek. 12 September, 1919. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

⁵⁷⁶ 104/1919. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Headquarters of the Officers' Detachment of District I of Budapest. Budapest, 26 November 26, 1919. MDKL box 88, file 185/4.

⁵⁷⁷ 109/1919. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Headquarters of the Officers' Detachment of District I of Budapest. Budapest, 10 December 1919. MDKL box 88, file 185/4.

⁵⁷⁸ *Three squads of a company, accompanied by an officer, turned up at the Collegium on 8 December 1919. They instructed me to present the premises of the Collegium to them, which they, as an officers' detachment (in Palace hotel), wished to use. I notified them that all premises of the Collegium are in use and could therefore not be handed over to the squads. In reaction, (the younger officers of the) squad became aggressive: »We did not come to dispute. This place needs appropriate inhabitants.« To which I answered: I cannot cancel the premises now. [...] I will make every effort to prevent them from settling in here. The next day, I went to the ministry of public education and got state secretary Lajos Tóth to obtain a letter from the minister to chief commander Horthy.*" Memorandum by Géza Bartoniek about the events of 8 December 1919. MDKL box 50, file 96/4.

⁵⁷⁹ 5573/1919. Certificate of the Headquarters of the Hungarian National Army for Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 13 December 1919. MDKL box 50, file 96/4.

commencement of the Collegium's actual operation and the 25-year anniversary of the first students moving in for 21 September 1920, to which he would be happy to welcome the minister as well.⁵⁸⁰

The celebration did not come to pass, whereas the ministry decided to invite Pál Teleki to fill the position of curator. Relations between the MRPE and the Collegium reached a stalemate due to the unexpected retirement of the director and the proposal for the new curator moved the parties out of the deadlock.⁵⁸¹ The Former Members' Association was set up as a result of this crisis on 3 July 1921, one of the main goals of which was to afford protection for the institute in public life by swinging their social weight. The organisation was also registered by the Ministry of Interior, its first president was Zoltán Gombocz and its work was assisted by János Horváth as vice president, Miklós Szabó as notary and Pál Lukcsics as "steward", that is, financial supervisor (Domokos Kosáry 1989:29). The organisation, which assembled at least once a year, kept records of the alumni and regularly informed them about the affairs of the Collegium by issuing Association Booklets.⁵⁸²

After clarifying the issues related to the person of the director, curator Pál Teleki proposed an amendment to the Organisational Rules, as the original rules of 1895 were intended only as temporary. The curator believed that the original rules had lived up to the hopes attached to them, but some of its stipulations had worn out and therefore needed to be amended. The new rules were adopted at the curator's meeting (teachers' meeting with the curator's participation) held on 1 July 1921 and took their final form after several rounds of proposals.⁵⁸³ Save for two exceptions, the bulk of the changes involved style or clarified the tasks of students and teachers compared to the earlier version. However, section II.2 contained a substantial change: the 1895 rules merely stated that the curator's task was to exercise supervision in all respects as the minister's delegate. The new rules added that the curator had the exclusive right to make proposals concerning all academic and personal matters. This amendment was probably included in the document in the wake of the retirement of the director, as the issue was settled by the curator along similar arguments. The other substantial change took place in section III.4: the original rules provided for the temporary employment of teachers, which was amended to the effect that the Collegium's system of scientific education was to be led by the teaching staff appointed by the minister and lecturers invited on a temporary basis as necessary.⁵⁸⁴ The curator did not wish to amend the disciplinary rules. In the proposal, it was also noted that the affairs of the institute had

⁵⁸⁰ Report 64/1920. by Géza Bartoniek concerning the celebration held to commemorate the 25th academic year of the Bárá Eötvös József Collegium. Budapest, July 9, 1920. MNL OL K 592. lot 143, item 18 (1920).

⁵⁸¹ The crisis was also reported by the magazine titled "Nép" ("People") (MDKL box 89, file 185/a).

⁵⁸² In addition to protection in public life, a goal set out in the deed of foundation was amicable contact between alumni and strengthening the awareness of cohesion, support for the current and former students of the institute in self-education and scientific efforts by promoting research or publishing their works and financial support for the family members of association members if necessary. Proposal to the Hungarian Royal Minister of Interior concerning the bylaws of the Former Members' Association. Budapest, 17 November, 1921. MDKL box 83, file 163/1.

⁵⁸³ The text of the Organisational Rules of the Bárá Eötvös József Collegium, published in the Appendix to the 1 September 1923 issue of Hivatalos Közlöny (Official Journal).

⁵⁸⁴ In addition to the sections listed, the following parts were amended: II. 3. c.), III.5, 6, 7. IV. 88/1921–4 Cur. Proposal of Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister. Budapest, July 18, 1921. MDKL box 50, file 95/3.

been handled by the Ministry's Department for Secondary Schools since 1919. As this questioned the recognition of the Collegium's nature as a college, the ministry was asked to return the administration of the Collegium's affairs to the realm of Department IV of Universities and Colleges.⁵⁸⁵ The new rules of organisation and Pál Teleki as curator were proposed to the governor for approval by MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg on 16 April 1923. Having confirmed that the appointment and the change involved no surplus costs, Horthy approved both proposals.⁵⁸⁶

The easing of tensions between the MRPE and the Collegium was indicated by the fact that the MRPE supported the lectures to be held by Nándor Ember⁵⁸⁷ promoting Hungarian culture in Spain. Similarly to the strengthening of Italian relations, the purpose of this was also to improve Hungary's diplomatic isolation to some extent. Ember contacted the minister of public education in a letter in July 1923, saying he had been living as a music teacher in Madrid for two years and would be happy to deliver free lectures on Hungarian literature, history and music at the Madrid University in his free time. In order to realize these plans, he asked that the Hungarian ministry of foreign affairs ask the Spanish government by way of the Hungarian embassy to appoint him to hold lectures and to make available appropriate premises at the Madrid university as well as to grant the scientific freedom due to university lecturers for this. In addition, he asked the Hungarian counterpart to provide him with the literature required for holding the lectures, and he wished to secure a guarantee that in the event that the Hungarian government were to establish a faculty in Madrid, he would be appointed to head the faculty.⁵⁸⁸

Though the ministry was initially somewhat reserved about this opportunity offered,⁵⁸⁹ Géza Bartoniek's verification diverted matters in the appropriate direction. The director pointed out that Ember was one of the most excellent alumni of the Collegium and, as Ernő Dohnányi's student at the Music Academy, he had held a number of concert tours abroad and had been living in Madrid for two years and the offer was veritably made with no vested interest.⁵⁹⁰ As a result, the MRPE addressed a memorandum to the minister for foreign affairs to take the appropriate steps with the Spanish authorities.⁵⁹¹ Eventually, the Spanish government granted permission,⁵⁹² as a result of which Ember turned up in

⁵⁸⁵ Proposal 12/1923. by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister concerning the amendment to the Organisational Rules. Budapest, January 23, 1923. MDKL box 50, file 95/3.

⁵⁸⁶ 95.001/1923. sz. IV. MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg notifies curator Pál Teleki about the supreme resolution of Governor Miklós Horthy to approve the Organisational Rules and the identity of the curator. MNL OL K 636. box 161, item 25 (1923).

⁵⁸⁷ He was a member of the Collegium studying Hungarian and French between 1914 and 1919, in addition to which he earned a qualification as music teacher at the Music Academy. MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12.

⁵⁸⁸ Letter of Dr. Nándor Ember to the MRPE Minister. Budapest, July 9, 1923. MNL OL K 636. box 182, item 27 (1924).

⁵⁸⁹ 103.490/923. Opinion of department III/a of the MRPE on the support for Nándor Ember's lectures in Madrid. Budapest, July 1923. MNL OL K 636. box 182, item 27 (1924).

⁵⁹⁰ 115/1923. Letter from Géza Bartoniek, director of the Eötvös Collegium, to the MRPE Minister concerning the proposal filed by Nándor Ember. Budapest, August 3, 1923. MNL OL K 636. box 182, item 27 (1924).

⁵⁹¹ 103.490/923. document IV Memorandum of the MRPE Minister to the minister of foreign affairs concerning the appointment of Nándor Ember. Budapest, August 23, 1923. MNL OL K 636. box 182, item 27 (1924).

⁵⁹² 91.718/1924. department IV 24 September Memorandum of the minister of foreign affairs to the MRPE Minister: lectures by dr. Nándor Ember on Hungarian literature at the Madrid university. Budapest, 24

the Hungarian capital to request support for his cause in person. Having convinced the Hungarian authorities about his capability of performing the task, in addition to delivering lectures, the idea was raised that he should prepare Spanish-language publications to promote Hungarian culture in Latin American countries in addition to Spain.⁵⁹³ Therefore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs relied on the institute indirectly in order to achieve goals of cultural policy and of diplomacy also after 1920.

For a short while, it seemed that Pál Teleki managed to consolidate the crisis period that followed the World War, as the Eötvös Collegium returned to a status similar to what it had enjoyed during peacetime by virtue of the new Organisational Rules and the returning of its supervision to department IV of the ministry. However, the institute's autonomy was again endangered in the wake of the debate on the interpretation of law after the adoption of Act XXVII of 1924 (on the training and qualification of secondary school teachers). The legislation elevated the structure created at the Budapest University by 1899 to the national level in secondary school teacher training: apprentice teachers had to attend their own specialisation at university for four years, in addition to which they were required to visit lessons of the secondary teacher training institution for four years and to successfully complete one year of apprenticeship in secondary school teaching as the condition for obtaining teacher qualification (Garai 2011: 201–202).⁵⁹⁴ Article 9 of the act provided that institutes were to be established to supply apprentice teachers at the seat of teacher training institutions. In this regard, the minister's proposal for implementation found that the template for setting up the institute came from the Eötvös Collegium, which had been operating successfully for nearly 30 years at that time and had outstanding achievements to show in the field of teacher training.⁵⁹⁵ Thus, the MRPE essentially recognised the important role played by the institution in the emergence and development of secondary teacher profession in Hungary.

Thus, the teacher training model embodied by the Collegium was confirmed by law, which might also have guaranteed the institution's autonomy, but paradoxically, this failed to take place. Although legislation intended to create teacher training institutes similar to the one in Budapest at other science universities throughout the country, Article 4 section 2 of the Act offered an opportunity for curbing the independence of institutions, by stating that partial or total exemption from attending lessons at the teacher training institution may be granted to students of other Hungarian colleges or foreign universities by the MRPE Minister only based on a proposal from the board or directors of

September, 1924. MNL OL K 636. box 182, item 27 (1924).

⁵⁹³ The meeting proved so successful that the MRPE donated several volumes for the purpose of holding the lectures and ordained that Hungarian magazines also be sent to Ember to Madrid. 33.763/1924. pol. intel. Report on the lectures of dr. Nándor Ember in Madrid Budapest, 24 September, 1924. MNL OL K 636. box 182, item 27 (1924).

⁵⁹⁴ Act XXVII of 1924, Article 6: "*Article 61 section 3 of Act XXX of 1883 shall be amended to stipulate that all apprentice teachers without exception shall demonstrate having completed at least one year of teaching in practice in a public secondary school, primarily in an apprentice secondary school attached to the teacher training institution, pursuing a practice to be regulated in the implementing decree, after completing the college course. Apprentice schools shall be set up at the seat of teacher training institutions. As long as such schools cannot be set up, operators of local secondary schools shall allow their schools to be used for practical teacher training purposes.*"

⁵⁹⁵ Minister's reasoning for Act XXVII of 1924 (Mészáros–Németh–Pukánszky 2003: 479).

teacher training institutions.⁵⁹⁶ A ministerial meeting was convened to elaborate the ministerial directive concerning the Act for 30 April 1924 and Géza Bartoniek was also invited by Kunó Klebelsberg, which resulted in a spectacular improvement in the relations between the MRPE and the Collegium. In the meeting, the director's opinion was sought concerning two issues: on the one hand, the further reforms required in the field of teacher training and, on the other hand, the measures to be taken by the ministry to ensure that an increasing number of young middle-class people choose the teaching profession. "*Namely, would it not be necessary to develop the Eötvös Collegium and establish similar institutions in conjunction with universities in the countryside.*"⁵⁹⁷

The MRPE wished to restrict the provisions of Article 4 of Act XXVII of 1924 for members of the Eötvös Collegium, thereby recognising the high-standard scientific work carried out in the institute. The ministry expected Bartoniek to propose the extent to which collegium members should be exempted from the lessons of the teacher training institution.⁵⁹⁸ The relevant findings were submitted in mid-August 1925, upon the urging of the ministry.⁵⁹⁹ The director argued that the elaboration of sections III.5, 6 and 7 of the Organisational Rules applicable to the academic obligations of the collegium students was based on the "Directive" issued to members of the teacher training institution, which detailed the studies to be completed in specialist subjects. These requirements for students had been set as the minimum requirements for retaining membership ever since the beginning of the institute's operation. Bartoniek held that the opportunity for doing so was granted by the fact that the Collegium had picked members from talented and well-to-do social groups from the outset who had no financial needs and were therefore able to fulfil the advanced requirements, in contrast with members of the teacher training institution in a less well-off group of society. By virtue of its library and highly qualified specialist managers, the institution was able to provide at least the same education as the teacher training institution, so he requested that Collegium students be exempted from mandatory four-year membership and lessons, as their occupation in the dorm made it impossible to attend lessons of a third institution alongside university and the Collegium.⁶⁰⁰

The ministry submitted the proposal also to the director of the teacher training institution who invited the head of the Eötvös Collegium to the board of directors' meeting to be held at the faculty of arts on 8 October 1925, to discuss the existing situation.⁶⁰¹ The

⁵⁹⁶ Act XXVII of 1924, Article 4(2): "*The extent to which this requirement should be limited to apprentice teachers having completed or in the course of completing all or a part of their studies in other Hungarian colleges, college institutions or universities (colleges) abroad shall be determined by the minister for religion and public education, after consulting the board of directors of the teacher training institution. This ministerial decree may be amended only by way of legislation.*"

⁵⁹⁷ Letter no. 1988/1924. eln. by MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to Géza Bartoniek concerning the matter of teacher training. Budapest 7 April 1924. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

⁵⁹⁸ MRPE Decree 50769/1945. IV. to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium on the interpretation of Act XXVII of 1924 and the limitation of Article 4(2). Budapest, July 2, 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

⁵⁹⁹ 59.189/1925. IV. Notice by department IV of the MRPE to Géza Bartoniek concerning the submission of his proposal. Budapest, August 13, 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

⁶⁰⁰ Proposal 92/1925. by Géza Bartoniek concerning the restriction of Article 4(2) of Act XXVII of 1924. Budapest, August 19, 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

⁶⁰¹ Tk. 119/1925–1926. Letter from Gedeon Petz, director of the Teacher Training Institution, to director Géza

position held by members of the board of directors soon became clear to Géza Bartoniek. His old friend Imre Dóczi also helped to clarify this position; Dóczi contacted him by mail in order to brief him on the relations between the Debrecen University and the teacher training institution set up in 1925 and the teacher training institute established by the Reformed church a year earlier.⁶⁰² In his letter of November 1925, Dóczi informed Bartoniek that they had contacted Klebelsberg with a proposal to exempt members of the Debrecen institute from attending lessons at the teacher training institution. Similarly to the case in Budapest, the proposal was also submitted to the teacher training institution's board of directors in Debrecen, which did not recommend the exemption, claiming that the institute was not an institution of a college nature. This resulted in an impossible situation, as students were unable to attend the classes of the university and the teacher training institution in addition to those of their own institution. The minister was unwilling to convene a meeting to clarify the situation in spite of several requests made, whereas he was informed by Károly Pap, director of the teacher training institution of Debrecen that Pap's peers in Budapest, Gedeon Petz and others, had come to the decision to bind students of the Eötvös Collegium to attend lessons of the teacher training institution as well.⁶⁰³

In his report following the meeting of the board of directors, Bartoniek also came to the conclusion that the teacher training institution had already decided on the issue. During the meeting, he was called upon to make a statement on whether he upheld the proposal submitted to the minister. After he upheld his position, Petz addressed him as follows: "*the minister may limit this obligation after consulting the Council of the Teacher Training Institution for its opinion. He may limit it, but may not abolish it.*"⁶⁰⁴ After learning about the information provided by Dóczi, Petz's position became clear to him. The legal dispute was clarified as late as December 1926, by the adoption of Pál Teleki's compromise proposal, which fundamentally changed the institution's position from its earlier status. The ministry attempted to release the deadlock by calling another meeting. On 14 January 1926, the matter of institutions to which certain academic exemptions were granted was discussed with Klebelsberg acting as chairman. However, no decision to the merit of the matter was reached concerning the Collegium, so the minister appointed

Bartoniek to invite him to the meeting of the board of directors. Budapest, October 1, 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

⁶⁰² Dóczi also noted that Sándor Karai, director of the Grammar School and Dormitory of the Reformed Church in Debrecen, had organised the institute along the lines of the Eötvös Collegium. Four specialised language teachers (Hungarian, classical philology, German and French) helped teacher students in afternoon sessions. This indeed corresponded to the early education system of the Collegium between 1895 and 1910. Dóczi was interested in the following issues: the relationship between the Collegium and the teacher training institution of Budapest, whether the grades earned in the Collegium had any effect on eligibility to the teacher qualification exam, whether Collegium members were members of the teacher training institution on a mandatory basis and had to attend its classes. Letter of Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek concerning the relationship between the Eötvös Collegium and the teacher training institution (Debrecen, 24 August 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/2).

⁶⁰³ Letter from Imre Dóczi to Géza Bartoniek concerning the refusal of exemption granted by Article 4 of Act XXVII of 1924. Debrecen, November 5, 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/2.

⁶⁰⁴ Report by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the meeting of the board of directors of the teacher training institution. Budapest, 15 October 1925. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

state secretary Lajos Tóth to convene another meeting to discuss the institute's affair as the sole item on its agenda. The next round of talks took place on 26 November 1926. In addition to the parties concerned, attendees included major decision makers and policy creators of secondary teacher training.⁶⁰⁵ The draft decree worded with Pál Teleki's active participation was presented at this meeting.⁶⁰⁶ As the proposal was acceptable for both the teacher training institution and the institute, an agreement on academic exemptions was reached in the meeting.⁶⁰⁷

With reference to Article 13 of Act XXVII of 1924, the ministry required members of the Collegium wishing to obtain a teacher qualification to become a member of the teacher training institution on a mandatory basis. Membership in the Collegium and its dissolution had to be certified by the incumbent head of the institute in the registration books of students. However, according to Article 4(2), the Collegium was recognised as a college institution, the scientific education system of which allowed for limiting the obligation of students to attend lessons of the teacher training institution. *“Therefore, the board of directors of the institute shall submit its academic schedule to the presidency of the teacher training institution semester by semester to enable an assessment of the lectures available to Collegium members at the Collegium, so that they may be exempted from the corresponding lectures of the teacher training institution.”*⁶⁰⁸

According to a proposal of the inter-university committee supervising the implementation of the Act, the provisions of Act XXVII of 1924 came into effect during the basic exam for students who commenced their higher education studies in the academic year of 1925/1926 and during the pedagogy exam for those who completed university at the end of the academic year of 1924/1925 or afterwards. So, students who started their higher education studies in the academic year of 1925/1926 could pass the teacher exam only if they were members of the teacher training institution and fulfilled pedagogy apprenticeship in apprenticeship grammar schools after their four-year studies. According to the above, although members of the Eötvös Collegium were granted some academic relief, they had to enrol to the teacher training institute in order to be able to take the basic exam after four terms, or the specialist exam after eight terms of studies. However, due to the elongated legal dispute, Collegium students enrolling for the basic exam in the spring

⁶⁰⁵ The meeting was attended by state secretary Lajos Tóth, state secretary Árpád Nagy, ministerial secretary and presenter Aurél Badics, Pál Teleki, curator of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium, director Géza Bartoniek, Gedeon Petz, president of the secondary teacher training institution of Budapest, executive vice president of the teacher training institution János Melich, Ernő Finácz and Gyula Kornis. 88200/1926. department IV. 27 November Measure concerning teacher student members of the Báró Eötvös Collegium in respect of the limitation of requirements under Act XXVII of 1924. Budapest, 27 November, 1926. MNL OL K 636. box 303, item 26 (1928).

⁶⁰⁶ Letter from János Melich, acting chairman of the state committee for secondary teacher inspection of Budapest to department IV of the MRPE on the draft decree related to Act XXVII of 1924. Budapest, 22 November, 1926. MNL OL K 636. box 303, item 26 (1928).

⁶⁰⁷ 88200/1926. department IV. 27 November Measure concerning teacher student members of the Báró Eötvös Collegium in respect to the limitation of requirements under Act XXVII of 1924. Budapest, 27 November, 1926. MNL OL K 636. box 303, item 26 (1928).

⁶⁰⁸ 88.200/1926. IV. Decree of state secretary Lajos Tóth on the application of Article 4(2) of Act XXVII of 1924 to the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, December 3, 1926. MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

of 1927 had only one or two terms of membership in the teacher training institution, so they could not have been admitted to the exam according to the rules. Which is why, at a meeting held on 15 February 1927, the teacher training institution suggested that Collegium members who had become members before the second term of the academic year of 1926/1927 and did not have four terms of membership at the teacher training institution could nevertheless be admitted to the basic exam as an exception. The proposal submitted by the chairman of the teacher examination board stressed the arguments in favour of this relief, which the Collegium brought into the legal dispute: the training provided by the institute supplemented and substituted specialist scientific and educational work conducted at the teacher training institution, which prepared candidates for the teaching profession.⁶⁰⁹

Though the MRPE decree assumed cooperation between the two institutions, the fact that membership in the teacher training institution was made mandatory and lectures were reconciled in fact injured the Collegium's academic autonomy, as it was forced to subordinate its training system to the academic procedures of the institution headed by Gedeon Petz and his successor in order to maintain its operability. This way, the ministry changed the position of the institute in the system of teacher training in Hungary, because while it was an independent institution operating in conjunction with the university and the teacher training institution, it became subordinated to the teacher training institution for academic reasons in the new structure created by Act XXVII of 1924, though it retained the benefits offered by directly reporting to the ministry and, for a short while, an independent budget. At the same time, the Collegium's fate was intertwined with the new teacher training system established nationwide and any changes to the latter affected the issue of the institution's survival as well.

The institution's position was further deteriorated by prime minister's decree 7000/1925. (6 November), according to which the budgets of the Collegium and of the teacher training institution were merged under the heading "*secondary teacher training institutions and teachers and officers employed by the Bárá Eötvös Collegium*". So, instead of the one 5th remuneration category, two 6th remuneration category and three 7th remuneration category positions as regards salary, five 4th remuneration category and four 7th remuneration category positions as regards salary were determined for the two institutions in total. Each institution was allocated two 6th remuneration category positions and the remaining 7th remuneration category positions were allocated to the institute. The director's position was downgraded to the 6th remuneration category. This was a serious blow to the Collegium's position as an independent college, as its separate budget was essentially terminated and the social prestige of its director was considerably reduced by the move to the lower remuneration category. As far as salary status was concerned, it was an express disadvantage, because the same decree left two 5th remuneration category positions with, for example the Teacher Training Institution for Higher Elementary Education.

⁶⁰⁹ Tv.1026/1926-1927. Letter from József Szinnyei, chairman of the state secondary teacher examination board of Budapest, concerning the relief to be granted to members of Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 10 March 1927. MNL OL K 636. box 248, item 30 (1927).

7.6.

Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1919 and 1927

Some Collegium students were avid supporters of the Aster Revolution and remained active in public life later on as well. They stood guard by the catafalque of Endre Ady, then welcomed the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic (Győry 1960: 88). However, there were some who sought refuge from the involuntary military draft in the countryside and returned to the institution only in the second half of 1919.

Supplies continued to deteriorate even compared to the war years due to financial problems and the situation was further aggregated by the shortage of coal, which caused disturbances in heating. It was extremely difficult to continue with the intensive scientific work typical in earlier days, given these conditions. The said work was also prevented by the departure of some of the teachers from the institution. After the revolutions, Collegium students who stayed at the Collegium between March and August 1919 had to report on their activities. Most of them justified having stayed in Budapest by saying they had lost several years of their studies due to the war and wanted to make up for them, or that they were preparing their thesis or dissertation in the library. A smaller part of these students cited family situations as reasons for their stay: their parents had passed away or they had come from occupied territories, so travel home was cumbersome.

Similarly to the board of teachers, students also set up a body of confidence on 26 March 1919. The vote was supervised by Pál Lukcsics as senior. At that time, most Collegium students were still at the dorm, as altogether 54 votes were cast. Béla Vasskó (47 votes),⁶¹⁰ Lajos Nagy (44 votes),⁶¹¹ Lipót Müller (Molnos) (39 votes),⁶¹² László Weifert who returned from Switzerland (28 votes)⁶¹³ and Balázs Nagy (21 votes) became the five members of the Directory.⁶¹⁴ This body was set up on instructions from the Public Commissioner's Office and did not contravene Bartoniek during its operation.⁶¹⁵ Its most significant measure was the erection of a memorial plaque based on a decision of the general assembly in memory of the heroes that died in the battles of the world war and the supervision of the related public donations needed.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁰ He was a student studying Hungarian and German between 1913 and 1921. He was held as prisoner of war in Russia between 1916 and 1918 (MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 66).

⁶¹¹ MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41.

⁶¹² He was a member of the institution studying Hungarian and Latin between 1915 and 1922 (MDKL box 14, file 13, lot 40).

⁶¹³ MDKL box 23, file 23, lot 68.

⁶¹⁴ He was a member of the institution studying Latin, history and Hungarian between 1912 and 1919 (MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41).

⁶¹⁵ Supplementary members: Róbert Major with 20, Andor Soós with 17, Miklós Wolf with 13, Ágoston Radulovits with 12 and Vilmos Ullreich with 10 votes. Minutes of the election of the Eötvös Collegium's board of confidence. Budapest, 27 March 1919. MDKL box 51, file 97/1.

⁶¹⁶ Minutes of the meeting of the Collegium's youth held on 4 June 1919. Budapest, 5 June 1919. MDKL box

There were only a few devoted supporters of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the institution. In his memoirs, Pál Kardos⁶¹⁷ identified László Weifert, Lipót Müller (Molnos), Albert Kováts and Oszkár Paulinyi as people who sympathised with the Communists. Weifert, worn out by the four-year spell of French internment, agreed to be the representative of the Communist party in the Collegium as well. Kováts⁶¹⁸ promoted extreme left-wing ideas among Collegium students already before March 1919. Paulinyi joined the Red Army as a volunteer and fought in the battles of Upper Hungary between May and June 1919.⁶¹⁹ Oszkár Firtás⁶²⁰ was the one who urged peers to join the new army (Győry 1960: 101). The Public Education Commissioner's Office also tried to make the new political regime popular among Collegium students by disseminating propaganda materials.⁶²¹ The documents were also received by Oszkár Firtás, as special appointee of the director.⁶²² The Public Education Commissioner's Office also took the time to make sure that the leaflets were distributed to those who had been in military service, but returned to the institution in the meantime, in addition to students staying in Budapest. The decree terminating the Collegium and the Red Army soldiers quartered by the Student Welfare Department, however, hardly raised support for the dictatorship among Collegium students.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, a great number of the old Collegium students returning joined the university security force. Those in officer rank wore military uniforms throughout the academic year of 1919/1920 in both the Collegium and at university; some continued to do so afterwards as well. There were also some teachers who found it hard to reintegrate into civil life after lengthy frontline service. Miklós Szabó became a symbolic figure for these teachers; he held classes in uniform for a long time and his manners had grown quite coarse during frontline service (Bassola 1998: 63). The body of teachers frowned upon participation in the university security force, because it frequently entailed absence from classes, followed by bad results in basic exams and specialist exams.

The institution was able to launch regular work again only in January 1920 when university courses recommenced. The application procedure of the summer of 1919 was omitted, as the Public Education Commissioner's Office forbade the announcement of the applications and, in lieu of the freshers, it referred 13 soldiers as students who were removed from the

51, file 98/2.

⁶¹⁷ He was a member of the institution studying Hungarian and German between 1917 and 1922 and went on to become a professor of literary history at the Debrecen University later on. His son Pál Kardos (Pándi) was also a member of the institution after 1945, and played an active part in converting the Collegium into an incubator for Marxist scientists (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

⁶¹⁸ He was a student of Hungarian and French at the Collegium between 1919 and 1924. He was in military service in the frontline without interruption between 1915 and 1918 (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30).

⁶¹⁹ Pál Kardos (1969): Nagy események sodrában. [*In the wake of great events*] *Alföld*, 20. 3. sz. 5–8. MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

⁶²⁰ Firtás was a member of the Collegium as a student of history and geography between 1912 and 1919 (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 14).

⁶²¹ "You are instructed to send your appointed representative to the Youth Worker Welfare Department – bearing a certificate containing the number of people living in the institute – for the purpose of collecting propaganda materials." Letter of the Student Welfare Department of the Public Education Commissioner's office to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, June 23, 1919. MDKL box 50, file 96/3.

⁶²² 65/1919. Authorisation by Géza Bartoniek to Oszkár Firtás for collecting propaganda materials. Budapest, June 28, 1919. MDKL box 50, file 96/3.

Collegium with the ministry's agreement in September 1919.⁶²³ The cancelled application procedure was eventually held at the end of December 1919 and beginning of January 1920. At the end of the academic year, after the validation of teachers, the activities of each Collegium student were assessed during the teachers' conference of 1 May 1920. Further investigations were found to be necessary for seven students due to their conduct during the dictatorship of the proletariat.⁶²⁴ Two of them left the institution; Róbert Major and Sándor Vitális. Major resigned from membership on 9 October 1920, though presumably not for political reasons.⁶²⁵ Vitális had to leave, due to his academic performance, in June 1920.⁶²⁶ Therefore, essentially nobody was removed from the Collegium for political reasons.

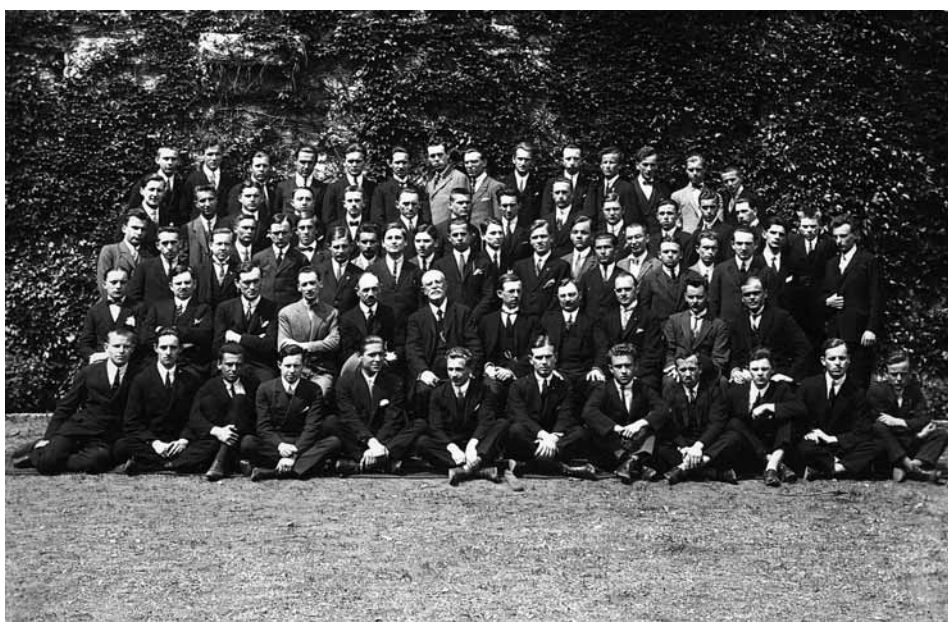


Image 15: Members of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium in the last years of the G.B. era

⁶²³ Proposal 119/1919. by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister concerning the application procedure that has not been held. Budapest, 31 December 1919. MNL OL K 636. box 85, item 25, lot 79 (1920).

⁶²⁴ Károly Kocsis, Róbert Major, Lajos Nagy, Oszkár Paulinyi, Béla Vasskó, Sándor Vitális, László Weifert. Minutes of the teachers' conference held on 1 May 1920. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

⁶²⁵ He was a member of the security forces for a short while during the Hungarian Soviet Republic period. He failed to indicate the reason for resignation (MDKL box 12, file 13, lot 36).

⁶²⁶ Béla Mauritz notified Bartoniek that Vitális had not passed the basic exam at all and he should have marked him "fail", but had not done so with regard to the Collegium. Letter of Béla Mauritz to director Géza Bartoniek on the basic exam of Sándor Vitális. Budapest, July 29, 1920 After this, Vitális was removed from the institution on an urgent basis (MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 67).

However, the atmosphere in the institution remained tense. This is proven by the fact that a scandal erupted around a drama written by Francois Gachot, one of the lecturers (*Jeux de Dames*) around this time: a group of Collegium students protested the piece and challenged Gachot to a duel. As recalled by Sauvageot, two duel assistants turned up at Gachot's room. They left after Sauvageot intervened, but did not leave the matter at that, because Collegium students said they intended to boycott the lessons of both lecturers. They desisted only when the two French language lecturers threatened the institution that they would travel home and the *École Normale Supérieure* would terminate all relations with its Hungarian peer institution (Sauvageot 1988: 278–280).

Despite the political extremities, the student customs at the Collegium remained basically the same. It was essentially these customs that successfully kept student revolts in check, though these occurred frequently, due to the conditions in the country, or the failed revolutions even in the early 1920's (Féja 1965: 20). The family system and initiation ceremonies ensured continuity between freshers and "teachers". The proportions of the numbers of students in each year were restored after 1926, following which the teachers felt that peacetime conditions were restored in the institution. However, the Collegium's director had grown old and was unable to supervise the academic performance of students as he had done earlier. It was presumably the intention to restore academic discipline that led curator Pál Teleki to appoint Miklós Szabó to fill in the director's position on a temporary basis, until the return of Zoltán Gombocz (see Kosáry 1989: 30).

In 1923, the Physical Education Council wished to turn the Collegium into the centre of the reformed physical education teacher training. This was proposed to be done by adding physical education skills to certain scientific disciplines. Both the teacher training institution and the director submitted a proposal concerning this to the ministry. The former found the organisation's proposal to be acceptable by making use of the gym while the latter rejected it, similarly to Pál Teleki. Teleki's arguments relied mainly on stating that, in his opinion, the new training would have appeared as a third subject of specialisation entailing mainly theoretical education, which threatened with overloading the students. According to the curator, Collegium students had to complete 35 to 46 classes per week at the institution and this would have been raised by the inclusion of physical education as a third major, instead of allowing students to recover from mental exertions by means of physical exercise. So he proposed to test physical education teacher training outside the scope of the Collegium with "youth fit for this purpose". He believed more intensive physical education to be feasible in the institute by the incorporation of the scout movement. In his capacity as National Scout Chief, he invited Ferenc Fodor, head of the scout department of the Social Policy Institute, to take care of this. His goal was to integrate scout officer training in the institution (see Dénesi 1995: 102).⁶²⁷ Géza Bartoniek reports on the issue of physical education in the Collegium in a 1925 proposal. Section III.8 of the Organisational Rules had paid attention to the physical development of students accepted from the outset; in the new building, the gym and the garden provided ample space for various sports and were put to good use by the youngsters. They presented their skills in fencing and gymnastics also to the curator who

⁶²⁷ 183/1923. Cur. Proposal by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister concerning the proposal of the Physical Education Council. Budapest, November, 1923. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

was highly satisfied with what he saw. This was achieved with significant sacrifice, as they were forced to train in small groups over different parts of the day due to their tumultuous schedule. The exercises were directed by Collegium members with military service behind their backs or well-versed in a certain types of sports (Kálmán Keresztury, János Miklóssy and Jenő Vas were mentioned by name). He highlighted that the Báró Eötvös Loránd Old Scout Team also started its operation in the institution, with the main objective of providing theoretical and practical training for scout officers. In February 1925, 14 Collegium members held officer ranks, while a number of others were preparing to pass the officer test.⁶²⁸ The ministry itself also endorsed physical exercise and authorised the replacement of obsolete sports equipment despite the extremely high inflation.⁶²⁹

In addition to exercise, trips within and outside of Hungary offered an opportunity for Collegium students to relax during the period investigated. In 1922, a group of Collegium students paid a visit to the Esztergom-Szászvár coal mine, led by Géza Bartoniek.⁶³⁰ After that, the Gymnastics Group of the Grammar School of the Reformed Church of Kunszentmárton invited students of the Collegium to compare strength and skills with the school students in 80-metre and 100-metre running, pole vaulting, discus throwing, relay running, hand grenade throwing, shot put and football on 25 May 1924. In addition, the programme included "baton exercises with music" and "club exercises with music" by women.⁶³¹ 30 members of the Collegium accepted the invitation, partly as escorts and partly as contestants in each type of sports.⁶³² In addition, the institution renewed its earlier custom of visiting Ercsi, the place where the Eötvös family was buried, on All Saints' Day. During the visit, a requiem mass was held for the family member after whom the Collegium had been named.⁶³³

Collegium students had opportunities to travel abroad only to a limited extent, by way of scholarships, due to the international isolation of Hungary and financial difficulties. In the academic year of 1923/1924, the Italian government established a grant of 2,500 liras for two more students engaged in college studies in addition to the existing grant. MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg wished to award the grants to students in vigorous pursuit of the Italian language who could be expected to use their knowledge to the benefit of public education. The minister also invited Géza Bartoniek to the committee set up for awarding

⁶²⁸ Proposal 12/1925. by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister concerning a subsidy for sports equipment of one hundred and fifty million ten thousand crowns. Budapest, 9 February 1925. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

⁶²⁹ Proposal 41/1925. by Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister concerning the amount for development determined by the Department of the Physical Education Council. Budapest, 22 April 1925. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/1.

⁶³⁰ Originally, 40 students intended to participate in the trip, but the plant was unable to accept such a high number of visitors, so that only 13 attended the study trip. 80/1922 Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the Board of Directors of Esztergom-Szászvári Kőszénbánya Rt. Budapest, 16 May 1922. MDKL box 36, file 56.

⁶³¹ Letter from the Gymnastics Group of the Grammar School of the Reformed Church of Kunszentmiklós to Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 25 May 1924. MDKL box 36, file 56.

⁶³² Report on the athletic contest and football match held at the Grammar School of the Reformed Church of Kunszentmárton on 25 May 1924. MDKL box 36, file 56.

⁶³³ 133/1926. Circular on the visit to be paid to József Eötvös's grave on 3 November 1926. Budapest, October 1926. MDKL box 36, file 56.

the grant.⁶³⁴ As a result, Collegium members proposed by the director, Gyula Egry⁶³⁵ and József Faragó⁶³⁶ were awarded the grants.⁶³⁷ The board of directors also nominated Collegium students for the grant with the agreement of Italo Siciliano.⁶³⁸ The success of their applications was guaranteed by the fact that the Italian language teacher of the Collegium was also the cultural attaché of the Italian consulate and that the head of the Collegium Hungaricum of Rome, Tibor Gerevich, was also an alumnus of the institute. In addition to the Italian capital, Collegium students were able to apply for visits to Berlin. This was again made possible by the fact that the organiser and head of the Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin was Róbert Gragger up to his death in 1926 who was also an alumnus of the Eötvös Collegium. So, in the summer of 1924, László Ölvedi,⁶³⁹ Gyula Bucsics,⁶⁴⁰ Géza Ferenczy⁶⁴¹ and Béla Padányi Gulyás⁶⁴² were accommodated by this institution.⁶⁴³

Similarly to the previous period, the Collegium received nine students from abroad between 1919 and 1927. As the political situation became more stable, the first guests arrived at the institution in the academic year of 1921/1922; they were Serbo-Croatian student Ivan Krajncev⁶⁴⁴ and Hamid Zübeir⁶⁴⁵, a Tartar student. Between 1922 and 1924, the Collegium hosted German students Gottfried Höhne and Walter Matthes and Finnish student Rolf Grönlund.⁶⁴⁶ Höhne was an assistant at the Collegium Hungaricum of Berlin, studying Hungarian and Slavic linguistics. Matthes studied archeology and history at the

⁶³⁴ 1374/1924. Memorandum of MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to Géza Bartoniek on the donation of a grant by the Italian government. Budapest, 7 March 1924. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁶³⁵ He completed his studies in classical philology between 1915 and 1924 (MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12).

⁶³⁶ He completed his studies at the institution in Hungarian and French between 1921 and 1925. He took Italian language lessons at the Collegium from Italo Siciliano (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 13).

⁶³⁷ 1537/1924. Memorandum of MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to Géza Bartoniek on the persons to whom the grants were awarded. Budapest, 14 March 1924. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁶³⁸ In the academic year of 1925/1926, Attila Bogyay, Rudolf Král, Antal Lőcsey and László Pallos were proposed for the grant. 108/1925. Letter from Géza Bartoniek to the MRPE Minister on the persons applying for the Italian grant. Budapest, 26 September, 1925. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁶³⁹ He was a student at the institution studying Hungarian and German between 1922 and 1927. He died as a poet of Upper Hungary after a tragic life, on 21 April 1931 (MDKL box 15, file 15, lot 44).

⁶⁴⁰ He was a member of the institute, studying Hungarian and German, between 1921 and 1925 (MDKL box 3, file 2, lot 7).

⁶⁴¹ He studied Hungarian, German and philosophy at the institute between 1923 and 1927. He went on to become the Hungarian language assistant of the Vienna university of sciences and the librarian of Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 14).

⁶⁴² He was a member of the Collegium as a student of history and geography between 1921 and 1925 (MDKL box 6, file 7, lot 17).

⁶⁴³ Ölvedi, Bucsics and Ferenczy received 9 million crowns, while Padányi's trip was supported by the ministry at an amount of 5 million crowns. 43.752/1924. Department III.b. Letter from the MRPE Minister to Géza Bartoniek on the support for summer grantees of the Collegium Hungaricum of Berlin Budapest, May 1924. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁶⁴⁴ He stayed at the Collegium between 1921 and 1922 and his qualification form fails to indicate his major (MDKL box 34, file 51).

⁶⁴⁵ He studied Hungarian and Oriental linguistics at the Collegium between March 1921 and December 1923 and went on to become the chief inspector of Turkish state museums in Ankara later in life (MDKL box 35, file 52).

⁶⁴⁶ No details whatsoever are available on his studies. He spent a mere six months at the institution (MDKL box 34, file 50).

universities of Berlin and Marburg.⁶⁴⁷ Between 1925 and 1928, a Hungarian student from Upper Hungary, Ferenc Ozorák; a Zyrian student, Vazul Lütkin and two Turkish students, Namiq Hussein and Ragib Houlousi arrived to the institute. The latter two studied Turkish philology at the faculty of arts of the Budapest University.⁶⁴⁸ Ozorák studied classical philology at the Karel University of Prague and spent a mere six months in the Hungarian capital city. Lütkin was a Finno-Ugrian linguist and also stayed only a short while at the Collegium (see Nagy 1995: 85–88).⁶⁴⁹ In spite of the tense political and financial situation following the great war, there were no conflicts between foreign students and Collegium members, unlike in the previous period. Presumably, the fact that, having learned from the atrocities of the period before the world war, the institution's management considered the issue of accepting guests very carefully played a role in this.

In summary, it may be stated that World War I and the revolutions had a strong impact on life within the institution. The students returning from military service remained unable to reintegrate into the conditions of civil life for a long time and the problem was further aggravated by the fact that the conditions customary before 1914 essentially ceased to exist in the wake of the economic difficulties: public food supply and the institution's infrastructure gradually diminished and, given the shortage of funds, they improved again only as late as the mid-1920's. Although the congested classes left the institution by 1926, the high age and gradual deterioration of health of the director posed new challenges for the Collegium. The financial possibilities enjoyed in peacetime, which had allowed for moving into the new building and study trips for groups, never occurred again in the subsequent history of the institution. In spite of the gradually deteriorating financial conditions, the Collegium attempted to conserve the high standard of scientific work and to align it to the new conditions.

⁶⁴⁷ MDKL box 34, file 51.

⁶⁴⁸ Namiq Hussein went on to become a teacher at the Ankara university (MDKL box 34, file 51). Ragib Houlousi became a teacher at the Constantinople University (MDKL box 35, file 52).

⁶⁴⁹ MDKL box 34, file 51.



Image 16: Zoltán Gombocz in front of the Eötvös Collegium building

8

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM BETWEEN 1928 AND 1935

8.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1928 and 1935 by Region and Denomination

During the directorship of Zoltán Gombocz, a total of 388 students, on average 55 students a year submitted an application to the Collegium. Compared to the previous period, the drop in the number of applicants by nearly 100 individuals was probably due to the economic crisis reaching Hungary in 1931. 140 applicants became members of the institute and 248 were rejected.

In terms of the territorial distribution of the place of birth of admitted students, processes similar to the previous period can be observed in the Gombocz era: the absolute majority, 56%, of successful applicants were from the western and central parts of the country (19%

from Transdanubia, 37% from the Danube-Tisza Interfluve) and 13% were from the eastern parts. The share of the capital of those born in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve was 75% (27.8% overall), which dramatically highlights settlement inequalities and the social recruiting background of Collegium.⁶⁵⁰ Nearly one third, 28%, of the admitted applicants were born in areas outside of the country border. Most of them, 14% (3.61%),⁶⁵¹ were born in Upper Hungary and 11% (4.67%) were of Transylvanian origin and 3% (1.17%) of collegium students were from the southern regions.⁶⁵² Their admission was made possible by the fact that, according to the practice developed in the Bartoniek period, 5-6 places were usually reserved for applicants applying from the separated regions.

Territorial disparities can also be observed in the ranking of counties. Similarly to the previous period, the relative majority of successful applicants came from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, however, their numbers doubled, constituting 34% of admitted students (the share of the capital, taking the category as 100%, was 83%).⁶⁵³ But the proportion of all college students living in the capital was still lower than that of university students. The western counties were also among the top-ranked municipalities: 5% of admitted students were born in Veszprém, 4% in Vas and 4% in Borsod, while 3% respectively in Sopron, Abaúj-Torna, Baranya and Máramaros counties.⁶⁵⁴ There were only two counties beyond the border and three Transtisza counties among the top fifteen.⁶⁵⁵

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 34 | 15.6 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 3 | 0 | Veszprém | 5 | 2.7 |
| Transdanubian Region | 19 | 26.4 | Vas | 4 | 3.1 |

⁶⁵⁰ In 1930, 16% of the country's population lived in the capital. Thus, in the case of the Eötvös Collegium, it can be seen from the regional distribution that the institute chose its members mainly from urbanised social groups. (cf. Gyáni 2006: 207).

⁶⁵¹ In the brackets I indicate the residence of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences students during the second half of the 1927/1928 academic year (Sine nomine 1929: 352).

⁶⁵² For the breakdown by region of the birth places of those admitted between 1928 and 1935, see Figure 65 of the Appendix. There is no birth data for 3% of applicants applying in the sub-period. See Table 10 for information on the regional and county classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

⁶⁵³ According to the reports of József Asztalos, in the 1929/1930 academic year, 66.8% of students enrolled at Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences lived in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and in the capital (Asztalos 1930: 89).

⁶⁵⁴ According to the 1930 census, 2.79% of the population lived in Veszprém County, while 3.15% lived in Vas, 3.40% in Borsod, Gömör and Kishont counties combined, with 4.82% living in Sopron, 1.04% in Abaúj-Torna and 2.85% in Baranya (1930 census 1941: 2).

⁶⁵⁵ See Figure 7 in the Appendix for the map detailing the full distribution of birthplaces of admitted applicants between 1919 and 1944, the colour chart of which shows the dominance of the western and central parts of the country.

8.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1928 and 1935

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 37 | 58 | Borsod | 4 | 3.4 |
| Transylvania | 11 | 0 | Sopron | 3 | 0.4 |
| Upper Hungary | 14 | 0 | Abatúj-Torna | 3 | 1 |
| Transtisza Region | 13 | 15.5 | Baranya | 3 | 2.8 |
| No data | 3 | 0 | Máramaros | 3 | 0 |
| Rejected applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 19 | 15.6 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 5 | 0 | Vas | 5 | 3.1 |
| Transdanubian Region | 24 | 26.4 | Borsod | 5 | 3.4 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 32 | 58 | Somogy | 4 | 4.4 |
| Transylvania | 9 | 0 | Heves | 4 | 3.6 |
| Upper Hungary | 10 | 0 | Csongrád | 4 | 1.7 |
| Transtisza Region | 16 | 15.5 | Békés | 3 | 3.7 |
| No data | 3 | 0 | Győr | 3 | 2.2 |

Table 10: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region and county compared to national population data⁶⁵⁶

It can be seen from the administrative classification of places of birth that the proportion of people arriving from urbanised settlements increased: 65% of collegium students were born in the municipality (the share of the capital, taking the category as 100%, was 80%) or county towns (21%). This ratio was higher than similar university data, as in the 1929/1930 academic year 55.6% of newly enrolled students lived in municipality towns (50.1% in the capital, 5.5% in other municipality towns) (Asztalos 1930: 89). Similarly to the last phase of the Bartoniek era, almost one third, 32%, of the admitted students were born in large villages with a population of 5–10,000 (6%) and small villages with a population of less than 5,000 (26%).⁶⁵⁷ The institute therefore chose its members from the small part of the country's population who were born in the capital or in its immediate vicinity, possibly in Transdanubia and belonged to the upper middle classes. Collegium students who lived in non-urbanised settlements, similarly to their urbanised peers, also had to have a social

⁶⁵⁶ Provides data on the distribution of the population in the 1930s: *1930 census* 1941: 2.

⁶⁵⁷ There is no data available for 3% of admitted students with regard to the settlement type of their birth place.

background that enabled spatial mobility. Therefore most collegium students come from urbanised, well-off middle classes or from financially wealthier social groups of smaller settlements. This is also confirmed by data on graduation locations, as 64% of admitted students graduated in locations other than their place of birth and 35% graduated in the settlement where they were born.⁶⁵⁸ The higher rate of mobility compared to previous sub-periods is most likely due to the high number of guardians in public employment (secondary school teachers, administrative officers) who usually changed their place of residence due to frequent relocations.

Similarly to admitted applicants, the absolute majority, 56%, of rejected applicants was made up of students born in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve (32%) and Transdanubia (24%). In the case of the former, the share of the capital is only 29% (and only 9% of all rejected applicants). 16% of unsuccessful applicants came from the eastern parts of the country, while 24% of them came from territories annexed in 1920 (10% from Upper Hungary, 9% from Transylvania and 5% from Southern Hungary).⁶⁵⁹ The doubling of the number of cross-border applicants among those rejected is due to the fact that some of them were already living in Hungary at the time of admission, therefore no special places were held for them at the institute.

Similarly to those admitted, the relative majority of rejected applicants were born in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County (19%), but their proportion was still lower than that of successful applicants (34%). Vas (4%)⁶⁶⁰ and the consistently well performing Borsod (4%) and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (1%) were also among the leading counties with 5% respectively. Somogy (1%), Heves (1%), Csongrád (2%) and Békés (2%) counties also ranked within the top ten, each with 4%, together with Győr (1%) and Bihar (2%), with 3% respectively.⁶⁶¹ Thus, the municipalities of the eastern and southern parts of the country constituted the majority of rejected applicants. This can be explained by the fact that these areas were traditionally less urbanised and industrially less developed than Budapest or the western part of the country. Regarding the status of birthplaces, it can be observed that the relative majority of applicants, 49%, lived in small villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants (41%), or in large villages with 5-10,000 inhabitants (8%) (the same category was 32% among admitted applicants, with 26% and 6% respectively), while 48% of them lived in urban settlements (65% of those admitted). Among municipality towns (26%), the proportion of those born in Budapest was only 35%, which is a significant decline compared to the proportion of admissions. On the other hand, those arriving from county towns (22%) were represented in the same proportion as successful applicants.⁶⁶² Spatial mobility data indicates similar figures to admitted students, as 37% of rejected applicants graduated at their place of birth,

⁶⁵⁸ There is no data available for 1% of admitted students regarding their graduation location.

⁶⁵⁹ There is no data available for 3% of students rejected within the sub-period with regard to the regional classification of their birth place. See Table 10 for information on the regional and county classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

⁶⁶⁰ In brackets, I provide the similar data of admitted applicants for easier comparison.

⁶⁶¹ See Figure 8 in the Appendix for the map detailing the county distribution of birthplaces of rejected applicants between 1919 and 1944.

⁶⁶² There is no data available for 3% of rejected applicants in relation to the administrative classification of their place of birth.

while 56% of them graduated at a different location.⁶⁶³ On the whole, it can be concluded that, similarly to the previous periods of the Collegium's history, successful applicants came from the more middle-class layers of towns (the capital), while among those rejected, the number of people born in the eastern or southern parts of the country who were probably less wealthy and were typically not part of the urbanised population, was higher.

As with the previous periods of the institution's history, the largest denomination belonged to the Roman Catholics, which included 52% of the collegium students (60.25% of the students on faculties of arts).⁶⁶⁴ As in previous periods, this indicated under-representation, not only compared to the data of the University of Budapest, but also in relation to their ratio in society (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216). Therefore the tradition of their under-representation continued, together with the tendency of over-representation of protestant denominations in the institute. 22% of collegium students (13.62% on faculties of arts) declared themselves to be Reformists, which somewhat exceeds university data, and Evangelical-Lutherans (19% among collegium students, 8.82% on faculties of arts) were two and a half times over-represented compared to their social and university proportions. Collegium students belonging to the Greek Catholic denomination were also over-represented in the institute in relation to similar proportions of university students (1.41% on faculties of arts), thus almost reaching their social rates (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216). 1% of admitted students belonged to the Judaist denomination (8.12% on faculties of arts), which was far behind their social and university proportions.⁶⁶⁵ The explanation for this was not just that they were less enthusiastic in pursuing teaching careers, but also that the *Numerus Clausus* was amended and Act XIV of 1928 kept a significant number of the Jewish population from pursuing a university education, not because of denominations, but based on professions (Gyurgyák 2001: 129–130). Its specifications were usually enforced during collegium recruitment.

Among rejected applicants the proportion of Roman Catholics was 63% (52%),⁶⁶⁶ which was almost at the level of their social and university proportions (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216). However, pre-selection had hit them very hard: although their number among the overall number of applicants (57.5%) was lower than their numbers within the university population, the recruitment process lowered this rate even more among admitted applicants. At the same time, students belonging to the Protestant denominations were more successful, as 20% (22%) of rejected applicants were Reformists and 12% (19%) were Evangelical-Lutheran (on average 21% of the applicants were Reformists and 15.5% were Evangelical-Lutheran, with both denominations admitted to the institute with higher numbers than average). Students belonging to the Greek Catholic and Judaist denominations made up 1% of unsuccessful applicants respectively (2% of admitted applicants), while Unitarians (1 person) constituted 0.4% (1% of admitted applicants) thereof.⁶⁶⁷ Thus, among the small denominations, the

⁶⁶³ There is no data available for 7% of rejected applicants in relation to mobility willingness.

⁶⁶⁴ In the brackets, I refer to denominational distribution of 1st year students of faculties of arts in the 1929/1930 academic year based on the reports of József Asztalos (Asztalos 1930: 78).

⁶⁶⁵ There is no information available for 4% of admitted applicants that would enable the establishing of their religious affiliation. See Table 11 for information on the denomination classification of admitted and rejected applicants.

⁶⁶⁶ Here, I indicate in brackets the denomination data of admitted applicants for easier comparison.

⁶⁶⁷ There is no data available for 3% of rejected applicants that would enable the establishing of their religious affiliation.

Greek Catholics applied in numbers exceeding their national ratio, but in terms of their success, they still exceeded their proportion among university students.

| The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---|---------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | Data of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences | National data |
| Roman Catholic | 52 | 63 | 60.2 | 64.8 |
| Greek Catholic | 2 | 1 | 1.4 | 2.3 |
| Greek Orthodox | 0 | 0 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Reformed | 22 | 20 | 13.6 | 20.7 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 19 | 12 | 8.8 | 6.14 |
| Judaist | 1 | 1 | 8.1 | 5.1 |
| Unitarian | 0 | 0.4 | 0.6 | n.d. |
| No data | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |

Table 11: The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to data relating to students of the University's Faculty of Arts and national data⁶⁶⁸

8.2. The Breakdown of the Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1928 and 1935 By Type and Field of Science

As in the period between 1919 and 1927, the status of secondary schools was also influenced by changes in the legal environment in the Gombocz era, due to the entry into force of

⁶⁶⁸ The data on 1st year students of the Faculty of Arts at Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences for the 1929/1930 academic year is provided in Asztalos 1930: 78, while the data relating to the Greek Catholic and Unitarian faculty of arts students of the 1927/1928 academic year is included in Sine nomine 1929: 350–351. The 1930s national data can be found in the 1930 census 1941: 23.

Act XI of 1934. The educational policy represented by Bálint Hóman concluded that the differentiated secondary school system did not live up to its expectations, therefore, the schools of sciences and the grammar schools of sciences were abolished and integrated into the grammar school institution type. As a later element of the reform, the new grammar school curriculum, published in 1938, placed greater emphasis on nationally important subjects (history, Hungarian literature history), which also resulted in a change in market demand (Németh 2004: 449), although this did not significantly affect the Collegium training system during the examined period.

41% of admitted applicants graduated from the state institution system (18% from grammar school of sciences, 14% from schools of sciences and 9% from grammar schools). For the first time in the history of the Collegium, the majority of the students admitted came from an institutional system not maintained by a religious denomination. This was probably due to the gradual expansion of the state secondary school network. The proportion of high school graduates in Catholic secondary schools was 27% among successful applicants (18% from Catholic grammar schools, 9% from Catholic grammar schools of sciences), which was a significant decrease compared to the previous period. 20% of collegium students graduated from Reformed secondary schools (19% from Reformed grammar schools and 1% from Reformed grammar schools of sciences), while 10% graduated from Evangelical-Lutheran institutes (6% from Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools and 4% from Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools of sciences), with 1% arriving from grammar schools belonging to the Judaist denomination.⁶⁶⁹ Thus, the gap created by the loss of nearly ten percent of Roman Catholic students was filled mainly by institutions maintained by the state and by the Reformed denomination.⁶⁷⁰

The first two places in the absolute ranking of secondary schools were taken by Reformed institutes. The first place was taken by the Budapest Reformed Grammar School with 14 admitted collegium students. The dynamic expansion of the Reformists had been a process observed since 1890 (Kende-Kovács 2011a: 92), but after the Treaty of Trianon, the denomination became one of the largest maintainers of schools. As a result, several Reformed institutes appeared during the 1919–1927 period among the top twenty institutes for admission. During the examined period, the second place was also occupied by an institute maintained by the denomination, the renowned Sárospatak Reformed Grammar School and Boarding School (6 persons). In joint third place was the Budapest Saint Emeric Grammar School of the Cistercian Order and the 8th District Royal Hungarian Zrínyi Miklós Grammar School of Sciences (both with 5 people). Several institutes based in the capital also formed part of the top ten list (with 4 people respectively, the Budapest 2nd

⁶⁶⁹ There is no data available for 1% of admitted students regarding the type of secondary school they graduated from.

⁶⁷⁰ Unfortunately, there is no information available on faculty of arts or graduated students in regard to who maintained the grammar school they graduated from. However, it is possible to compare institution types. 52% of the Collegium members graduated from grammar schools, with 32% graduating from grammar schools of sciences and 14% graduating from schools of sciences. In contrast, 52% of students enrolling at Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences in the 1929/1930 academic year graduated from grammar schools of sciences, with 32% graduating from grammar schools, 6% from secondary schools of sciences and 9% from upper commercial secondary schools (Asztalos 1930: 78).

District Royal Catholic Grammar School, the Budapest Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School and the Budapest 4th District Secondary School of the Pious Pastor Order). In addition, the only state-run institute among the top performing institutes was the Győr state secondary school of sciences (4 people), which was also not typical of earlier periods, at most among those rejected. The Reformed institutions of the Great Plain were almost completely absent from the list of secondary schools of admitted applicants, as they were replaced mostly by secondary schools based in the capital (with 1 person respectively, the Budapest 1st District Werbőczy István Grammar School of Sciences, the Budapest 2nd District State King Matthias Grammar School of Sciences and the Budapest 7th District State Madách Imre Grammar School).

58% of the secondary schools of admitted applicants were located in municipality towns, with a 70% share of the capital within the category. This data is due to two factors: on the one hand, as a result of the settling of families from across the border and the settlement of migrants from rural areas sending their children to institutions of the capital in the hope of obtaining a higher quality education (cf. Gyáni 2006: 208). On the other hand, it is also related to the Collegium referral system, as most of the graduates settled in the capital or in its immediate vicinity, and their teachers' careers from their secondary schools in Budapest helped their students with admissions. 23% of secondary schools were located in county towns, with 15% located in large villages with 5–10,000 inhabitants and only 3% in small villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants.⁶⁷¹ The drastic (17%) drop in the number of graduates from county towns and the doubling of graduates from large villages compared to the previous period were also likely due to the migration flow and the referral system. Among the latter, Aszód, Gödöllő, Újpest, and Sárospatak, i.e. mostly settlements close to the capital, gave more collegium students to the institute. It is a telling statistic that, although nearly one third of admitted applicants were born in the annexed parts of the country, only 3% of secondary schools belonged to the jurisdiction of successor states, while 96% operated within the Hungarian Empire.⁶⁷² Thus, the majority of refugees enrolled their children mainly in grammar schools located in Budapest and very few of those who were trapped outside the border had the opportunity to apply for admission to the Collegium partly because of the minority policy of the successor states and partly for financial reasons.

Similarly to those admitted (their proportion being 41%), the relative majority of rejected applicants, 49%, graduated from state secondary schools (29% from state grammar schools of sciences, 11% from secondary schools of sciences, 9% from state grammar schools). From among the denominations, most students graduated from Roman Catholic institutions, with 29% of unsuccessful applicants (27% among admitted applicants) completing their studies at Catholic grammar schools (23%), grammar schools of sciences (5%) or at schools of sciences (1%). Among Protestant denominations, once again the number of students from Reformed institutions (10% from reformed grammar schools, 6% from Reformed grammar schools of sciences; 20% among admitted applicants) outnumbered those from Evangelical-Lutheran secondary schools (6% from Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools, 4% from

⁶⁷¹ There is no data available for 1% of admitted students regarding the location of their secondary schools.

⁶⁷² Also, for 1% of them there is no data available in relation to whether their secondary school was located within the new country border or belonged to the territory of a successor state.

Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools of sciences; 10% among admitted applicants).⁶⁷³ In addition to the expansion of the state institutional network, the dynamic expansion of state-run secondary schools is explained by the fact that the graduates of the Collegium started their careers not only in secondary schools of the capital, but also in state-run institutions as substitute teachers, since they themselves were educated by the state.⁶⁷⁴ Thus, the most talented of their high school students were usually recommended for admission to the management of the institute. The absolute ranking of secondary schools of rejected applicants was also led by a state-run institution, the Budapest 6th District Kemény Zsigmond State Secondary School of Sciences, with 9 rejected applicants. The second and third places of the ranking were occupied by the Miskolc Royal Catholic Fráter György Grammar School of Sciences and the Pápa Reformed Grammar School and Boarding School (7 people respectively), followed by the Budapest 7th District Madách Imre State Grammar School of Sciences (6 people), placing among the last institutions in the ranking of admitted applicants. In the first ten, there was only one Evangelical-Lutheran institution, the Nyíregyháza Evangelical-Lutheran Kossuth Lajos Grammar School of Sciences (5 people), unlike Reformed institutions, which were represented by a number of institutions (additionally to the one located in Pápa, the Miskolc Reformed Lévy József Grammar School of Sciences and the Kecskemét Reformed Grammar School of Sciences with 5 people respectively). Between the tenth and twentieth places in the rankings, there were two renowned Evangelical-Lutheran institutes, which previously provided many collegium students, the Szarvas Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School (5 people) and the Budapest Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School (4 people). The Reformed institutes of the Great Plain linger modestly at the bottom of the list: the Mezőtúr Reformed Grammar School (3 people), the Hajdúnánás Reformed Grammar School of Sciences (2 people), the Hajdúböszörmény and Kisújszállás Reformed Grammar Schools of Sciences (1 person respectively). Thus, it can be concluded that the expansion of the Budapest-based state-owned and Reformed institutions in the examined period was the most common among the applicants.

39% of secondary schools of rejected applicants were located in municipality towns, with the share of the capital being 44% in this sub-category, which was well below the figures of admitted applicants. 37% of unsuccessful applicants graduated from secondary schools operating in county towns. In contrast to the above, these were not primarily cities belonging to the agglomeration of Budapest, but the administrative centres in the western and eastern parts of the country (Szombathely, Pápa, Eger, Nyíregyháza and Békéscsaba). 12% of rejected applicants graduated from small villages and 6% of them graduated from large villages.⁶⁷⁵ It can therefore be concluded that a smaller number of rejected applicants completed their secondary education in urbanised settlements and that these institutions were located far from the industrial centres of the country, so it could be assumed that

⁶⁷³ There is no data available for 6% of rejected applicants in relation to their secondary school type.

⁶⁷⁴ In 1905, Géza Bartonicz already argued the following in his submission containing reports on graduated members: *"The majority of the indicated individuals took part in the applications announced in the current academic year, and I request your Excellency to consider them, as they are individuals educated by the state."* 76/1905 Géza Bartonicz's report to the MRPE Minister regarding graduated members. Budapest, 25 June 1905 MDKL box 51 file 97/1.

⁶⁷⁵ There is no data available for 6% of rejected applicants in relation to where they were located.

they were trying to use the Collegium as a mobilisation channel due to their lower social classes. Just like in the case of admitted applicants, it can also be observed with rejected applicants that their secondary schools were based almost exclusively within the Trianon borders (96%). There was only one candidate who graduated in a successor state, but was still not admitted to the boarding school.⁶⁷⁶

During the Gombocz era the a two-thirds to one-third ratio of scholars and natural science students changed drastically, with 84% of the collegium students studying humanities and only 15% studying at natural science faculties.⁶⁷⁷ In addition to classical philology, the most popular faculty pairing was history and Latin, with 17 admitted applicants respectively. However, this did not mean that the Collegium training profile had returned to its pre-1919 state. Latin was mostly paired with modern languages, but they were located towards the bottom of the ranking list (Latin-Hungarian with 5 people, Latin-German with 3 people, Latin-Italian with 2 people). In second and third places were the French-Hungarian (15 people) and the German-Hungarian (12 people) courses. For the first time in the history of the Collegium, there were a large number of students who chose English as one of their courses. A total of 18 students studied at English-German (9 people), English-French (5 people), English-Latin and English-Hungarian (2 people respectively) courses. The most popular pairing among natural science students was still mathematics-physics (9 people), followed by geography-natural history (4 people) and chemistry-natural history (4 people), while some collegium students chose to study mathematics-descriptive geometries and chemistry-physics (2 people respectively).

The majority of rejected applicants held an education in philosophical sciences, as 75% of applicants were scholars and only 21% of them were natural science students.⁶⁷⁸ Most of the unsuccessful applicants (48 people) wanted to become a member of the institute by applying to the mathematics-physics course pairing. In addition to them, 5 applicants indicated a natural science pairing; 3 of them studied geography-natural history, with 1 person studying physics-chemistry and 1 studying natural history-chemistry. From among the scholar courses the most popular were Hungarian-German (29 people) and French-German (28 people), but the Hungarian-French (25 people) pairing was also among the most popular. Historical studies ranked towards the bottom of the list (Latin-history 13 people, history-geography 10 people). It is interesting to note that the classical philology pairing popular with the admitted applicants was ranked among bottom pairings with rejected applicants, with only 5 rejected applicants applying thereto, which suggests that there wasn't any significant pre-selection among them in this period. The fact that Miklós Szabó was the head of the institute who, in his teacher's reports, referred to the importance of the Collegium in the training of the ancient sciences, also undoubtedly aided the privileged position of classical philology.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁶ For 6% of them there is no data on whether their secondary school was based within the 1920s border or outside thereof. The only cross-border graduate to be refused was Rezső Limbacher who attempted admission to the Collegium in 1928 by applying to the Hungarian-German course (MDKL box 28, file 38, lot 30).

⁶⁷⁷ There is no data available for 1% of admitted applicants in relation to which field of study they chose.

⁶⁷⁸ There is no data available for 6% of rejected applicants in relation to their chosen field of science.

⁶⁷⁹ Report by Miklós Szabó on the classical philology classes in the 1927/1928 academic year. Budapest, 31 May 1928. MDKL box 52, file 101/4/a.

8.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1928 and 1935, the Reasons For Academic Failure and Rejection

Only 5% (9.5% on arts faculties)⁶⁸⁰ of the fathers of admitted applicants had an occupation belonging to the main category of production (4% smallholders with 0–3 hectares, 1% farmers, farm hands). Their number dropped significantly compared to the previous period and, as can be seen from the data, they also fell below their university proportions. The reason for this can be explained by the fact that at the beginning of the 1920s, the division of land, such as that of Nagyatád, implemented pursuant to Act XXXVI of 1920, did not change the serious disproportion within the land holding structure, in fact, it greatly disadvantaged smallholders, that the grain boom of World War I subsided by the end of 1924 and a lasting agricultural crisis had developed, which worsened in 1931 as a result of the global economic crisis. The owners of 11–29 hectares of land, classified as mid-level peasants, were hardly able to earn a living for themselves. So their children, rather than pursuing a higher education, were expected to work the land (Gyáni 2006: 311–312), which makes it understandable that their number also fell at the Collegium.

11% of the guardians (17.3% of those on faculties of arts) belonged to the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport, which is a significant increase compared to the previous period. Within the main category, 6% of fathers worked as craftsmen (wheelwright, book binder, tailor) or were factory workers (locksmith, mill worker). The increase in their number can be explained by the fact that their livelihood was more predictable, therefore they were more capable of providing the opportunity for their children to have a higher education than their counterparts engaged in agricultural activity. This also provided a good starting point for moving towards the middle classes. Workers were affected by unemployment during the transition to peacetime production and in 1931–1932 as a result of the effects of the crisis in industry. During this cyclical unemployment period, wages of skilled workers could reach 150–200 pengos, while those of semi-skilled workers could reach approx. 80–100. Wage levels neared this level again only in 1935 (Gyáni 2006: 343–344). Also within the main category, 4% of guardians (among those on faculties of arts 10.8% were employed within the main combined category of trade, credit and transport) worked in the field of money and credit services as private officers or bank clerks, and 1% (among those on faculties of arts 1.6% worked in other positions within the trade, credit and transport

⁶⁸⁰ In brackets, I indicate the results of the report of József Asztalos relating to the social status of 1st year students enrolled at the faculties of arts of the country's universities for the 1929/1930 academic year (Asztalos 1930: 87–88).

category) worked in trade and hospitality as technical traders or waiters. None of those groups belonged to the middle classes based on rank or prestige hierarchy, although private officers, with their average wage of 170 pengos, and bank clerks, with their remuneration of 250–270 pengos in the 1930s could promote intergenerational mobility. Their low number is explained by the fact that in these occupational sectors, the Hungarian Jewish population was significantly represented (Gyáni 2006: 275–276). So, because of the *Numerus Clausus*, they could only enter higher education and the Collegium, if their religion was abandoned and they were baptised.

The proportion of guardians working within the main category of the civil services among admitted applicants was 47% (38.5% among those on faculties of arts), which is a significant increase compared to the previous period. 5% of fathers were Protestant pastors, so their proportion more than doubled compared to the previous period. 7% of guardians belonged to the railway and postal service category, serving as a trackman, locomotive heater or postal officer. However, they did not belong to the middle classes due to their qualifications and income. 3% of fathers worked in other administrative functions as municipal or town officials and 2% worked in the field of financial management as a royal financial advisor or a state treasury officer. The former belonged to the lower segment of the middle classes with their monthly salary of 300–400 pengos, then, following 1929, due to their lack of higher education, they dropped back into the ‘*new tekintetes*’ classification, while the latter, due to their 6th remuneration category, remained a part of the middle classes. 1% of them respectively worked in technical, industrial and commercial administration as factory directors, or head physicians within health management, or as royal legislative council presidents or perhaps town magistrates in a royal technical adviser or ministerial adviser capacity. Guardians belonging to the 6th and 5th remuneration categories, with their monthly income exceeding 800–1,200 pengos, belonged to the highest level of the middle classes, the classification of ‘*nagyságos*’ or ‘*méltóságos*’ (cf. Gyáni 2006: 282). Among collegium students, the proportion of children of officials fell far below the same figure of universities, the reason for this being that they most likely preferred pursuing a legal career. 27% of guardians (17.6% of those on faculties of arts) were employed in teaching or scientific institutions. Among them, there were 15 grammar school teachers, three teachers of grammar schools of sciences and three teachers of secondary schools of sciences, as well as seven university professors. The income level of the latter also exceeded a monthly 1,000 pengos, therefore they also belonged to the lower middle classes (ibid. 282), while the former were able to reach the 6th remuneration category at the most. The teaching (2 people) and the tutor community (4 people) of public schools, belonging to the lower middle classes, was represented by only six admitted collegium students, with their number falling to less than half compared to the Bartoniek era, which was most likely caused by the economic crisis. Thus, the institute continued to mainly aid the self-recruitment of grammar school teachers and also enabled, to a lesser degree, the elevation of university staff to a higher social group.

8.3. Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected

| Occupation of guardians of applicants admitted and rejected between 1928-1935 (%) | Collegium | | Faculties of Arts 1929/1930 | National data 1930 |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 5 | 10 | 9 | 51.8 |
| Smallholder (0–3 hectares) | 4 | 8 | | |
| Farmer, farm hand | 1 | 2 | | |
| II. Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 11 | 13 | 17.3 | 32.3 |
| Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 6 | 10 | | |
| Trade, catering | 1 | 2 | 15.9 | |
| Money and credit services | 4 | 1 | | |
| III. Civil services | 47 | 36 | 38.5 | 5 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 5 | 1 | 17.6 | |
| Educational services and academic institutions | 27 | 18 | | |
| Judicial services | 1 | 0.4 | 38.5 | |
| Healthcare management and services | 1 | 0 | | |
| Agricultural management and services | 0 | 1 | | |
| Financial management | 2 | 0 | | |
| Technical/industrial and commercial management | 1 | 0 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 3 | 9 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 7 | 7 | | |
| IV. Armed forces | 3 | 1 | 0.8 | |
| V. Intellectual liberal professions | 7 | 4.8 | 5 | |
| Lawyer, notary | 4 | 2 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 0 | 1 | | |
| Pharmacist | 0 | 0.4 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 1 | 0.4 | | |
| Veterinarian | 1 | 0 | | |
| Literature, art | 1 | 1 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, landlords, capitalists | 26 | 30 | 17.2 | 5.5 |
| Pensioner | 12 | 9 | | |
| Unemployed, dependants of orphanages | 14 | 21 | | |
| No data | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 |

Table 12: Employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants compared to data relating to students of arts faculties and national employment data⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸¹ The data relating to students of arts faculties in the 1929/1930 academic year is included in: Asztalos 1930: 87–88. The activity structure reports for the country's population is included in: *1930 census* 1934: 48.

The proportion of guardians serving in the armed forces was 3% during the examined period. Their under-representation at the Collegium can be considered as traditional, as the under-representation of freelance intellectuals: the proportion of fathers working as practicing lawyers was 4%, while those working as engineers, veterinarians or within the literary and artistic field constituted 1% respectively. However, their presence still shows a significant increase compared to the previous sub-period, but their mobilisation channels, like those of officials, directed their children towards other carriers. The proportions of those living on allowances (12%) and those unemployed or dependants of orphanages (14%) constituted more than a quarter, 26% of those admitted (17.6% on faculties of arts)⁶⁸². However, there were no inactive, able-bodied guardians within the main category, most of whom were retired widows of engineers, lawyers, or grammar school teachers, tutors or pastors.⁶⁸³ As in previous periods, it can be stated with regard to the recruitment policy of Gombocz that the institute supported mainly the recruitment and training of middle-class children, or the rebuilding of the livelihood of individuals formerly belonging to this social group. Only 12% of guardians were active in the private sector, with their overwhelming majority earning a living from the state.

The selection rate was 20% in the examined period, which is a decrease compared to the last years of Bartoniek.⁶⁸⁴ Of the 140 students admitted, 108 completed their studies, 27 of them left the institute prior to completing their studies and the source material listed no data in that regard for 5 students. Although it seems that the number of people removed decreased, and therefore at first glance, the later criticism of Dezső Keresztury's of the methods of discipline implemented by Gombocz may seem justified,⁶⁸⁵ the data shows that actually the institute's selection mechanisms changed compared to previous periods. The 27% of the collegium students had to leave the institute due to an unsatisfactory basic exam or vocational exam.⁶⁸⁶ This was the result of a paradigm shift in the institute's training system, one of the elements of which was immediate dismissal in the event of a drop in educational performance citing Section III.9 of the Organisational Rules.⁶⁸⁷ In these

⁶⁸² Asztalos considered pensioners, capitalists and independent individuals as a consolidated category. It is not possible to determine the proportion of guardians serving in the armed forces, as he merged their figures with the civil servants category (Asztalos 1930: 87–88).

⁶⁸³ For a breakdown of the social status of those admitted between 1928 and 1935, see Figure 11 of the Appendix. There is no data available for 1% of guardians in relation to their occupation. See Table 12 for information on the comparison of the employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants with the arts faculty population and national data.

⁶⁸⁴ According to the reports of Gyula Jánki, during the 1932/1933 academic year, 17% of university students suspended their studies for seven semesters or more. This group essentially cut their studies short (Jánki 1934: 95). Thus, the selection of the Collegium still exceeded the level generally found in higher education.

⁶⁸⁵ In his memoir, Dezső Keresztury described the appointment of Miklós Szabó as director in 1935 as follows: "Due to the laid-back approach of Zoltán Gombocz, the prestigious old students decided to appoint Miklós Szabó, the Latin-Greek faculty teacher of the Collegium, as his successor after he unexpectedly passed away" (Keresztury 1993: 251).

⁶⁸⁶ According to Jánki's reports, 19.1% of students interrupted their studies due to academic reasons during the 1932/1933 academic year (Jánki 1934: 95).

⁶⁸⁷ The changed attitude is well reflected within the writings of Miklós Szabó, who, in connection with a resignation statement, justified the departure of Dénesné Gáspár's son from the institute to his mother. The essence of the argument was that admission is an upfront distinction that must be met during the person's studies. If, from an academic point of view, the person only performs averagely, then his membership can be terminated. This

cases, two methods of removal were used: dismissal by the faculty,⁶⁸⁸ or resignation. In the latter case, the director stated in a letter or in person that, on the basis of the decision of the teachers' (curators') meeting, the membership of the members was revoked as a result of their academic performance, and that resignation could save the collegium student from going through legal procedures.⁶⁸⁹ 19% of them voluntarily resigned their positions, but these were also mostly due to academic reasons.

15% of them were removed from the institute for political reasons. On 13 June 1932, the police appeared at the Collegium and arrested seven collegium students on suspicion of participating in a communist conspiracy: János Bertók, Géza Jakó, Péter Mód, Gyula Schöpflin, István Stolte, Zoltán Szabó and Imre Szigeti. Based on the proposal of Pál Teleki, the membership of all concerned members was suspended for the duration of the police investigation.⁶⁹⁰ However, the memberships of Szabó and Szigeti were later restored after it was discovered that they were not involved in conspiring.⁶⁹¹ The others, however, were dismissed because the court had imposed upon them a three to four month prison sentence and banned them from all universities in Hungary (Tombor 1995: 135).

11% of them were forced to give up their membership for financial reasons,⁶⁹² because they were unable to pay maintenance fees due to the deterioration of their family's financial situation.⁶⁹³ On several occasions, the director was forced to turn to the Treasury Legal Directorate for the recovery of late payments due to accumulated arrears. However, the procedures were rarely successful,⁶⁹⁴ as these people were so poor that the authority could

approach basically determined the institute's training system in later periods as well. Letter of Miklós Szabó to wid. Dénesné Gáspár. Budapest, April 1937 4. MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 15.

⁶⁸⁸ The membership of Sándor Heppner was simply terminated with the 51/1936 decision of 13 June 1936 issued in Budapest based on the decision of the teaching staff, citing Section III.9 of the Organisational Rules (MKDL box 7, file 8, lot 20).

⁶⁸⁹ Uzor Király received the following notice due to his unsatisfactory basic exam: "127/1932. On the basis of the decision of the curators' meeting, I inform you that your collegium membership cannot be extended for the 1932/33 academic year. Please find attached your Collegium membership resignation statement, which I would ask you to return to me signed at your earliest convenience. Budapest, 15 July 1932 Zoltán Gombocz sgd." MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 28. In January 1933, he withdrew the membership of Gyula Kiss for similar reasons: "6/1933. I hereby officially advise you that the curatorial conference held on 18 January did not extend your Collegium membership for the second half of the academic year. I hereby request you to return to me your signed statement of resignation by post. Budapest, 30 January 1933 Zoltán Gombocz sgd." MDKL box 10 file, file 11, lot 28.

⁶⁹⁰ 44/1932. Submission from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister regarding the communist conspiracy matter. Budapest, 13 June 1932. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁶⁹¹ Szabó left the Collegium as suspicion arose that he participated in a communist conspiracy following his temporary dismissal by Zoltán Gombocz. This measure of Gombocz was repealed by the case number 74/1939 on March 30, 1939, Miklós Szabó (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 55).

⁶⁹² This proportion was 33.8% among university students during the 1932/1933 academic year (Jánki 1934: 95).

⁶⁹³ Géza Cziráki resigned his position on 28 June 1937. Prior to that, he requested that his membership be changed to free. This did not happen. Thus, he most probably resigned for financial reasons. This is supported by the fact that, after his departure, he still owed 30 pengos of his maintenance fee (MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 8). Gyula Rézer also resigned his position for similar reasons on 3 July 1932. On 19 April 1932, Zoltán Gombocz warned his father that only one month of maintenance was paid by his son and if a two-month delay in maintenance fees occurs, it would result in the revoking of the Collegium membership. He asked him to pay by 6 May. However, the financial situation of the family did not allow this (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 49).

⁶⁹⁴ Gyula Kiss was dismissed for academic reasons, but he was also behind on his maintenance payments. Miklós Szabó sent him a letter informing him that he had an outstanding debt at the Collegium. After refusing to pay,

not even cover the cost of their own proceedings from their assets, or recover the claimed amount.⁶⁹⁵ 8% of the collegium students were removed from the institute for disciplinary offences.⁶⁹⁶ Similarly, 8%⁶⁹⁷ of them were forced to resign their membership due to health problems.⁶⁹⁸ Only one person left due to their desire to change career⁶⁹⁹ and one collegium student died during his membership.⁷⁰⁰

10% of fathers of unsuccessful applicants (5% of those admitted) belonged to the main category of production as a smallholder (8%) or as a farmer, farm hand (2%). Their numbers were slightly higher than twice the number of those admitted, and also surpassed the proportion of university students. Estate caretakers, coachmen, smiths, and the agricultural proletariat were unable to create the financial and cultural conditions for their children to enter the institute. Their situation was complicated by the fact that from the 1929/1930 academic year, the ministry raised the number of free places at the Collegium to a quarter of all membership places, but this was achieved from a budgetary point of view by raising the charges for the fully paid and half-paid places from 430 to 600 pengos and from 230 to 300 pengos.⁷⁰¹ So if the children of these groups were not among the best performing students, allowing them to be awarded free places, their chances of getting into the institute were reduced to a minimum in the absence of their families' financial capacity.

Miklós Szabó contacted him in both 1838 and 1939, calling on him to settle his debt (he owed 60 pengos). Finally, in 1939, he handed the case over to the Treasury Legal Directorate in order to settle the debt. Kiss also misled the office, promising to clear his debt by paying in instalments of 5 pengos a month. In his letter 66/1939 dated 23 March 1939, Miklós Szabó indicated that no payment had been made. However, in his letter two months later, he confirmed to the Treasury Legal Directorate that the payment had been received (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 28).

⁶⁹⁵ A good example of this is the case of István Stolte, who was dismissed due to his involvement in a communist conspiracy. On 18 April 1932, Zoltán Gombocz drew Lénárd Stolte's attention to the fact that he did not pay the Collegium maintenance fee and that a two-month delay in payment would result in the revoking of his membership. He set his payment deadline as 8 May. Finally, in his letter 107/1942 dated Budapest, 11 June 1942, Miklós Szabó asked the Treasury Legal Directorate to cancel the debt of István Stolte as no litigation was expected, because they were both poor and the debt could not be recovered (MDKL box 18, file 18, lot 54).

⁶⁹⁶ Lajos Porga resigned on 5 October 1935. In his report dated Budapest, 28 September 1935, he described that he had received a flyer at the university, which he had read and then went to the address specified (Szentkirályi u.) to discuss the contents of the flyer (the name of the company was University and College Tuition Fee Reform Committee). The debate had a very inspiring effect on him. He received more leaflets from those present to distribute at the Collegium, but this did not happen. However, when he returned out of curiosity again, he was met by detectives who brought him to the police station to interrogate him. He reported the events to the director of the Collegium, but they still recommended that he resign his position due to the 1932 scandal (MDKL box 16, file 16, lot 47).

⁶⁹⁷ This proportion was 19.6% among faculty of arts students during the 1932/1933 academic year (Jánki 1934: 95).

⁶⁹⁸ József Szegszardy-Csengery resigned his membership on 1 October 1935. After completing his postponed basic exam, he applied for admission again on 19 June 1936. He was recruited once again under the normal recruitment procedure (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 56).

⁶⁹⁹ László Papp resigned his membership as a mathematics-physics faculty student in 1929 and enrolled to a medical faculty in Debrecen (MDKL box 15, file 16, lot 45).

⁷⁰⁰ Sándor Berde died on 5 December 1933 due to illness (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 4).

⁷⁰¹ Half of the Collegium places were reserved for fully paying students, while the remaining quarter was made up of half-paid places. Transcript of the year-end teachers' meeting held on 14 June 1929. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

13% of guardians belonged to the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport (11% among admitted applicants), which was somewhat higher than the proportion of admissions. But their numbers among applicants to the Collegium fell short of their proportions in society (cf. Gyáni 2006: 217). The majority of those who were rejected were children of less educated, auxiliary workers (assistant carpenters, rope-makers, assistant stonemasons, enamellers) whose income conditions fell short of their skilled worker counterparts. Within the main category, 2% and 1% of guardians belonged to the sub-categories of trade and catering and money and credit services respectively, which also fell short of their admitted applicants' rate. The reason for their lack of success can be explained by the fact that provisions of the *Numerus Clausus* did not allow them to be admitted to the institute.

36% of those rejected (47% of those admitted) fell into the main category of civil services, which also means that pre-selection affected guardians working in this sector more than in previous periods. Within the main category, 9% of fathers worked as ministry or other administrative officials, while 7% were employed in railway and postal services. 0.4% and 1% of the fathers were employed in judicial, agricultural administration and ecclesiastical service respectively. With the exception of pastors, these groups were excluded from the middle classes by the amendments to the Civil Service Act of 1929 and 1934, therefore their higher than normal exclusion from successful applicants to the Collegium may be attributable thereto. The pre-selection also affected children of guardians serving at educational or scientific institutes more than in previous periods (18%, 27% among admitted applicants). The children of 20 grammar school teachers (including a grammar school headmaster), 23 elementary school teachers (including seven elementary school headmasters) and one teacher from a public school were rejected during their personal interview. So the children of the 'new *tekintetes*' order's teaching community looking to elevate themselves into the middle classes could hardly gain admission to the Collegium. 1% (3% of the admissions) of fathers of rejected applicants belonged to the armed forces main category, so their total numbers among applicants was also very low, similarly to that of lawyers (2%), doctors (1%) or those employed in artistic fields (1%). Approximately one third of those rejected (30%, 26% of those admitted) were guardians living on allowances (9%) or unemployed and dependants of orphanages (21%). Among them, there were numerous disabled veterans, military widows and war orphans. Of the 110 applicants belonging to the main category, only 36 became members of the Collegium.⁷⁰² During the examined period, the only way to gain admission to the institute from this group, similarly to those raised by guardians working in agriculture, was by having outstanding talent or by undertaking a financial burden that exceeded the average of a the given social group.

Based on the proposal of curator Pál Teleki, students applying for admission for the 1928/1929 academic year were interviewed in person at the institute between 25–28 June 1928 and this recruitment procedure was later referred to as a 'head-knocking' or

⁷⁰² See Figure 12 of the Appendix for the occupations of guardians of applicants rejected between 1928 and 1935. There is no data available for 6% of them in relation to the occupation of their guardians. See Table 12 for information on the comparison of the employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants with the arts faculty population and national data.

‘head-tapping’ at the institute.⁷⁰³ The procedure based on the decision of the director and the curator, depending solely on the evaluation of the application material (the results of the maturity exam, secondary school certificates, references), was replaced by a three-step selection process. Applicants first had to discuss scientific issues with the teachers of their chosen fields. Here, they usually assessed the prior knowledge of the applicants. During their stay, the applicants got to know older collegium students who assessed the applicants in regard to their suitability for cohabitation and reported back to the faculty and finally the applicants found suitable in all respects during both of the first two steps were interviewed by the Director (Garai 2009: 137). The reason for rejection in 75% of cases was the fact that the applicant did not meet the requirements of the faculty teacher, i.e. was completely unfamiliar with their chosen field of science. At the same time, this indicates that while the Collegium previously considered its main task to be the supplementation and deepening of university education, from 1928, its goal became scientific training. Therefore, it was not enough for applicants to present their perfect grammar school certificates or their maturity exam results, they also had to prove their professional knowledge. Applicants who already had a one or two-year university background were treated more strictly: only the basic exams with distinction or merit were taken into account, as Pál Teleki’s experience showed that teachers often gave top marks to the teacher trainees in order to help them remain free of tuition.⁷⁰⁴ The decision of the teaching staff was influenced in cases where a relative of the applicant had previously been a member of the institute, but left prior to the completion of their studies. In such cases, unless the person demonstrated extraordinary abilities, their application was rejected.⁷⁰⁵ The effectiveness of the admission application also, of course, still depended, albeit less so, on whether the references considered the applicant truly suitable for teaching, or for continuing collegium studies.⁷⁰⁶ The decrease in the influence of references was also shown by the fact that, in contrast to earlier periods, the identity of the person providing the reference did not guarantee admission, therefore there were applicants who were recommended by Bálint Hóman personally to the board of directors, but who were still not admitted to the institute.⁷⁰⁷

One candidate was rejected not because of his results and references, but because, as an

⁷⁰³ Transcript of the teachers’ meeting held on 4 May 1928. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁰⁴ *“The admission process starts with us evaluating academic achievements, which is of course not based solely on calculations, but also on information obtained from grammar school teachers, or in the case of university students, from university teachers, and we often decide to admit students specialising in certain subjects or those with exceptional talent rather than students with perfect marks, therefore we do not make our decisions based on moulds, but on substance. We show interest in those already selected just as much through their schools as through other channels, wherever we can, in relation to other, such as moral, national, etc. aspects.”* Letter by Pál Teleki to Member of Parliament Béla Lukács Budapest, 8 September 1932. MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 44.

⁷⁰⁵ György Papp’s brother, László Papp, resigned his position in 1929 due to a career change. There was a reference in his admission material that this may have played a role in his rejection. He indicated the mathematics-physics pairing in his application where pre-selection already had a significant impact on candidates (MDKL box 30, file 42, lot 38).

⁷⁰⁶ István Nagy was rejected because the director of the Theological Academy of Sárospatak depicted him as a torn personality who was immature and unable to commit himself fully to anything (MDKL box 29, file 40, lot 35).

⁷⁰⁷ István Hegedűs wanted to become a member of the Collegium as a student of the Hungarian-German faculty, but he did not pass the ‘head-knocking’ (MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 18).

individual from across the border, he held relations with political groups operating illegally in Hungary. As in previous periods, the Collegium expected its members to have social and political integrity.⁷⁰⁸ Likewise, one candidate was rejected based on their unsuitability for Collegium cohabitation.⁷⁰⁹ 7% of the applicants were categorically not recommended by the teaching staff and were also encouraged to abandon their teaching career due to their severe lack of professional knowledge. 2% of them were recommended for admission, but due to a lack of capacity did not become members of the institute, similarly to those recommended second by the faculty teachers (2%), who were rejected for the same reason. Secondary recommendation was made in cases where the candidate was not irreproachable in all respects, but it was conceivable that they could develop their skills during their collegium work. They also had a chance to be admitted if the applicant recommended first did not accept their position for some reason – this occurred in 3% of cases within the examined period – or if their university studies were followed by the teachers of the Collegium and they recommended them once again. 2% of applications were rejected because they were received after the deadline and 2% were rejected because of their incompleteness.⁷¹⁰

The new recruitment system was criticised in the daily paper *Est* due to the case of Felicián Wlassics who had won first place in a secondary school natural history science competition, but did not become a member of the Collegium, which he claimed stopped him from becoming a teacher.⁷¹¹ Miklós Szabó defended the decision of the teaching staff in the columns of the same newspaper: the classical philologist, who was appointed director at that time, pointed out that Wlassics had never been a consistently outstanding student contrary to his statement, as he had only received top marks in each subject on his maturity exam (the Collegium called such students blameless outstanding students). The personal introduction was used precisely for the purpose of comparing the candidates in a national context, so that the most deserving individuals could be admitted to the institute. According to Szabó, instead of the rejected Wlassics, the institute admitted a person who performed better in secondary school and demonstrated scientific tendencies during the oral entrance exam.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁸ In the case of Rezső Limbacher there was suspicion that he was in contact with communist circles in Prague (the communist party could legally operate between the two world wars in Czechoslovakia as opposed to Hungary where it could not), so even though he was initially admitted, they later rejected him. He often travelled to Hungary where he was in contact with the editors of the journal *Híd* and the Bartha Miklós Society. Letter of the Royal Hungarian Consulate to Géza Bartonek. Bratislava, 5 April 1929. MDKL box 28, file 38, lot 30.

⁷⁰⁹ János Rimler was 23 years old at the time of his application in 1932 and already had his lawyer's degree, but he wanted to join the institute to study at the Latin-German faculty. He was rejected on the grounds of being average (MDKL box 30, file 43, lot 42).

⁷¹⁰ There is no reason for rejection indicated for of 7% of rejected applicants.

⁷¹¹ This was reported on page 13 of the 30 August 1935 issue of *Est* (MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 56).

⁷¹² The evaluation statement by the director of the Eötvös Collegium on secondary school science competitions. *Est*. 4 September 1935 (Wednesday). 11. MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 56.



Image 17: Zoltán Gombocz and the members of the teaching staff of the Collegium during the first half of the 1930s.

8.4.

Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1928 and 1935

Miklós Szabó carried out the institute director's tasks on a temporary basis, from December 1927 to August 1928.⁷¹³ Zoltán Gombocz who returned home from Berlin, officially became the director of the Collegium from 1 September 1928, in addition to retaining his

⁷¹³ 9/1927. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Miklós Szabó as temporary director . Budapest, 28 December 1927. MNL OL K 636. box 243, item 24, lot 279 (1927).

university position.⁷¹⁴ Thus, pursuant to the decree of 1925, he actually belonged to the 5th remuneration category and not the 6th, consequently, the *preliminary* social prestige of the institute's management was not reduced.

By 1928, Gombocz became a recognised figure in Hungarian science and was also very popular among the students of the university. His scientific and public influence is indicated by the fact that on 17 February 1927, Prime Minister István Bethlen summoned him, inviting him to join the editorial board of a journal.⁷¹⁵ In 1927, a government subsidised periodical called *Magyar Szemle* was published, which set the conservative reform program as its central focus and wanted to create a kind of spiritual counterbalance to the journal *Nyugat* by publishing scientific articles. Gombocz was not only a member of the editorial board next to editor-in-chief Gyula Szekfű, but was also included on the list of authors (Gombocz 1931: 218–221; Huszár 1978: 33).⁷¹⁶

He also had good relations with the leaders of cultural policy, since Kunó Klebelsberg chose to take him on his foreign trip as a ministerial attaché between 23 April and 12 May 1930.⁷¹⁷ In 1934, he was also appointed dean of the university's faculty of arts, thus the director of the Collegium reached the peak of his scientific and office career. Géza Bartonicz consciously prepared him for the leadership of the Collegium and the fact that Pál Teleki provided political support as a curator also helped with the management of the institute. Their relationship was amicable, as they mutually recognised each other's scientific performance, and their thoughts on the role of the institute were also similar. Thus, in the subsequent recollections, the statement that this was a prosperous, 'second golden age' for the Collegium, which almost mirrored peacetime conditions, was not unfounded.⁷¹⁸ In 1930, after the death of Géza Bartonicz, he moved into the director's

⁷¹⁴ After Zsigmond Simonyi, a professor of Hungarian linguistics at the University of Budapest, died in 1919, János Melich and Zoltán Gombocz were indicated as his only possible successors. József Szinyei, commissioner for the nomination committee, proposed that Melich be appointed as head of the faculty. However, Melich suggested Gombocz instead, while he himself accepted the head position at the university faculty of Slavic philology (Németh 1972: 119). In addition to their close working relationship, his attachment to the Collegium definitely played a role in his decision, as he himself was a teacher at the institute during World War I.

⁷¹⁵ The purpose of the journal, as determined by the Prime Minister, was to present legal, foreign policy, social policy, cultural and economic issues with scientific objectivity beyond the political aspects to the interested members of the public. By launching the journal, Bethlen saw the solution for breaking demagoguery and the possibility to expand political participation: "*The issue of the nation's political education constantly interests me, since participation in public affairs is inevitable due to the age we live in and the lack of this education is precisely what poses a serious threat. Daydreamers who attract you towards the impossible or even dangerous; followed by disappointment, which also makes you indifferent to your needs. These feelings often alternate among the masses that have been made self-conscious but have not been well-educated.*" Letter by Prime Minister István Bethlen to Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 25 January 1927. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

⁷¹⁶ The students of the Eötvös Collegium played an important role in *Magyar Szemle*, as its editors came from their ranks until 1944 (Gyula Szekfű and Sándor Eckardt). In addition, they were represented in significant numbers on the editorial board and among the authors. The establishment of the Circle of Friends of the Magyar Szemle Society did have similarities to the Eötvös Collegium Former Members' Association whose task was to help start the scientific career of former students by publishing their works (cf. Huszár 1978: 34).

⁷¹⁷ 27/1930. Letter by Zoltán Gombocz to the 9th District State Treasury in relation to the payment of the salaries to Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 5 April 1930. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

⁷¹⁸ Gyula Németh (Németh 1972: 208) and Domokos Kosáry (*Keveléz* 2007f: 22.), as well as Dezső Keresztury

apartment, but his housing allowance remained in place to cover the representation fees incurred during the performance of directorial duties.⁷¹⁹ In recognition of his extensive foreign contacts and scientific work, he received the Cross of Merit of the Swedish Vasa Order, the Cross of Merit of the Finnish Order of the White Rose, as well as the Knight's Cross of the French Legion of Honour.⁷²⁰ However, in addition to his personal progression, the later statements of the institute's 'renaissance' were only partially correct, as, due to the global economic crisis, the number of applicants to the institute decreased and the economic manoeuvrability of the Collegium was also limited to a certain degree. In addition, his office-related activities drew away the attention of Gombocz to such an extent, that discipline became decisively looser, although efforts to restore it were implemented during the initial stages of his directorship. In 1932, this resulted in one of the most serious crises in the history of the institute.

The exposure of a communist conspiracy and the arrest and prosecution of students did not impact Gombocz's position. From October 1932, he launched a series of lectures led by Ákos Pauler under the title *The Basic Questions of Philosophy*, which aimed to develop the correct ideology of collegium students. He invited MRPE state secretary Kálmán Szily and ministerial department counsellor Pál Fandoffer to the lecture held in the auditorium.⁷²¹ His unparalleled career ended on 1 May 1935 when he unexpectedly died at a rector selection meeting for the arts faculty.⁷²²

The Hungarian and German literary studies position became available after the departure of Gyula Farkas, for which Miklós Szabó, as temporary director, proposed the appointment of János Koszó⁷²³ to curator Pál Teleki. He also proposed the appointment of Endre Gombocz⁷²⁴ as the head of the chemistry-natural history faculty.⁷²⁵ Pál Teleki made a similar

(Keresztury 1993: 103) reference this in their memoirs. Though he criticized the director's later conduct, he felt that he embodied the spirit of the Collegium as he was educated in various fields.

⁷¹⁹ 34/1930. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister regarding the housing allowance of Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 25 April 1930. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

⁷²⁰ 142/1934. Letter by Zoltán Gombocz to Governor Miklós Horthy regarding the approval of wearing medals. Budapest, 12 October 1934. MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

⁷²¹ 153/1932. Invitation of Zoltán Gombocz to MRPE state secretary Kálmán Szily to attend the lecture of Ákos Pauler. Budapest, 11 October 1932. MDKL box 51, file 97/1.

⁷²² At the faculty meeting, Gombocz stuttered when reading out the name of Sándor Domanovszky and tried to repeat the name of the history professor. However, he was unable to do so, as he began to feel ill and collapsed forward onto the table. He suffered a heart attack, and the doctors arriving at the scene shortly afterwards were unable to revive him (Németh 1972: 238–239). His death also shook public opinion, and several daily papers reported on it: *Nemzeti Újság* 2 May 1935; *Budapesti Hírlap* 3 May 1935; *Magyar Hírlap* 2 May 1935; *Esti Kurír* 3 May 1935; *Magyarország* 3 May 1935; *Új Magyarország* 2 May 1935; *Magyarország* 3 May 1935; *8 Órás Újság*; *Pester Lloyd* 1 May 1935; *Pesti Hírlap* 2 May 1935; *Függetlenség* 2 May 1935; *Újság* 2 May 1935, 3 May 1935; *Pesti Napló* 3 May 1935, 12 May 1935; *Budapesti Hírlap* 2 May 1935; *Képes Pesti Újság*, *Az Est* 2 May 1935. (MDKL box 39, file 66/b.)

⁷²³ Koszó was a member of the institute as a Hungarian-German-French faculty student between 1910 and 1914, and after World War I, he was also part of the Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin, after which he was appointed an ordinary teacher of the Public Teacher Training Institution (MDLK box 10, file 11, lot 30).

⁷²⁴ The brother of Zoltán Gombocz was a member of the Collegium from 1900 to 1904 as a chemistry-natural history faculty student. He excelled during his studies (MDKL box 6, file 7, lot 16).

⁷²⁵ 70/1927. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of János Koszó and Endre Gombocz. Budapest, 24 June 1927. MDKL box 40, file 70/9.

submission to the minister, in which he proposed Koszó as the replacement of Gyula Farkas and Gombocz as the replacement of Frigyes Hoffmann.⁷²⁶ The appointment of the former was approved by the Governor on 13 December 1928, due to which he was classified into the 6th remuneration category earning a salary of 555 pengos per month, with the proviso that he also had to teach German literary history studies.⁷²⁷ Koszó remained a member of the institute's teaching staff until 1935, after which he was appointed an ordinary teacher at the Erzsébet University of Pécs. The latter, on the other hand, did not become a teacher of the institute despite the efforts of his brother Zoltán Gombocz, as Jenő Tomasz was appointed instead at the cost of Hoffmann's status.⁷²⁸

There was also a change in Hungarian linguistics, because in 1933, Miklós Zsirai was appointed to the Budapest University as a university professor. The curator proposed replacing him with Dezső Pais who at that time was already a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Teleki intended to have the future teacher of the institute appointed in the 6th remuneration category in view of his age and qualifications. This plan failed, because István Náray-Szabó director of the Eötvös Loránd Collegium of Szeged, founded in 1931⁷²⁹, was appointed into the 8th remuneration category under the budget of the teaching staff the Eötvös Collegium of Budapest.⁷³⁰ That put a strain on the relationship of the two institutions; the directors of the Budapest institute kept trying to have the salary of their Szeged colleague paid from a different wage budget, but these efforts failed until 1938. In the end the ministry appointed Pais into the 7th remuneration category.⁷³¹ As the Board of Directors wanted him to be available for the students all day, a flat was allocated to him in the Collegium, for which they applied for the ministry for fair housing contribution.⁷³² As that request was not granted either, Gombocz repeatedly asked for his wage category to be elevated to the 6th remuneration category. In explanation he suggested

⁷²⁶ 72/1928. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of János Koszó and Endre Gombocz. Budapest, 3 April 1928. MDKL box 40, file 70/9.

⁷²⁷ 96189/1928. Letter of MRPE Department IV to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of János Koszó. Budapest, 20 December 1928. MNL OL K 636. box 293, item 22, lot 253 (1928).

⁷²⁸ The appointment of Endre Gombocz to Szeged was also suggested, but the position at the Budapest University would have been more advantageous for him, as he would have been able to supplement his teacher's remuneration working as the general secretary of the Hungarian Society of Natural Sciences. In the end, however, he was given a job at the Botanical Department of the Hungarian National Museum. Letter from Zoltán Gombocz to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of his younger brother, Endre Gombocz. Berlin, 4 April 1928. MNL OL K 636. box 293, item 22, lot 253 (1928).

⁷²⁹ The Szeged institution was established upon the initiative of István Náray-Szabó and Zoltán Bay on the example of the École Normale Supérieure. There was an important difference between the Budapest and the Szeged institutions: the latter's educational profile was dominated by natural sciences. Apart from the fact that the former natural science students of the Budapest Collegium taught at the Szeged twin institution, there was no other relationship between the two institutes.

⁷³⁰ 450-1-19/1929. Letter from MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to deputy director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of István Náray-Szabó. Budapest, 20 December 1929. MDKL box 41, file 73/4.

⁷³¹ 18897/1933. Letter from MRPE Department IV to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Dezső Pais. Budapest, 28 June 1933. MDKL box 40, file 71/9.

⁷³² 108/1933. Letter from Zoltán Gombocz to the MRPE Minister on the housing contribution of Dezső Pais. Budapest, 18 October 1933. MDKL box 40, file 71/9.

re-allocating Náray-Szabó's salary to the vacant status of Miklós Zsirai,⁷³³ but that took place only in July 1935.⁷³⁴

The dual division of classical philology continued; in general Miklós Szabó was in charge of the first and second year Latin and third and fourth year Greek studies, while Gyula Moravcsik was in charge of the third and fourth year Latin and first and second year Greek studies. Szabó remained in the 6th remuneration category even when the governor appointed him deputy director of the Collegium upon the recommendation of curator Pál Teleki on 23 February 1929.⁷³⁵ So, apart from giving lessons, he assisted Zoltán Gombocz who was overloaded with work due to representation and other official obligations in his activities. The Minister of Education granted a five-month leave to Gyula Moravcsik from September 1930 when the Greek Hareison Foundation provided a 2,000-pengo scholarship to him to conduct research in Greece.⁷³⁶ His work was recognised with the Greek Officer's Cross of the Order of the Saviour in 1935,⁷³⁷ and one year later, he was appointed an ordinary teacher of the Budapest University and was forced to terminate his position at the Collegium.⁷³⁸ The institute originally contracted Jenő Tomasz to manage the finances, but in 1928, his duties were extended to the management of the constantly growing library, so Teleki asked the minister to also appoint him librarian with potential involvement in teaching the increasing number of students pairing modern philology courses with Latin, when necessary.⁷³⁹ After Gyula Farkas had left, his librarian and secretary position was reclassified as an ordinary teacher's position with a 255-pengo monthly salary in the 7th remuneration category, supplemented by a 303-pengo housing allowance.⁷⁴⁰ Similarly to the majority of his fellow teachers, Farkas and his family lived in the institute until 1950. In the 1933/34 academic year, he also gave classes to 'mixed classical students' studying Latin in their first and second years⁷⁴¹ and became an ordinary classical philology teacher beside Miklós Szabó after Moravcsik had left.

⁷³³ 38/1934. Letter from Zoltán Gombocz to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Dezső Pais. Budapest, 15 June 1934. MDKL box 40, file 71/9.

⁷³⁴ 41/1936. The operating certificate of director Miklós Szabó on Dezső Pais. Budapest, 29 May 1936. MDKL box 40, file 71/9.

⁷³⁵ 45011/1929. MRPE Department IV letter to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Miklós Szabó as deputy director. Budapest, 16 March 1929. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁷³⁶ 470-5-78/1930. Letter from MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to Zoltán Gombocz on the leave of Gyula Moravcsik. Budapest, 30 September 1930. MDKL box 40, file 71/5.

⁷³⁷ 5452/1935. Letter from the MRPE Minister to Zoltán Gombocz for the approval of the award of Gyula Moravcsik. Budapest, 29 August 1935. MDKL box 40, file 71/5.

⁷³⁸ In his farewell letter to the teaching staff he described his relationship with the institute as follows: *"And even if I now leave this institute behind, please be assured that the ties that connect me to this Collegium cannot be broken; I will always be happy to return to this institute and will happily take the spirit of the Collegium to my new job."* Farewell letter from Gyula Moravcsik to the teaching staff of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 1 September 1936. MDKL box 40, file 71/5.

⁷³⁹ 168/1928. Letter from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Jenő Tomasz as a librarian. Budapest, 16 October 1928. MDKL box 40, file 71/10.

⁷⁴⁰ 90.147/1928. Letter from MRPE Minister Kunó Klebelsberg to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Jenő Tomasz into the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 13 December 1928. MDKL box 40, file 71/10.

⁷⁴¹ See the report by Jenő Tomasz on the progress of the first and second year Latin studies of students in the academic year of 1933/1934. Budapest, 28 May 1934. MDKL box 52, file 101/5/b.

The history subjects were still taught by Imre Madzsar for a remuneration (in the first semester of the academic year of 1930/1931, his remuneration was 204 pengos⁷⁴²) and by Pál Lukcsics as an ordinary teacher. Apart from the previous period, the latter never asked for any holiday from the institute and was appointed into the 6th remuneration category in 1936 together with Dezső Pais.⁷⁴³ The English philology programme, which became more and more important based on the number of students, was managed by Kálmán Tóth⁷⁴⁴ and Miklós Schmidt (Szenczi)⁷⁴⁵ for one semester in 1928. When the former left, Sándor Németh was invited to join the institute and deliver lessons for remuneration, as Schmidt had been. In the 1935/1936 academic year, both earned a 300-pengo remuneration each for two lessons a week.⁷⁴⁶ After a long time, in the same academic year, Sándor Fest was also involved in the English and German linguistic studies, but then as an ordinary appointed teacher, classified in the 7th remuneration category.⁷⁴⁷ The French language was still taught by Albert Szegő in exchange for housing and full board, as well as by Endre Horváth from 1928. The latter earned an 800-pengo remuneration p.a. for 4 lessons a week in the 1929/1930 academic year,⁷⁴⁸ which was reduced to 300 pengos for 2 lessons a week in the 1935/1936 academic year.⁷⁴⁹

Among the natural science subjects, natural history was taught by Nándor Filarszky until 1933 when the ministry did not extend his 36-year mandate any longer, as he was about to retire.⁷⁵⁰ In the first semester of the 1930/1931 academic year, Filarszky earned a 400-pengo remuneration for 4 lessons a week. After he left, natural history was not taught at the institute until 1937. The geography lessons were still provided by Ferenc Fodor (1 lesson a week) earning 100 pengos in the first semester of the 1930/1931 academic year, which was raised to 150 pengos in the 1935/1936 academic year. Mathematics was taught by István Grynaeus at the Collegium between 1933 and 1936 in 2 lessons a week, for which

⁷⁴² MDKL box 41, file 72/a

⁷⁴³ 25.663/1935. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Ferenc Orlay ministerial counsel to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Pál Lukcsics into the 6th remuneration category. Budapest, 19 July 1935. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁷⁴⁴ He was a member of the Collegium as a philologist studying Hungarian and English from 1926 to 1928 and left the institute in 1928 to continue work as a Protestant pastor (MDKL box 21, file 20, lot 62).

⁷⁴⁵ He was a member of the Collegium studying classical philology and English from 1924–1929. In 1925, he completed a three-year university course in Aberdeen (Scotland), at the end of which he obtained secondary school teacher qualifications in English and Greek. Teleki requested his appointment to Budapest in order for him to be able to teach at the Collegium. On 7 September 1930, Zoltán Gombocz also asked Mayor Jenő Sipőcz to appoint him for a teacher's position in Budapest. In 1937, he was appointed Hungarian lecturer of the Institute of Slav and Eastern European Studies of the University of London. He became a native language lecturer in London. In a letter of 28 April 1938, he indicated that he would stay one more year in London and then he would come home and teach at the Collegium. He established a relationship with British historians for Domokos Kosáry (MDKL box 17, file 18, lot 51).

⁷⁴⁶ MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁷⁴⁷ 25443/1935. Letter from state secretary Kálmán Szily to curator Pál Teleki for the appointment of Sándor Fest. Budapest, 11 July 1935. MDKL box 40, file 70/3.

⁷⁴⁸ 92/1929. Invitation from Gombocz to Endre Horváth to deliver French lessons. Budapest, 10 October 1929. MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

⁷⁴⁹ MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁷⁵⁰ 12744/1933. Letter from state secretary Kálmán Szily to Miklós Szabó concerning the mandate of Nándor Filarszky. Budapest, 13 February 1933. MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

he earned 300 pengos p.a. in the 1935/1936 academic year. The Board of Directors wanted to extend his mandate for the subsequent academic year, but he died in September 1936.⁷⁵¹

Owing to the contacts and intervention of Pál Teleki and Zoltán Gombocz, the number of foreign native language lecturers increased significantly in the institute compared to previous periods. In addition to the traditional French and German relations and the Italian relations established at the beginning of the 1920s, English, Estonian and Finnish native teachers also arrived at the institute. There is hardly any information available about the French native language lecturers between 1931 when Aurélien Sauvageot left and 1935. What is certain is that the École delegated a native language lecturer under the name of Carrere to the institute in those years. Besides Szegő and Horváth, the director also delivered French lessons, as he also spoke the language perfectly. In 1934, it was suggested that the ministry should establish the Institute of French Culture at the Collegium in Budapest, but Zoltán Gombocz strongly rejected it and proposed that the director of the new institute should be a former Collegium student or the French director of the institute (Nemes 1989: 104). After Carrere, the École delegated Georges Deshusses to the institute. The Hungarian ambassador in Paris also sent a report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Kálmán Kánya about the selected native language lecturer. According to the ambassador, Deshusses achieved excellent results in modern philology on the Ulm Road. After obtaining his secondary school teacher's diploma he was delegated first to the French Institute in Zagreb and then to Prague for two and one years. During that period he learnt Croatian, Serbian and Czech and built a relationship with the scientist and literary scholars of those countries owing to his foreign language skills. The main purpose of his delegation to Hungary was to perform the tasks of native foreign language lecturer at the Eötvös Collegium and to learn Hungarian. The ambassador noted that he had already attended all Hungarian lessons of the High School of Live Eastern Languages as a student of the École. The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Education selected him to lead the Department of Central European History to be established at the high school and therefore he wished to be able to read original historic documents in Hungarian, without any influence and also wanted to build relations with Hungarian scientists. In relation to the organisation of the French Institute, his tasks also included the launch of a French journal in Hungarian to strengthen the French influence in Hungary. The ambassador clearly expressed a wish for his presence in Hungary because *"According to his mandate, compared to the former left oriented French native language lecturers, he should also try to find friends from the right (as his basic thinking is oriented that way) and should represent French education free of any political preconceptions."*⁷⁵² Based on the description of the ambassador, the MRPE also consented to the appointment of Deshusses at the Collegium in the first days of 1935. Deshusses then stayed in Hungary for seven years.⁷⁵³

⁷⁵¹ His unexpected death put such a financial strain on the family that upon the proposal of curator Pál Teleki, the family was given his annual remuneration, i.e. 300 pengos and the same amount was also provided to contribute to the cost of the funeral. 172/1936. Letter from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister concerning the death of István Grynaeus. Budapest, 2 October 1936. MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

⁷⁵² The report of the Hungarian ambassador to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Kálmán Kánya on Georges Deshusses. Strictly Confidential. Paris, 6 November 1934. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

⁷⁵³ 18.103/1935. IV. 1. sz. Letter from state secretary Kálmán Szily to curator Pál Teleki on the mandate of Georges

The Hindu-born Bonnerjea René who initially became a member of the Collegium as a foreign student, also arrived to the institute in January 1935. However, he received a free Collegium membership for the 1935/1936 academic year and the ministry also exempted him from faculty of arts tuition fee, as he was appointed the Sanskrit foreign language lecturer of the university.⁷⁵⁴ He soon learnt the Hungarian language and later the ministry appointed him as the English-French conversation teacher of the ministry. He finished his secondary school studies at the Henry IV Lyceum in Paris and then earned his bachelor's degree at the George Washington University in the capital city of the United States after 4 years of university studies. After passing the supplementary GCSE exam, he also obtained a master of arts title in December 1936 and was then able to join the activities of the teaching staff from the 1937/1938 academic year.⁷⁵⁵

Besides the Austrian Ernst Häckel, two German teachers fulfilled the jobs of German native language lecturer. One of them was Hans Göttling who worked from 1928 to 1930 and, according to a certificate from Zoltán Gombocz, had a great deal of knowledge in German literary history. In addition to his job as a native language lecturer at the Collegium, he also became president of the German-Hungarian Orientation Office in 1929. After the expiry of his mandate he left for the French capital city.⁷⁵⁶ Göttling was followed by Hans Jobs who had been a native language lecturer at the University of Pécs before.⁷⁵⁷ Jobs stayed at Ménesi Road until 1935. In that time, he joined a few other Collegium members and took part at the international event organised by the Institut für Völkerpädagogik of Mainz in June 1931, also supported by the ministry.⁷⁵⁸ Upon the request of the German Academy of Sciences, he organised discussions and recruited Hungarian collaborators for a summary paper on the new Hungarian state after 1920.⁷⁵⁹ Klaus Haushofer was another foreign native language lecturer who visited Hungary in 1934 as the president of Volksdeutscher Rat and also contributed to the organisation of an official meeting between the Hungarian political elite and Germans living in Hungary (Jacobsen 1979: 157).⁷⁶⁰ Consequently, similarly to their predecessors and other native language lecturers, they also acted as cultural attachés during their stay in Hungary. Walther Schurig, who arrived at the Collegium in April 1935 and stayed in Budapest until 1942, pursued similar activities. Similarly to Jobs, Schurig was also originally the German native language lecturer of the University of Pécs and was invited to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest as well as to perform the native

Deshusses. Budapest, 7 January 1935. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

⁷⁵⁴ Application from René Bonnerjea to the MRPE Minister for free Collegium membership and tuition fee exemption. Budapest, 14 September 1935. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁷⁵⁵ René Bonnerjea's Qualification form. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁷⁵⁶ 5/1930. Certificate of Zoltán Gombocz about the activities of Hans Göttling. Budapest, 24 January 1930. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

⁷⁵⁷ Letter from Hans Göttling to deputy director Miklós Szabó about the accommodation of Hans Jobs. Bamberg, 26 September 1929. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

⁷⁵⁸ The ministry provided 500 pengos to cover travel expenses. 6497/1931 IV. Letter by ministerial department counsel Ervin Ybl to director Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 19 June 1931. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

⁷⁵⁹ Letter from Hans Jobs to Miklós Szabó requesting accommodation at the Collegium. Munich, 23 June 1936. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

⁷⁶⁰ I wish to thank Rudolf Paksa for pointing out that valuable information to me.

language lecturer's task at the Collegium from there.⁷⁶¹ It was a clear sign of the shrinking budget of the institute that the ministry intended to pay Schurig by providing free housing and full board.⁷⁶² Thus both the German and the French native language lecturers received their remuneration from their own countries.⁷⁶³

The duties of the Italian native language lecturer passed from Italo Siciliano who left the Hungarian capital in October 1933, to Paolo Calabro who supervised Italian language teaching in Budapest as a commissioner of the Italian government. He started living at the Collegium even before his mandate and agreed to deliver a few language lessons.⁷⁶⁴ Calabro stayed at the institute until 1936 and, similarly to his predecessor, was paid by the Italian government. The institute only provided accommodation and full board.⁷⁶⁵

Pál Teleki and Zoltán Gombocz arranged for language teachers for the Collegium not only in Italian, but also in a number of other languages. In 1928, the curator met Barker Vernon Duckworth in London and convinced him to come to the institute as a native English language lecturer. It was necessary to have a native English language lecturer, because the number of English students increased significantly at the institute. The young teacher who graduated at Oxford, also consulted professor Yolland who also recommended him the acceptance of the position at the Collegium.⁷⁶⁶ Duckworth who stayed in Budapest until 1937, enjoyed free accommodation and full board and also received 600-crown remuneration p.a., because he was also elected the native English language lecturer of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest.⁷⁶⁷ Felix Oinas arrived in Hungary under the Estonian-Hungarian cultural agreement, most probably upon the invitation of Gombocz, but started his work at the Collegium only after the director's death. The ministry approved a 300-pengo p.a. remuneration for him (cf. Kicsi 2006: 59).⁷⁶⁸ A Finno-Ugrian linguist Lauri Hakulinen was the native language lecturer of the Collegium between 1932 and 1934 and joined the institute also under a bilateral agreement, the Finnish-Hungarian cultural agreement. He received 100 dollars remuneration a month (equivalent to 574 pengos in 1933, but only 351 pengos in 1934), because both the USD and the Hungarian currency were devalued as a result of the global economic crisis, yet the ministry regularly offset the difference.⁷⁶⁹ However, following his departure, the institute had lacked a Finnish

⁷⁶¹ 29/1935. Letter from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister about the mandate of Walther Schurig. Budapest, 15 April 1935. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

⁷⁶² 21.560/1934. IV. Letter from Endre Fülei-Szántó ministerial department counsel to curator Pál Teleki about the mandate of Walther Schurig. Budapest, 28 June 1935. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

⁷⁶³ In that respect see the statements on the remunerations paid for the academic year of 1935/1936. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁷⁶⁴ 106/1933. Submission from Zoltán Gombocz to the MRPE Minister on the mandate of Paolo Calabro. Budapest, 18 October 1933. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

⁷⁶⁵ 23.508/1933. IV. Letter from state secretary Kálmán Szily to Zoltán Gombocz about the mandate of Paolo Calabro. Budapest, 3 November 1933. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

⁷⁶⁶ Letter from Barker Vernon Duckworth to director Zoltán Gombocz. London, 13 October 1928. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

⁷⁶⁷ 410-11-318/1930. Letter from Kunó Klebelsberg to the Board of Directors of the Collegium on the remuneration of Barker Vernon Duckworth. Budapest, 29 March 1930. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

⁷⁶⁸ 21.813/1935. IV. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 23 May 1935. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

⁷⁶⁹ 12/1934. Submission from Zoltán Gombocz to the MRPE Minister on the remuneration of Lauri Hakulinen.

native language lecturer for a long time. In the 1935/1936 academic year, György Lakó, Béla Kálmán⁷⁷⁰ and partly Felix Oinas began to teach Finnish again.⁷⁷¹ It was, however, a temporary solution until Viljo Tervonen arrived in 1942.

The changes in the teaching staff clearly indicate that since the resolution decree of 1925, the position of the teachers of the Collegium had deteriorated further in terms of progress in the remuneration categories, because Klebelsberg appointed István Náray-Szabó for the vacant position of Miklós Zsirai under the 6th remuneration category, but he did not serve in Budapest. Contrary to previous periods, promotion into a higher category only became possible when one of the teachers of the institute was promoted and became a university professor. There were also examples of the latter in the case of Koszó, Moravcsik and Zsirai, which confirmed again that the Collegium was also rather advantageous for building a scientific carrier, because, following a good ten years of institute service, members of the teaching staff were appointed at universities. The position of remunerated teachers also deteriorated a great deal, because by the end of the 1930s, the remunerations financed from a position classified within the 9th remuneration category were devalued and the Board of Directors generally tried to supplement the remuneration with free accommodation and board. However, despite the deteriorating financial conditions, the training system of the institute became more versatile, because more foreign native language lecturers served at the Collegium.

After 1927, the training system of the Collegium also went through significant changes as a result of the curator's reforms. From the 1926/1927 academic year, study reports broken down to two semesters appeared first in history,⁷⁷² French linguistics⁷⁷³ and classical philology⁷⁷⁴ studies as an early sign of more intensive supervision over the work performed at the Collegium. These changes also spread to and became general in the other fields of science in the subsequent two years. The original objective of the six-weekly meetings of the teaching staff introduced in February 1928 was to exercise more control over Collegium students, although the original goal of the meetings was to discuss the progress of students.⁷⁷⁵ However, the initiative practically died by the 1929/1930 academic year, with only two meetings remaining in each academic year.

Budapest, 20 February 1934. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

⁷⁷⁰ He studied at the Collegium specialising in German, French and Hungarian between 1930 and 1936. He spent one year in Tallinn with a scholarship in the 1934/1935 academic year (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

⁷⁷¹ György Lakó's report on teaching Finnish in the 1935/1936 academic year. Budapest, 28 May 1936. MDKL box 53, file 101/6/a. Lakó was a member of the Collegium between 1926 and 1930, studying Hungarian and German. In 1936, he was able to live at the Collegium free of charge and taught Finnish in exchange. In 1936, he was appointed deputy teacher at the Jászapáti Grammar School. The Board of Directors tried to transfer Lakó to Cegléd, but they succeeded only in 1939 when he was allocated to the 2nd District Royal Catholic Grammar School of Budapest (MDKL box 11, file 12, lot 33).

⁷⁷² Report by Imre Madzsar on history lessons in the second semester of the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, 24 June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁷⁷³ Report by Sándor Németh on the French language lessons in the second semester of the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁷⁷⁴ Report by Miklós Szabó on the classical philology studies in the first semester of the 1926/1927 academic year, Budapest 20 December 1926. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁷⁷⁵ Transcript of the Teachers' Meeting of 27 February 1928. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

Upon Pál Teleki's initiative, a three-level selection system was introduced at the Collegium. During the pre-selection from 1928, the teachers assessed the general knowledge of applicants during interviews. Only those applicants could expect to be admitted who showed some knowledge and higher than average interest in their selected field of studies. At the second level, the educational leaders monitored performance during the Collegium lessons. The curator suggested screening the admitted students more vigorously in the first two years, in order to eliminate undesirable students soon and to replace them with talented young ones.⁷⁷⁶ Then the students who had any break in their university studies (failed basic exam, bad performance during Collegium lessons) were expelled from the institute. In that context, a three-degree grade system was also introduced in December 1928 and Collegium students were informed of the results at the end of each semester. The best grade was granted to those whose performance was deemed outstanding by the educational leader. Those students generally showed scientific interest in their own field of studies. A satisfactory grade was granted to those in relation to whose performance or conduct there was no complaint. An unacceptable grade was received by those in relation to whose performance or conduct complaints were made. In general, an unacceptable grade was sanctioned with expulsion after two subsequent semesters.⁷⁷⁷ The third level of this system was the discrimination applied against freshers by the students of higher years in the first period of membership. Usually an excellent grade was granted to those who achieved scientific results already during their years of studies at the institute. The performance of those who showed only average abilities was often described in reports that science cannot expect any special results from them, but they would become good secondary school teachers.⁷⁷⁸ The educational profile of the institute was shifting towards the replenishment of the scientific elite.

During the examined period, it was a problem that some collegium students specialised in a particular subject at a too early age in their Collegium studies and then left the country when they were granted a scholarship abroad without passing their vocational exams.⁷⁷⁹ After their return, their enthusiasm to work reduced and they often decided not to undertake the final exam. To prevent that situation, Zoltán Gombocz and Miklós Szabó submitted a joint proposal at the teachers' meeting, which accepted that at the end of the third year, each third-year collegium student would have to report on their achievements in the topic of their thesis. Before applying for the vocational exam, first the application form and the thesis had to be presented to the Board of Directors and the teacher candidates were able to submit their applications and papers to the teacher examination board subsequently.⁷⁸⁰ In addition, in June 1929, it was prohibited, upon the proposal of János Koszó, that theses would be copied by individuals other than the authors for aesthetic reasons.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁶ Transcript of the year-end teachers' meeting held on 14 June 1929. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁷⁷ Transcript of the semester-end teachers' meeting of 22 December 1928. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁷⁸ Gyula Farkas, who arrived at the Collegium as a certified Protestant pastor also described the performance of Kálmán Tóth in that manner. Report by Gyula Farkas on Hungarian literature lessons in the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, 24 June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁷⁷⁹ The problem was raised by Ferenc Fodor. See the transcript of the teachers' meeting of 14 June 1929. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁸⁰ Transcript of the teachers' meeting of 21 September 1929. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁸¹ Transcript of the year-end teachers' meeting held on 14 June 1929. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

A lot of problems occurred in relation to German language teaching. German studies were made compulsory again in February 1928. Each student had to study German to achieve such a level at which they were able to read literature related to their own subject. Gyula Farkas tested all first-third year collegium students; those whose skills were insufficient were trained in two lessons a week by Károly Moravetz, Jenő Maurer, Dezső Keresztury and László Antal senior teachers.⁷⁸² Despite the efforts, it was concluded in 1931 that there were also insufficiencies among the German language students and that it was because the language teaching did not meet the needs of the students: students had to complete a lot of studies on historic German documents and had very little practice in the active language. That was why the teachers' meeting recommended language studies and translations from the first year, instead of studying intellectual history and philology problems.⁷⁸³

As a result of the transformation and supervision of the system of studies, the Board of Directors achieved, by the end of the academic year 1929/1930, that no collegium student avoided any exam or showed inadequate performance.⁷⁸⁴ Nevertheless, moral discipline could not be maintained, because, due to his official duties and management philosophy, Zoltán Gombocz did not control collegium students with the same strictness as his predecessor.

8.5.

Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE As Supervisory Authority Between 1928 and 1935

The relationship between the Collegium and its supervisory authority did not fluctuate as much as between 1919 and 1927, although a number of circumstances would have justified the deterioration of the relationship. Prime Minister's Decree 7000/1925 caused the institute to lose its *pro forma* college status and its autonomy in studies was restricted by the ministry in order to resolve the dispute between the institute and the secondary teacher training institution, which started after the approval of Act XXVII of 1924.

The role of Zoltán Gombocz in scientific and public life, which made his name recognised and accepted at the highest levels of the political elite and Pál Teleki were the guarantees that

⁷⁸² Transcript of the teachers' meeting of 27 February 1928. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁸³ Transcript of the semester-end teachers' meeting of 7 January 1931. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

⁷⁸⁴ Transcript of the academic year closing meeting of 13 June 1930. MDKL box 54, file 102/b.

prevented any major shock exerted on the Collegium by the political and economic crisis of the first half of the 1930s. The ministry did not prevent the appointment of Gombocz, but practically did not consent to the appointment of Bartoniek as an eternal honorary director. Although in 1928 Géza Bartoniek was awarded the second-class Hungarian Order of Merit based on the proposal of Zoltán Gombocz, in the original submission Teleki recommended that the ministry should a submission for the governor, in which Zoltán Gombocz would be appointed the director of the institute and Bartoniek its honorary leader.⁷⁸⁵ However, the governor approved only the director's appointment of Zoltán Gombocz and rejected the symbolic appointment.

Prime Minister's Decree 9000/1927 (1 November) introduced new regulations for the wage hierarchy of public employees, also including the remuneration paid to the employees of educational institutions. The scope of the decree did not cover the Public School Teacher Training College, the Erzsébet Women's School, the College of Fine Arts, the Academy of Music, the Academy of Theatrical Arts and the Eötvös Collegium. The ministry instructed the leaders of the institute to jointly prepare a proposal for wages.⁷⁸⁶ The respective leaders submitted their proposals to the ministry in agreement, but no relevant measure was taken in that regard. Consequently, Pál Teleki requested the recognition of the college status of the institute both in 1935⁷⁸⁷ and in 1936. On the latter occasion, he repeatedly stressed that the institute had practically been in the same situation as it was since the resolution decree: the director's position was downgraded to the 6th remuneration category, in addition to which the Collegium had two teacher's positions in the 6th remuneration category and four teacher's positions in the 7th remuneration category. This, however, caused a serious disadvantage compared to other colleges, the executive officers of which belonged to the 5th remuneration category and their teachers belonged to the 6th remuneration category. Teleki mentioned Sándor Fest who was a secondary school teacher in the 6th remuneration category when he was appointed to the Collegium, but there was only one position in the 7th remuneration category Available in the institute and therefore he had to give up his former higher remuneration when he accepted his appointment. So practically the teachers of the Collegium had a disadvantage also compared to the teachers of the secondary educational institution. That is why Teleki requested the express recognition of the college status of the institute and the restoration of the 5th remuneration category for the director of the institute, as well as the introduction of the *seminum* system for teachers, based on which a rate could have been applied during promotion that would have been based on age and the time spent in service and which would have complied with the special position of the institute in higher education. He also noted that in special cases, teachers should not be excluded from the 5th remuneration category either, because the resolution decree granted that possibility even for the Public School Teacher Training College.⁷⁸⁸ The ministry found

⁷⁸⁵ B/139. Pál Teleki's submission for the appointment of Zoltán Gombocz and for granting honorary director's title to Géza Bartoniek. Budapest, 24 June 1927. MNL OL K 636. box 243, item 24, lot 279 (1927).

⁷⁸⁶ Letter from Ágoston Gyulai, director of the State Secondary School Teacher Training College to temporary director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 25 February 1928. MDKL box 41, file 73/2.

⁷⁸⁷ 13/1935. cur. sz. Submission from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister, requesting the recognition of the college status of the Collegium. Budapest, 1935. MDKL box 41, file 73/3.

⁷⁸⁸ 202/1936. Submission from curator Pál Teleki for the recognition of the college status of the Collegium.

the reasoning acceptable and fair, but could provide funding only in the 1939/1940 annual budget and therefore the case became *ad acta* again for a long time.

The situation of the institute became worse when one position in the 6th remuneration category was booked for István Náray-Szabó in 1931. Curator Pál Teleki tried to resolve the situation in a submission made in 1931. He referred to the continuation of the Eötvös Loránd Collegium as superfluous, because it only trained natural scientists, while the Budapest Collegium had released generations of intellectual scientists and natural scientists. So he requested the return of the status of Náray-Szabó to the Collegium.⁷⁸⁹ MRPE Minister Jenő Karafiáth responded to the submission of the curator as follows: “...concerning the use of the director’s position of Zoltán Gombocz for other purposes, it is completely independent from the Eötvös Loránd Collegium. This is because in December 1929, Klebelsberg wanted to offer a job with potential retirement to the young chemist Dr. István Náray-Szabó who had just returned from abroad... he appointed him senior collegium lecturer and assigned him for service at Horthy Miklós Collegium in Szeged. That measure cannot be reversed, regardless of whether the Eötvös Loránd Collegium existed or not”.⁷⁹⁰

Not even the political attacks on the Collegium made in the public press for the first time in the history of the institute had any major influence on the relationship with the ministry. The first article of this kind was published by *Magyarság* (Hungarians) of 24 July 1930 under the title of “Luxury suite set-up at Eötvös Collegium for foreign scientist guests”. The unknown author criticised the ministry for supporting the establishment of luxurious suites for foreign scientists at the institute during the economic crisis. Deputy director Miklós Szabó refuted the critical article in an objective reader’s letter. On the one hand, he pointed out that the suites of the institute were puritan and not luxurious, the rooms established for foreign guests were merely attractive. Since its foundation, the Collegium had built numerous foreign relations with French, German, Italian and Austrian scientific circles. These states practically funded the stay of their delegates in Hungary and offered scholarships to Hungarian students, which provided a lot of advantages for teacher training. So, according to Szabó, there was no need to give any special arguments for maintaining these rooms, with which the Hungarian state could save a lot of money, as otherwise the Ministry of Education would have been forced to accommodate the prominent foreign guests in expensive hotels.⁷⁹¹ However, the ministry was not worried at all about the article, to which the Board of Directors responded immediately.

However, following the arrests after the communist conspiracy in 1932, the management of the institute was heavily criticised. Minister of Interior Ferenc Fischer Keresztes also gave a statement to the newspaper *Új Nemzedék* (New Generation), promising rigorous

Budapest, 1936. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁷⁸⁹ Submission from curator Pál Teleki to MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman. Budapest, 30 December 1931. MDKL box 41, file 73/4.

⁷⁹⁰ Karafiáth’s response was only revealed in a later submission from Miklós Szabó to Pál Teleki as MRPE Minister in 1938. Submission from Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Pál Teleki. Budapest, 2 October 1938. MDKL box 41, file 73/4.

⁷⁹¹ Reader’s letter from deputy director Miklós Szabó (1930). *Magyarság*. 27 July 1930 (Sunday). MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

action and the full investigation of the case to the general public.⁷⁹² *Magyarság* published a number of articles on the conspiracy. On 18 June 1932, an article was published without an author under the title of “*Who is responsible for Bolshevik students?*” Referring to unnamed sources, the author stated that in the recent past various sources of intelligence suggested that a group of the collegium students had been present in extreme literary circles and that Marxist views had been spreading in the institute. In relation to the latter, the article exaggerated and stated that the Collegium was the only Hungarian higher educational institution where these views were at all followed. It also raised the issue of the responsibility of the director who could not build a close relationship with the students, which may have been the reason why they fell under the influence of extremists. In the end, the author referred to the popular statement of the period that in our shrunk state, the unemployed holding a diploma easily fell under the influence of forbidden political concepts. In the end, the article suggested that the appropriate consequences should be drawn at the right places.⁷⁹³ István Milotay also used the columns of the same periodical to attack the organisers and, indirectly, the Collegium. The author described the arrested students as affluent scholars who found communism an intellectual game, not even suspecting its dark sides.⁷⁹⁴ In an article published by the journal *Magyar Kultúra* (*Hungarian Culture*), János Léber claimed that the students were presumably attracted to the ‘*intellectual spirit of Moscow*’ by money. The author also accused the director of letting the students of the institute managed by him lose the respect for traditions and their religious catholic patriotism. “*Quite a few secondary school bible study teachers visited our editorial office complaining with a sad heart that their best hopes, most virtuous and best nourished spiritual flowers had turned into atheist, dry weeds and moral corpses in the horticulture of the Eötvös Collegium within one or two years*” (Léber 1932: 48).⁷⁹⁵

The management of the Collegium did not officially respond to the attacks, only its members published a declaration in *Nemzeti Újság* (*National Newspaper*). The students also expressed their objection to press commentaries published in relation to the case and to the fact that the entire institute and the Board of Directors had been condemned for the acts of a few fellow students. They stated that the students had received scientific and moral training under the leadership of excellent Hungarian scientists and, if despite that, some of them had got mixed in politically doubtful circles, they were sorry about it, but they could not accept collective liability. At the end of their declaration, they stressed that the institute had already manifested selfless patriotism on a number of occasions and that they were convinced that its members would also have a role in shaping the future of the country in the years to come.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹² [Sine nomine] (1932a.): “*The government takes the most rigorous action against the communist poison*”. Statement by the Minister of Interior. *Új Nemzedék* (*New Generation*). 17 June 1932 (Friday) 3. MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

⁷⁹³ [Sine nomine] (1932b.): Who is responsible for the Bolshevik students? *Magyarság*, 13. 135. sz. 4. (18 June 1932 Saturday) MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

⁷⁹⁴ István Milotay (1932): Letter to a revolutionary student of humanities. *Magyarság*, 13. 136. sz. 1–2. (19 June 1932 Sunday) MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

⁷⁹⁵ János Léber (1932): Bolshevik students. *Magyar Kultúra*, 19. 13–14. sz. 45–49. MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

⁷⁹⁶ [Sine nomine] (1932c.): Declaration of the youth of the Eötvös Collegium. *Nemzeti Újság* (*National Newspaper*), 21 June 1932. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

The curator submitted a proposal to the ministry in relation to the events on the very date of the arrest. There he described the study progress of the students concerned and also stated that according to their fellow students all participants had an introverted character and were not expected to take part in any political movement. The curator stated only in relation to István Stolte that the curator meeting would have adopted a resolution on his expulsion on the day when he was arrested, due to the significant deterioration in his study results. He explained that with unfortunate family circumstances. Teleki also proposed suspending the membership of all arrested students for the period of the investigation and to expel all in relation to whom a detrimental effective court judgment was adopted.⁷⁹⁷ Zoltán Gombocz also submitted to the MRPE minister the qualification forms of the parties concerned and reached the same conclusion about the conspiracy as the curator: he did not see any sign in the conduct of the individuals concerned that would have suggested the events.⁷⁹⁸ The ministry accepted the explanation of the executive officers of the Collegium about the events and, contrary to the press, did not suggest any sanctions or accountability towards the institute or its executive officers (Sziklay 2003: 331). By organising the philosophy lecture of Ákos Pauler on 22 October 1932 and inviting state secretary Kálmán Szily,⁷⁹⁹ the director practically made the diplomatic steps to the ministry based on which the ministry's trust in him remained unchanged, although on the basis of the reports of the collegium students, it was clear that the event and the appearance of detectives in the building, the arrests and the consequential press attacks put a lot of pressure on Gombocz (Németh 1972: 210–211).

The trust in him and the institute was shown with the extraordinary, 600–pengo aid approved by the ministry in October 1932, on the basis of the application from the library,⁸⁰⁰ although the court hearings about the conspiracy were conducted and the judgments were announced in that period, including effective sentences imposed on five former members of the institute. Naturally, the press also covered the case, which was rather harmful to the reputation of the Collegium.⁸⁰¹ However, Gombocz's official carrier remained unbroken, as a result of which he became the dean of the faculty of arts in 1934.

After his tragic death, the ministry agreed to the acquisition of his valuable linguistic library by the MRPE and its attachment to the library of the Collegium as a separate unit. Although the group of experts consisting of the members of the Collegium (Dezső Pais, Miklós Zsirai, Lajos Ligeti, Zoltán Trócsányi, László Rásonyi) valued the estate at 21,698 pengos, the ministry's delegate István Pasteiner (director general of the University Library) valued it only at 10,000 pengos and, with the intermediation of the curator, Endre Gombocz

⁷⁹⁷ 44/1932. Submission from curator Pál Teleki concerning the communist conspiracy, Budapest 13 June 1932. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁷⁹⁸ 48/1932. cur. sz. Submission from Zoltán Gombocz about the participants of the communist conspiracy. Budapest, June 1932 MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁷⁹⁹ Invitation of Zoltán Gombocz to state secretary Kálmán Szily to attend the philosophical lecture of Ákos Pauler. Budapest, 19 October 1932. MDKL box 51, file 97/1.

⁸⁰⁰ 149/1932. Extraordinary loan application from Zoltán Gombocz for the library of the Collegium. Budapest, 25 October 1932. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁸⁰¹ [Sine nomine] (1932d.): Court report. Red students in court. Magyarország (Hungary), 4 October 1932 (Tuesday). MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

consented to the acceptance of the latter proposal.⁸⁰² Thus the valuable library remained at the institute, contributing to the training of subsequent linguist generations.



Image 18: Group photo of the natural science students of the Collegium in the second half of the 1920s.

The official succession of Zoltán Gombocz was decided within one month, by June 1935. However, during that period, a number of candidates were named for the director's position. Given his official position, deputy director Miklós Szabó had the best chance, as he had been part of the teaching staff of the institute since August 1911. However, the correspondence between Szabó and Sándor Eckhardt in 1945 revealed⁸⁰³ that the MRPE was also contemplating other candidates. The possible candidates included Nándor Láng, a recognised archaeologist and art historian, Ágost Gyulai, MRPE officer and secretary of the Hungarian Society of Pedagogy and János Horváth as well as Eckhardt himself. Consequently, contrary to former periods in the history of the institute, the MRPE had an idea of appointing an individual not having any relationship with the institute (Láng and Gyulai were such candidates) as its head. Presumably, this was what encouraged the leaders and most prominent members of the Former Members' Association of the Eötvös

⁸⁰² 4/1936. cur. sz. Report from curator Pál Teleki on the acquisition of the library of Zoltán Gombocz, Budapest 9 January 1936. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁸⁰³ I hereby wish to thank Veronika Markó for pointing out the valuable sources under MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

Collegium (Tibor, Gerevich, Sándor Eckhardt, Gyula Szekfű, Lajos Ligeti, Dezső Pais and János Horváth) to jointly argue in favour of the appointment of Miklós Szabó as director during a discussion held in Szikszay coffee house.⁸⁰⁴ Similarly to the retirement of Géza Bartoniek in 1921, Teleki decided on stability and therefore, based on his proposal, the governor appointed Miklós Szabó as director of the Collegium in June 1935, maintaining his previous remuneration package in the 6th remuneration category.⁸⁰⁵

8.6.

Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1928 and 1935

The changes in the curriculum made in the academic year of 1927/1928 and while Zoltán Gombocz was director significantly contributed to the strengthening of study discipline. The management of the institute introduced a 'disciplined freedom' atmosphere, which meant that students received all assistance for their work, but they had to achieve their scientific results through their own efforts. Contrary to the Bartoniek era, the Board of Directors never dictated, in which area collegium students had to achieve outstanding results (Schöpflin 1991: 40–42; Sziklay 2003: 329).

At the university, they only attended lectures of former students of the Collegium (Gyula Szekfű, Dezső Pais, János Horváth, Zoltán Gombocz) and spent the majority of their time in the library elaborating particular topics in their own field. This 'monastery type' work continued to determine the life of the students of the institute. Zoltán Gombocz was rather popular not only among university students (Mátrai 1982: 94; Fejtő 1990: 90) but also among collegium students, because many thought that he represented best the spirit of the institute (Keresztury 1993: 103). He often visited the suites for a conversation and invited a student to get used to the rules of international communication when he received foreign guests in his director's office (Keveléz 2007f: 22). In his novel *Fellegjárás (Cloudwalk)*, which captures this period, István Sőtér presents an excessively educated scientist, loved and cherished by his students, yet respected with some fear as 'Méliusz', the alter ego of the director, and who often invited his favourite students to dinner or to the opera (Bodnár 2003: 162).

According to Sőtér's novel, members of the Collegium closed themselves to the world and fully devoted themselves to science, which led to their involvement in the communist

⁸⁰⁴ Letter from Sándor Eckhardt to Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 9 October 1945. MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

⁸⁰⁵ 43/1935. Letter from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the remuneration of director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 7 June 1935. MDKL box 40, file 67.

conspiracy when a few collegium students decided to stop this asceticism and turned towards the rebelling Hungarian public life at the beginning of the 1930s (Sóter 1986: 23). This matches the memory of collegium student Gyula Schöpflin who took part in the conspiracy and was sentenced to four months imprisonment later: *“1931 was the year of the global crisis; it became impossible not to notice the gathering dark clouds of misery and injustice, within which the Hungarian situation seemed even more flaring and unbearable. [...] We looked for explanations to the issues of the world and society, we were looking for a clear and complex set of ideas that could give satisfactory answers to burning questions both regarding individuals and society”* (Schöpflin 1991: 52–53). Consequently, it was not a political belief but the potential response to the increasing social inequalities developing after the global economic crisis that was the main reason why collegium students shifted to the extreme left ideology. The conspiracy was detected by the political police for two reasons: one of the participants, István Stolte was planted by the police and János Bertók left his documents among the propaganda materials while distributing flyers at the university (Tombor 1995: 132–133).

Although the political views followed by the participants of the conspiracy were not unknown to the public opinion of the Collegium, the appearance of the police shocked the whole institute. Aurélien Sauvageot also tried to use his influence to have the arrested students released, threatening the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the French press would cover the issue in case they were given a long prison sentence (Sauvageot 1988: 354). However, this did not have any relevant impact on the procedure. The youth of the institute also responded to the intense press attacks, issuing a common statement on the column of *Nemzeti Újság*, which also had very little impact on the political attacks. Based on a request from the Board of Directors, in September 1932, only the fresher exam was held in the institution and the ‘initiation procedure’ was suspended for a semester until the storm around the Collegium subsided (Ruttkay 2007a: 33).

Gombocz interpreted the arrests as a personal failure and generally became irritated when the issue came up, or when the participants appeared at the Collegium.⁸⁰⁶ In his novel, Sóter gave a psychological interpretation to the events stating that following the removal of the conspirators, ‘Méliusz’ lost his will to live and died soon after (cf. Sóter 1986: 179). His sudden death also shocked collegium students. In 1935, a medallion was minted in his memory, based on the design of Walter Madarassy⁸⁰⁷ and on 1 May 1936, the entire institute placed a wreath on his grave on the first anniversary of his death. After that the graves of the deceased members of the institute were visited at the Kerepesi Road cemetery in the first half of November each year.⁸⁰⁸ On 20 March 1937, the Former Members’ Association organised a concert at the Music Academy and used the proceeds of the concert to erect a

⁸⁰⁶ Following his release from prison, Gyula Schöpflin visited the director asking him to obtain a scholarship to the Voguls and Ostiaks in order to update the collection of Antal Reguly. For understandable reasons, Gombocz refused the request referring to the fact that he did not have any relationship with the representatives of the Soviet scientific life (Schöpflin 1991: 65).

⁸⁰⁷ Notification from Pál Lukács to the Former Members’ Association of the Eötvös Collegium on the matters of the Association: Géza Bartoniek shrine, Gombocz medallion. Budapest, 23 September 1935. MDKL box 83, file 163/2.

⁸⁰⁸ Announcement of director Miklós Szabó on the first anniversary of the death of Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 28 April 1936. MDKL box 51, file 97/2.

shrine for the former director.⁸⁰⁹ In the end they used the proceeds and other donations to establish a shrine for Géza Bartoniek. Both shrines were unveiled and wreathed by the institution on 30 October 1937.⁸¹⁰



Image 19: Front and back of the Gombocz medallion.

As a result of the extensive foreign contacts of the director, more foreign students appeared at the institute than ever before in its history. During the Gombocz period, a total of 47 foreign exchange students were the guests of the Collegium with a scholarship. Most of them (14) arrived at Ménesi Road from the United States of America.⁸¹¹ Many of them were children of Hungarians who had emigrated at the beginning of the 20th century and who were sent back by their parents to study the culture of their old home country within the framework of the Hungarian-American Exchange Scholarship Programme. Their qualification forms and personal files varied a lot in terms of source value and therefore the field of science of their work and the exact time spent by them in the institute could only

⁸⁰⁹ Announcement from director Miklós Szabó on the concert dedicated to the memory of Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 11 March 1937. MDKL box 51, file 97/2.

⁸¹⁰ Announcement from director Miklós Szabó on the unveiling of the shrines of Géza Bartoniek and Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 29 October 1937. MDKL box 51, file 97/3.

⁸¹¹ In a chronological order, the following persons stayed at the Collegium: Milton Fehér (1928–1929), MDKL box 34, file 50; Edward Mc Carthy (1929–1930), MDKL box 34, file 50; Gyula Müller (1930), MDKL box 34, file 51; János Sándor and Henrik Tatter (November 1930 – June 1931), MDKL box 35, file 52; Béla Tóth (1930), MDKL box 35, file 52; Alexander (1931), MDKL box 34, file 50; Edward Shadbold (1931–1932) student at the Academy of Music, MDKL box 35, file 52; Lowel Ecker (1932), MDKL box 34, file 50; Sándor Tóth (1932–1934) English-Hungarian major, MDKL box 35, file 52; Ferenc Ehász (1933) cultural engineer, MDKL box 34, file 50; József Svirebely (1933), MDKL box 35, file 52; Dennis Kurjack (1933–1935) history major, MDKL box 34, file 51; Irwing Bechy (1935–1936) history-geography major, MDKL box 34, file 50 (cf. Nagy 1995: 89).

be established for a few of them. Many spoke Hungarian, but there were also guests with Hungarian names who began to learn the native language of their parents at the institute. Cohabitation was not problem free, since Irwing Beckhy, who arrived in 1935, was accommodated in a home outside the Collegium by the ministry, based on a proposal of Miklós Szabó, because the American got involved in a number of disputes with collegium students, during which he hurt the sensitivity of the ideology of his fellow students. As it happened on a number of occasions and the other collegium students also complained about him, the director thought it would be better to remove the guest from the family system into a separate home.⁸¹² The severity of the case was indicated by the submission of curator Pál Teleki to the minister where he explained Beckhy's removal with the following reasons: "...with an ideology totally different from our youths [Irwing Beckhy] – the atheist young man of Jewish origin – got into such strong conflict with his fellow students that cohabitation was no longer possible". At the same time, he also asked the minister to send the institute the personal data of future exchange scholarship students whom they intended to accommodate at the Collegium, in order to prevent similar events. At the same time, he also noted that accommodating lawyers and physicians at the institute was not practical, because they were not able to use the training system of the institute.⁸¹³ However, the MRPE disregarded both requests (cf. Nagy 1995: 89).

The group of German students was the second largest foreign student group with 10 guest students at the institute.⁸¹⁴ The German students arrived in the country pursuant to the agreement concluded between the German Imperial Ministry of Education and the MRPE on 13 October 1934. The National Scholarship Council and the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst was also included in the agreement. Under the agreement, between 1934 and 1936, two students and later three students were able to visit Hungary and Germany each year. In 1934, Pál Teleki requested Gombocz to suspend the German-Hungarian exchange relations, because, according to his information, teachers Károly Geller, Adolf Michaleis and Hans Jobst took part in the Hungarian organisations of the Imperial Germans and actively pursued propaganda among the Germans living in Hungary. No other relevant measures were taken in that regard (Nagy 1995: 86). When the scholarship of Friedrich Kalckreuth ended in 1936, he wrote a letter to the Board of Directors of the Collegium and to the MRPE Minister stressing that during his stay, he had tried to arouse the interest of Hungarian students in the specificities of the new Germany. He was surprised to find that in the library he was unable to find the text of the Paris peace treaties of 1920 in Hungarian or in German and that the works summarising the cultural policy efforts

⁸¹² 99/1936. Report from Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman about Irwing Beckhy. Budapest, 12 November 1936. MDKL box 34, file 50.

⁸¹³ Letter from curator Pál Teleki to MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman about Irwing Beckhy. Budapest, 16 November 1936. MDKL box 34, file 50.

⁸¹⁴ Ing Krüger (1930) librarian, MDKL box 34, file 51; Ebenhard Duschy (1931) doctor, MDKL box 34, file 50; Albert Kiehn (1931–1932) lawyer, MDKL box 34, file 51; Max Pfothenhauer (1931–1932) Finno-Ugrian linguist, MDKL box 35, file 52; Adolf Michaelis (1932–1935) Finno-Ugrian linguistics, MDKL box 34, file 51; Karl Geller (1933) economics, MDKL box 34, file 50; Franz Hassmann (1934–1935), MDKL box 34, file 51; Hans Kroitsch (1935), MDKL box 34, file 51; Manfred Peters (1934–1935), MDKL box 35, file 52; Friedrich Klackreuth (1935–1936) lawyer, MDKL box 34, file 51 (cf. Nagy 1995: 86–87).

of the new German state were also missing from the library. He recommended obtaining those works as soon as possible.⁸¹⁵

In accordance with the scientific interest and contacts of Zoltán Gombocz, besides the native foreign language lecturers, the Collegium also received many guest students from northern countries: six Finnish,⁸¹⁶ five Swedish⁸¹⁷ and four Estonian students.⁸¹⁸ Each Finn student received a scholarship for Hungary under the Finnish-Hungarian cultural agreement, similarly to the Swedish and Estonian students who were also able to visit Ménézi Road under an agreement. From these students, problems occurred only in relation to Stern Sternberg who did not arrive at the institute due to an unknown reason.⁸¹⁹

From the neighbouring countries, foreign students arrived at the Collegium from Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Polish contacts were initiated by historian Adorján Divéky (Nagy 1995: 88).⁸²⁰ As a Hungarian originating from Upper Hungary, Edgár Kessler studied the materials of the Csallóköz settlements in the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography for his dissertation.⁸²¹ Two Greek students also studied at the institute partly owing to the Hareison scholarship funds and partly as a result of the intervention of the Greek Embassy (Nagy 1995: 90).⁸²²

The Collegium not only received foreign students, but also allowed a limited number of its members to visit Vienna during the summer holidays. The visit was organised under an agreement with the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna, which was initiated by Miklós Szabó in May 1928.⁸²³ The first collegium student stayed in the Austrian capital between 20

⁸¹⁵ The letter of acknowledgement from Friedrich Kalckreuth to the Board of Directors of the Collegium. Budapest, 30 June 1936. MDKL box 34, file 51.

⁸¹⁶ Martti Räsänen (1930–1931), MDKL box 35, file 52; Yrjö Schrowe (1932–1933), at the same time, he was also the Finn language lecturer of the Budapest university, MDKL box 35, file 52; Lauri Hakulinen (1932–1934) also the Finn language lecturer of the Collegium, MDKL box 34, file 51; Antti Sovijärvi (1934–1935) Finno-Ugrian linguist, MDKL box 35, file 52; Paavo Siro (1935–1936) Finno-Ugrian linguist, MDKL box 35, file 52; Lauri Kettunen (1935–1937) returned during 1942–1943 and became the Finn language lecturer of the Collegium, MDKL box 34, file 51. (cf. Nagy 1995: 87).

⁸¹⁷ Matter Larsson (1931) from Lund University, MDKL box 34, file 51; Ake Thulstrup (1931) history major, MDKL box 35, file 52; Stern Sternberg (1932) English-French major, MDKL box 35, file 52; Arvis Fredborg (1934–1935), MDKL box 34, file 50; Gunnare Lindgren (1935–1937) archaeology-ethnology major, MDKL box 34, file 51 (cf. Nagy 1995: 90).

⁸¹⁸ Elek Reismann (1931–1934) Finno-Ugrian linguistics, MDKL box 35, file 52; Vassel Noot (1932) Finno-Ugrian linguistics, MDKL box 34, file 51; Gusztáv Must (1933–1934), MDKL box 34, file 52; Albert Saareste (1935–1936), MDKL box 35, file 52. (cf. Nagy 1995: 91).

⁸¹⁹ Stern Sternberg's personal file. MDKL box 35, file 52.

⁸²⁰ Janusz Pajewski (1930–1931) history major, MDKL box 35, file 52; Antoni Knot (1930–1931) history major, MDKL box 34, file 51; Lucajn Russjan (1931–1932) history major, was also recommended to the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna and the Hungarian Institute of History by Zoltán Gombocz. 9/1932. Recommendation from Zoltán Gombocz for Lucjan Russjan. Budapest, 1 March 1932. MDKL box 35, file 52. Zbigniew Kosciuszko (1932–1933) history major, was later also admitted at the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna, MDKL box 34, file 51; Sanislo Cholewinski (1934–1936) classical philology major but also studied Hungarian and history, MDKL box 34, file 50 (cf. Nagy 1995: 88–89).

⁸²¹ MDKL box 34, file 5.

⁸²² Verros Spiros (1928–1933) was a student at the University of Economic Sciences, MDKL box 35, file 52; Liontas Konstantin (1929–1930) was an opera singer, MDKL box 34, file 51.

⁸²³ Letter from the director of the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna to Miklós Szabó on the summer language practice. Vienna, 31 May 1928. MDKL box 36, file 55.

July and 8 September 1928. The executive of the Viennese institute also guaranteed to keep one of his German linguist masters at the institute for the summer to give lessons to the students.⁸²⁴ The MRPE supported the initiative; collegium students had to pay only for their accommodation, in exchange for which they also received boarding. This cost was generally charged by the ministry at 0.7 schillings.⁸²⁵ In general, accommodation was approved for those majoring in German who had outstanding academic results and were commended by the teaching staff. In 1930, the scholarship was only for August.⁸²⁶ However, after 1931, the programme stopped probably due to the lack of budget funding, because there is no source of information indicating that members of the Collegium were able to spend the summer in Vienna in the subsequent years.⁸²⁷

In their free time, collegium students visited Gellért Hill and the Danube embankment. Similarly to their predecessors, they also enjoyed the nightlife. Students, including Ferenc Jankovich, László Sziklay, Géza Képes and Gyula Schöpflin, often frequented their regular restaurant *Kis Rabló* (*Small Robber*) (Sziklay 2003: 347; 358). Contrary to the Bartoniek period, Gombocz never reprimanded collegium students for staying out at night, only expected them to maintain excellent academic results. Otherwise, he enforced the rules of the new selection system, which usually lead to the termination of membership.

As a summary of the Gombocz era, it may be concluded that the prosperous views on the period were mostly due to the personality, official prestige and extensive foreign contacts of the director, as a result of which the positions of the Collegium became stronger on the international scientific map. Thus, the training system of the institution remained versatile, covering a number of scientific fields, although the economic environment became more and more unfavourable. In 1935, Gombocz left a lot of open issues to his successor: drastic decline in the number of applicants compared to the last years of the Bartoniek period, which significantly reduced recruitment options. Gradual devaluation of the remunerations, which imposed a threat to the Collegium of having to terminate education in certain scientific fields. The gravest problem was the restoration of the former prestige of the institute prevailing before 1924 and 1925, which was connected to the remuneration categories of ordinary teachers and the open recognition of the college title by the MRPE.

⁸²⁴ The first students visiting the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna: Ferenc Gyurgyer, Béla Gyalay, József Koczor, Béla Bernáth, István Vigenfeld, György Lákó, Árpád Huber, possibly: Benjámin Molnár, Béla Szent-Iványi 103/1928. Letter from deputy director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the summer visit to Vienna. Budapest, 5 June 1928. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁸²⁵ Letter from MRPE Department IV to Zoltán Gombocz on the summer accommodation at the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna. Budapest, 11 June 1929. MDKL box 36, file 55. In 1929, the summer scholarship was granted to István Tálasi, György Lákó, Béla Szent-Iványi, Jenő Kardeván and József Horváth. Letter from the director of the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna to Zoltán Gombocz. Vienna, 12 July 1929. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁸²⁶ In that year, the scholarship was granted to Lehel Horváth, György Komoróczy, István Rác, István Zana, Dénes Oszeczy and György Lakó. 63/1930. Request from Jenő Tomasz to MRPE Department IV, Budapest 25 July 1930. MDKL box 36, file 55.

⁸²⁷ In 1931, the scholarship was granted to the following persons: Ferenc Belső, Tamás Bogay, Miklós Czunya, Uzor Király, László Mihályfy, István Véges, Sándor Szalay. 41/1931. Letter from Zoltán Gombocz to the MRPE Minister on the summer scholarship at the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna. Budapest, 9 June 1931. MDKL box 36, file 55.

Following the communist conspiracy, the approach of the institute to political issues also remained an outstanding problem. The main principle and requirement to collegium students remained that they should have no active involvement in any political movement. However, in the increasingly tense public atmosphere of the second half of the 1930s, it became inevitable for the Board of Directors to make a clear decision on its approach, because the philosophy lectures of Ákos Pauler did not continue. Miklós Szabó therefore faced a difficult heritage, and the situation became even graver due to the gradual deterioration of external circumstances.



Image 20: Miklós Szabó as director of the Eötvös Collegium

9

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM BETWEEN 1936 AND 1944

9.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1936 and 1944 By Region and Denomination

During the directorship of Miklós Szabó, between 1935 and 1944, a total of 360 people submitted their application to the Collegium. Approximately 40 people applied to the institute annually, which figure is significantly lower than that of previous periods. 184 applicants became members of the institute and 176 were rejected.

The effects of the territorial changes resulting from the Treaty of Trianon, as well as the spatial growth during World War II⁸²⁸ can be observed in the recruitment of the Colle-

⁸²⁸ As a result of the First Vienna Decision of 2 November 1938, 11,927 km² from the territory belonging to Upper Hungary was returned to Hungary. Between 15 and 18 March 1939, the Hungarian Army occupied Transcarpathia, which increased the country's territory by another 12,000 km². On 30 August 1940, as a result

gium during this period. 64% of admitted applicants came from the central and western parts of the country (34% from the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium, 29% from Transdanubia), while 21% came from eastern regions. The ratio of those living in the capital born in the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium region was 56.4% (19% nationally), so the overwhelming majority of the Budapest-born among admitted collegium students fell during the last period of the Horthy era and approached the ratio indicated in the 1941 census regarding the distribution of the population (Gyáni 2006: 207).⁸²⁹ According to the 1941 census, 12.5% of the population lived in the capital (Dányi-Dezső-Ember 1979: 20–21). With the change of territorial distribution and the increase in the numerical weight of the eastern regions, it can be assumed that the social background of admitted collegium students had changed somewhat compared to previous periods. It is a surprising fact that despite the practice of retaining spaces for cross-border applicants and despite the return of territories between 1938 and 1941, only 14% of those admitted (during the Gombocz era this figure was exactly double) arrived from those regions (9% Transylvania, 3% Upper Hungary, 2% Southern Hungary).⁸³⁰ In his 1941 submission Miklós Szabó justified the increase of Collegium spaces from 60 to 66 with the increase in territories. He admitted two theologians from Transylvania, two from Southern Hungary and two graduated Reformists for the six new positions.⁸³¹

The ranking of counties is led by Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County with 29% similarly to previous periods, which is a slight decrease compared to the previous sub-period (64.8% of them were from the capital). According to the census data of 1941, 28.9% of the population was concentrated in these regions (Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21), while at the same time, in the 1938/1939 academic year, 43.9% of students in higher education lived in the capital city or Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county (Lázár 1940: 224). They were followed once again by municipalities located in Transdanubia: Tolna, Vas and Veszprém with 5% respectively,⁸³² with the southern and eastern counties following them, each with 4%: Baranya, Békés and Hajdú.⁸³³ As before, cross-border counties in the Szabó era were

of the Second Vienna Decision, 43,000 km² from Northern Transylvania, while on 11 April 1941, with the occupation of the one-time Southern Hungary, another 11,500 km² once again fell under Hungarian control until the end of World War II (Romsics 2004: 246–251). Due to the increased territory of country, the MRPE also increased the number of Collegium spaces.

⁸²⁹ According to the 1941 census, 18.4% of the population lived in the capital and its surrounding urban areas (Gyáni 2006: 208).

⁸³⁰ There is no birth data for 2% of applicants applying in the sub-period.

⁸³¹ He justified the admission of the latter by stating that like Catholics, Reformists also wanted to employ graduate theologians in their educational institutions. Of the six new spaces two were free, two were at half tuition fee and two were at full tuition fee. 40.422/1941. IV. sz. Decree of MRPE Department IV, on the increase of the spaces of the Collegium. Budapest, 1 July 1941. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2, (1937–1941).

⁸³² According to the data of the 1941 census, 2.93% of the population lived in Tolna county, 2.54% lived in Vas county and 2.86% lived in Veszprém country (Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21). During the 1938/1939 academic year, 1.9% of parents of students lived in Tolna, 2.8% lived in Vas and 2.3% lived in Veszprém (Lázár 1940: 224).

⁸³³ Based on the data of the 1941 census, 2.72% of the population lived in Baranya county, 3.63% lived in Békés county and 2.02% lived in Hajdú county (Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21). And during the 1938/1939 academic year, 1.5% of parents of students lived in Baranya, 2.5% lived in Békés and 0.9% lived in Hajdú county (Lázár 1940: 224).

9.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1936 and 1944

still at the bottom of the rankings with a modest 1-2%, of which Cluj County achieved the highest result (2%).⁸³⁴

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------|----------|------------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | | | |
| By region | | | | By county | | | |
| Name | Collegium | University | National | Name | Collegium | University | National |
| Transtisza Region | 21 | 65.9 | 14.1 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 29 | 43.9 | 28.9 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 34 | | 49.5 | Tolna | 5 | 1.9 | 2.9 |
| Transdanubian Region | 29 | 24.8 | 36.2 | Vas | 5 | 2.8 | 2.5 |
| Upper Hungary | 3 | 9.3 | n.a. | Veszprém | 5 | 2.3 | 2.8 |
| Transylvania | 9 | n.a. | n.a. | Baranya | 4 | 1.5 | 2.7 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 2 | n.a. | n.a. | Békés | 4 | 2.5 | 3.6 |
| Dalmatia | 0 | n.a. | n.a. | Hajdú | 4 | 0.9 | 2 |
| No data | 2 | 0 | 0 | Borsod | 3 | 1.6 | 3.4 |
| Rejected applicants | | | | | | | |
| By region | | | | By county | | | |
| Name | Collegium | University | National | Name | Collegium | University | National |
| Transtisza Region | 14 | 65.9 | 14.1 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 26 | 43.9 | 28.9 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 48 | | 49.5 | Borsod | 9 | 1.6 | 3.4 |
| Transdanubian Region | 25 | 24.8 | 36.2 | Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok | 5 | 3 | 4.5 |
| Upper Hungary | 6 | 9.3 | n.a. | Somogy | 4 | 2.5 | 3.8 |
| Transylvania | 5 | n.a. | n.a. | Baranya | 3 | 1.5 | 2.7 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 0 | n.a. | n.a. | Békés | 3 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Dalmatia | 0 | n.a. | n.a. | Csongrád | 3 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| No data | 2 | 0 | 0 | Bács-Bodrog | 2 | 0.5 | 0.5 |

Table 13: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region and county compared to university and national population data⁸³⁵

⁸³⁴ See Figure 7 in the Appendix for the map detailing the full distribution of birthplaces of admitted applicants between 1919 and 1944.

⁸³⁵ The data on the residence of parents of university students during the 1938/1939 academic year is provided in: Lázár 1940: 224. The parts on the territorial distribution of the population were prepared based on the data of the 1941 census. These can be found in: Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21.

The distribution of birth places by type of settlement shows a decrease in the proportion of people coming from urbanised environments compared to the previous sub-period, as 57% of the admitted applicants were born in municipality towns (34%, the proportion of the capital city among municipality towns decreased to 55.5%) and county towns (23%),⁸³⁶ 41% of the admitted students were born in large villages with a population of 5–10,000 (8%) and small villages with a population of less than 5,000 (33%).⁸³⁷ The reason for this 10% shift in the territorial distribution may be due to the reorganisation of the sociological background of the applicants. Unlike earlier periods, therefore, it can be assumed that the number of successful applicants from the agricultural population was higher, as even in the 1930s, 85% of the industrial population lived in the capital or its suburbs (Gyáni 2006: 209). However, this does not change the fact that most of them were still admitted to the institute from the wealthy population living in urban settings. The change is also reinforced by the fact that, compared to the previous period, a smaller proportion of those admitted, 55%, graduated in a settlement different from their place of birth and 44% graduated from a school located in the settlement of their birth place.⁸³⁸

73% of rejected applicants came from central and western parts of the country: almost half of them, 48%, came from the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, while 25% came from Transdanubia. 14% were born in the Transisza region and 11% were born in regions across the border (6% Upper Hungary, 5% Transylvania).⁸³⁹ Thus, the proportion of applicants from the western and central parts of the country increased overall, but they were still admitted in smaller numbers than in the Gombocz era. The true winners of this shift were the applicants of the Transisza region who were admitted to the institute in higher numbers.

The country ranking for rejected applicants was led by Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun with 26% (29% among admitted applicants), followed by municipalities traditionally performing well in this group: 9% Borsod (3% among admitted students), 5% Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok (3% among admitted students), 4% Somogy (1% among admitted students). But the rest of the industrially less developed counties were not far behind: Baranya, Békés and Csongrád with 3% respectively (4% for Baranya and Békés, and 3% for Csongrád among admitted students).⁸⁴⁰ In the history of the institution, a large part of those rejected traditionally came from these eastern and southern counties.

Regarding the administrative classification of birthplaces, it can be stated that among rejected applicants, those born in municipality towns (35%) and county towns constituted

⁸³⁶ According to the census data of 1941, 21.28% of the population lived in municipality towns (34% among collegium students) (Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21). During the 1938/1939 academic year, 42.8% of all parents of university students lived in this settlement type (Lázár 1940: 224).

⁸³⁷ There is no data available for 2% of admitted students with regard to the settlement type of their birthplace. See Table 13 for the comparison of the birthplace data of admitted and rejected applicants with the data on the place of residence of parents of university students and the distribution of the population.

⁸³⁸ There is no data available for 1% of admitted students regarding their graduation location.

⁸³⁹ There is no data available for 2% of students rejected within the sub-period with regard to the regional classification of their birth place.

⁸⁴⁰ See Figure 8 in the Appendix for the map detailing the county distribution of birthplaces of rejected applicants between 1919 and 1944. See Table 13 for the comparison of the birth place data of admitted and rejected applicants with the data on the place of residence of the parents of university students and the distribution of the population.

a clear majority once again (51% and 57% among admitted applicants). This indicates a small increase compared to the data of the previous period. At the same time, the proportion of those arriving from small villages (40%) or from large villages with 5-10,000 inhabitants (7%) slightly decreased in this group.⁸⁴¹ Among those born in municipal towns, the proportion of those born in the capital increased to 49%. It appears that a larger number of institute members came from less urbanised groups compared to the previous periods. The spatial mobility rate basically reversed compared to that of admitted applicants: 55% of rejected applicants graduated at their place of birth, while 44% of them graduated in other settlements.⁸⁴² It can be concluded that, in terms of territorial distribution, a clear majority of applicants still came from the country's western and central regions, but the number of successful applicants from villages and large villages increased. This also likely resulted in the balance of ratios between the various social groups.

Although the relative majority of admitted applicants were Roman Catholics (49%),⁸⁴³ their proportion decreased compared to the previous period. This falls significantly short, over ten per cent, of their university and social proportions measured between the two world wars (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216). The recruitment report of Miklós Szabó for the 1940/1941 academic year also references this. Of the 22 applicants, only eight were Catholics, which was far behind their national and university presence. According to the director, so few pursued a teaching career, that most of them were absorbed by pious pastor orders, therefore there were hardly any secular individuals among them.⁸⁴⁴ Reformists remained the second largest denomination, but their proportion increased significantly: 36% of collegium students considered themselves Reformed.⁸⁴⁵ Their numbers were one and a half times their 20-21% social and university proportion (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216.; Kendes-Kovács 2011b: 108-109). Their increase in numbers came at the expense of Evangelical-Lutherans, who made up 9% only of admitted applicants. This somewhat surpassed their social proportion (6.2%).⁸⁴⁶ Greek Catholics made up 2% of successful applicants, while the Greek Orthodox and Unitarian denominations constituted 1% respectively.⁸⁴⁷ The former were present at the Collegium in accordance with their social proportion, surpassing their university presence, as were the latter, who overrepresented themselves in both aspects at the institute (*ibid.*

⁸⁴¹ There is no data available for 2% of rejected applicants in relation to the administrative classification of their place of birth.

⁸⁴² There is no data available for 4% of rejected applicants in relation to mobility willingness.

⁸⁴³ Among students, the proportion of Roman Catholics was 66% during the 1938/1939 academic year (Lázár 1940: 217). Therefore, the members of this denomination were significantly under-represented among the students of the Collegium.

⁸⁴⁴ 174/1940. Recommendation of director Miklós Szabó concerning admissions for the 1940/1941 academic year. Budapest, 29 June 1940. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

⁸⁴⁵ In the 1938/1939 academic year, the proportion of Reformists among university students was 19.2%, therefore they were overrepresented among collegium students by almost double (Lázár 1940: 217).

⁸⁴⁶ In the 1938/1939 academic year, the proportion of Evangelical-Lutherans among university students was 7.2%, therefore the members of the denomination were overrepresented in the Collegium in comparison to university students (Lázár 1940: 217).

⁸⁴⁷ In the 1938/1939 academic year, the proportion of Greek Catholics among university students was 2.2%, therefore they were somewhat under-represented among collegium students, while the proportion of Greek Orthodox students was 1% similarly to their Collegium ratio, with no data available for Unitarians (Lázár 1940: 217).

108–109).⁸⁴⁸ The Judaist denomination was completely missing from among admitted applicants,⁸⁴⁹ which was clearly the consequence of the Jewish laws and the repressive measures taken as a result and the Holocaust. Act XV of 1938 (the First Jewish Law) did not contain restrictive provisions on admission to university, it restricted the proportions of the Jewish population in economic and intellectual carriers (Gyurgyák 2001: 138–139). However, Act IV of 1939 restricted the admission of individuals considered to be part of the Jewish population to higher education institutions to 6% (or to 12% on the economic courses of József Nádor Technical University) (Gyurgyák 2001: 146). Prime Minister's Decree 7300/1939 (28 July) contained provisions in relation to the implementation of the Act that, however, did not list the Eötvös Collegium among the respective colleges. Therefore, Miklós Szabó requested the MRPE to advise whether the measures implemented were also applicable to the Collegium. The ministry also enforced the provisions of the Decree against the institute and required the Board of Directors to include the relevant parts of the text of the Decree in the call for applications for recruitment.⁸⁵⁰

Among rejected applicants, the proportion of Roman Catholics was 66% (49% among admitted applicants). It seems that they were significantly affected by pre-selection, but overall, among the applicants (57.5% just as in Gombocz era) they did not reach their social or university proportions (cf. Gyáni 2006: 216; Kende–Kovács 2011b: 108). The second largest, similarly to admitted applicants, was the Reformed denomination, who constituted nearly one third, 28% (36% among those admitted) of the unsuccessful applicants. Evangelical-Lutherans constituted 3% of rejected applicants (9% among those admitted), therefore they can be considered the most successful religious denomination, as two thirds of their numbers were admitted. Among rejected applicants Unitarians (1% among those admitted) and Greek Catholics (2% among those admitted) were represented with 1% each.⁸⁵¹ There were also no students present in this group from the Judaist denomination, which can be attributed to the legal environment and the hostile attitude against them, as well as the obstacles threatening their existence.

⁸⁴⁸ There is no data available for 2% of admitted applicants that would enable establishing their religious affiliation. See Table 14 for the comparison of the denomination breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants with the data of university students and national data.

⁸⁴⁹ In the 1938/1939 academic year, the proportion of Judaist students was 3.9% (Lázár 1940: 217).

⁸⁵⁰ 70/1940. Position statement request of Miklós Szabó regarding the application of Act IV of 1939. Budapest, 9 March 1940. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

⁸⁵¹ There is no data available for 1% of rejected applicants that would enable establishing their religious affiliation. See Table 14 for the comparison of the denomination breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants with the data of university students and national data.

| The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | Data of university students | National data |
| Roman Catholic | 49 | 66 | 66 | 65.7 |
| Greek Catholic | 2 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.5 |
| Greek Orthodox | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0.4 |
| Reformed | 36 | 28 | 19.2 | 20.8 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 9 | 3 | 7.2 | 6.2 |
| Judaist | 0 | 0 | 3.9 | 4.3 |
| Unitarian | 1 | 1 | n.a. | n.a. |
| No data | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Table 14: The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data of university students and the corresponding national data⁸⁵²

9.2. The Breakdown of the Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected between 1936 and 1944 by Type and Field of Science

Of the admitted applicants, 28% graduated from state run grammar schools, 7% from state run grammar schools of sciences, while 2% graduated from secondary schools of sciences, thus, 37% of successful applicants completed their secondary education in state run institutions. This shows a modest decrease compared to the previous period, but did not essentially change the tendency established in the Gombocz era that the majority of applicants came to the Collegium from state institutions.

⁸⁵² The data on the denominational breakdown of university students during the 1938/1939 academic year is provided in: Lázár 1940: 217. The data on the denominational breakdown of the population, based on the data of the 1941 census, can be found in: Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1978: 23.

Among the religious denominations, students arriving from Roman Catholic institutes constituted the majority with 28% (26% Roman Catholic grammar school, 2% Roman Catholic grammar school of sciences) who were closely followed by era's significantly increasing number of Reformists, with 25% (24% Reformed grammar school, 1% Reformed grammar school of sciences). The positions of Evangelical-Lutherans among the operators of the institutions did not decrease dramatically, only by 10%, as was seen in the denominational data, as 9% of the applicants came from these secondary schools.⁸⁵³ The modest drop in state institutions resulted in a further increase in the number of Reformists.⁸⁵⁴

The absolute ranking of the institutes was led by two secondary schools run by Reformists, the Budapest Reformed Grammar School and the Pápa Reformed Grammar School and Boarding School, with 10 admissions each. In second place, with 6 admitted applicants each, were the Budapest Saint Emeric Grammar School of the Cistercian Order, the Budapest Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School, the Hungarian Royal State Kossuth Grammar School of Sciences of Cegléd and the Budapest St. László State Grammar School. In third place, with 5 admitted collegium students was the Sáropatak Reformed Grammar School and Boarding School. It can be observed that five of the top ten institutions in the ranking were based in Budapest. In addition, it can be seen that the successful Reformist applicants did not come from the secondary schools of the rural towns of the Great Plain, but from reputable institutions in Budapest, Northern Hungary or Transdanubia. The ranking of the first 20 institutions included a cross-border institute with 3 admitted collegium students, the Reformed Grammar School and Boarding School of Cluj-Napoca. From the grammar schools of the agricultural towns of the Great Plain, present among admitted and rejected applicants in previous periods, only 5 individuals were awarded places at the Collegium (4 people from the Hódmezővásárhely Gábor Bethlen Reformed Grammar School and 1 person from the Hajdúböszörmény István Bocskai Reformed Grammar School).

54% of the secondary schools of admitted applicants were based in municipality towns, which is a modest decrease of 4% compared to the previous period. However, in the subcategory, the capital's share was only 49% compared to 70% of the Gombocz era. In addition to the capital, students came to the Collegium from Debrecen (Roman Catholics leaving 'Calvinist Rome'), Miskolc, Győr and Sopron. One third of admitted applicants came from county towns (33%). These were partly settlements belonging to the catchment area of Budapest, with the highest population concentration of the era, such as Vác and Cegléd (cf. Gyáni 2006: 208), or regional seats, such as Pápa, Nyíregyháza or Szekszárd. Those arriving from secondary schools of large villages with 5–10,000 inhabitants fell by almost half compared to the previous period (8%), while the proportion of those coming from small villages increased to 4% during the directorship of Miklós Szabó.⁸⁵⁵ Therefore, the number of students arriving from county towns increased mainly at the expense of smaller settlements. Compared to the previous period and owing to the revision of the borders,

⁸⁵³ There is no data available for 1% of admitted students regarding the type of secondary school they graduated from.

⁸⁵⁴ Unfortunately, there is no data available on the operational structure of the institutional system of secondary schools in the examined sub-period. I also found no relevant data for the given sub-period regarding the distribution of university and arts faculty students based on the secondary school type they obtained their graduation certificates from.

⁸⁵⁵ There is no data available for 1% of admitted students regarding the location of their secondary schools.

three times as many students (9%) arrived to the Collegium who obtained their graduate certificate from regions beyond the Trianon borders. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of them, 90%, graduated from institutes operating within the Trianon borders.⁸⁵⁶

31% of rejected applicants obtained their graduate certificate from state run grammar schools, while 8% graduated from state run grammar schools of sciences, and 3% graduated from state run secondary schools of sciences. The similar data of admission fell somewhat short of their combined proportion of 42% (37% among those admitted), but the relative majority of applicants (39.5%) still graduated from state run institutions. The main reason for this was that education policy in the 1920s and 1930s paid great attention to raising the middle class to this educational sphere, therefore, the expansion of state run institutions characterised both Klebelsberg's and Hóman's education management. As with the admitted applicants, the largest religious denomination among rejected applicants was Roman Catholic, with almost one third (32%) of those rejected belonging to that denomination (30% from Roman Catholic Grammar Schools, 2% from Roman Catholic Grammar Schools of Sciences; 28% among admitted applicants). Unlike those admitted, Reformists did not follow the Catholics closely this time, only 17% of the rejected applicants graduated from Reformed secondary schools (25% among those admitted). This data matches in scale the similar proportion of the previous sub-period. Contrary to the number of those who came from Evangelical-Lutheran institutes who also showed a decrease in this group: 6% (5% from Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools, 1% from Evangelical-Lutheran grammar schools of sciences; with a combined ratio of 9% among those admitted).⁸⁵⁷

The absolute ranking of secondary schools was led by the St. Benedictine Order Gergely Czuczor Catholic Grammar School of Győr and the József Lévy Reformed Grammar School of Miskolc with 5 rejected applicants each. Towards the top of the list, with 4 rejected applicants, were the 1st District Werbőczy István Grammar School of Budapest, the Royal István Széchenyi Catholic Grammar School of Jászapáti, the Pál Sommsich State Grammar School of Kaposvár and the Sárospatak Reformed Grammar School and Boarding School. In the latter case, it is worthwhile noting that both among admission and rejections, it finished towards the top of the ranking during the Szabó era. In the top ten, there were only three secondary schools from the capital (along with Werbőczy, the Practice Grammar School of the Secondary Teacher Training Institution and the Benedictine Grammar School of Budapest). Rejected applicants were much less concentrated in the secondary schools of the capital or its catchment area, they were evenly distributed between county towns. At the same time, in this group, apart from the five admitted students and two unsuccessful applicants, the representation of the institutions of the rural towns of the Great Plain, previously ranking in the middle or at the bottom of the rankings, fell sharply among applicants to the Collegium.

Nearly half of the secondary schools of rejected applicants, 48%, were located in municipality towns, which constituted nearly a 10% increase compared to the previous sub-period. At the same time, the number of capital-based secondary schools in the sub-category decreased to 38%. Close to one third, 32%, of rejected applicants graduated from county towns. In these cities, the common element was that they were far from the industrial and

⁸⁵⁶ Also, for 1% of them there is no data available in relation to whether their secondary school was located within the new country border or belonged to the territory of a successor state.

⁸⁵⁷ There is no data available for 3% of rejected applicants in relation to their secondary school type.

economic centres of the country and that the majority of their inhabitants consisted of the agricultural population (Gyöngyös, Balassagyarmat, Makó, Szentes, Szekszárd). 10% of them graduated from large villages with a population of 5–10,000 inhabitants (Jászapáti, Sárospatak, Békés), while 8% graduated from small villages with a population below 5,000 (Kunszentmiklós, Aszód, Orosháza).⁸⁵⁸ However, the proportion of those arriving from a less urbanised area did not change in this group as a whole compared to the previous period. Restructuring can be observed in the case of those arriving from an urban environment where the dominant role of the capital decreased and the majority of those rejected applied to the Collegium from county towns. 5% of unsuccessful applicants graduated from institutes operating beyond the Trianon borders, while 93% graduated from grammar schools operating within the 1920s borders.⁸⁵⁹

Director Miklós Szabó followed the admission policy of his predecessor in regard to admitting students with scholar faculties to 85% of the spaces available at the Collegium, while admitting natural science students to less than a fifth of the spaces (14%).⁸⁶⁰ The most popular faculty pairing among successful applicants was classical studies and philology (20 people). The 'mixed scholar' pairing of history-geography (14 people) formed part of the leading faculty pairings, as did Hungarian-Latin (14 people), Hungarian-German (13 people) and Latin-History (12 people). Due to the new grammar school curriculum published in 1938, which placed greater emphasis on so-called national subjects (Németh 2004: 449), the pairings of modern language courses with each other were reduced, with the English-German pairing being the most popular in this group (10 people). In most cases, modern philological faculties were paired with Hungarian or Latin (Hungarian-English: 9 people; French-Latin: 7 people; Latin-German and Latin-Italian with 3 people each). As the country became multinational, pairings also appeared that were characteristic of the institute only before 1918: Serbian-Croatian (1 person), Serbian-Hungarian (1 person), Slovak-History (1 person). Thus, the training profile shifted from the modern philological direction to the classics and the fields of science preferred by the education policy were given greater emphasis. The most popular faculty pairings among natural sciences were mathematics-natural history (8 people), mathematics-physics (7 people) and chemistry-natural history (5 people).

The proportion of scholars among rejected applicants decreased somewhat, to 80%, while natural science students reached 17%.⁸⁶¹ From rejected applicants, most selected the Hungarian-German faculty pairing (24 people), which was followed by Hungarian-Latin (22 people) and Latin-History (10 people). Modern philological disciplines, as with admitted applicants, were pushed into the background in this group also, probably due to changes in market demand. It is interesting to note that, as in the Gombocz era, those who chose classical philology (6 people) were represented in a very low number among those rejected. Essentially, three-quarters of all the ancient philology students were admitted to the institute. This was not the case with other disciplines. From natural science students most selected the chemistry-physics pairing during the examined period. In the area of natural

⁸⁵⁸ There is no data available for 2% of rejected applicants in relation to where they were located.

⁸⁵⁹ For 2% of them there is no data on whether their secondary school was based within the 1920s border or outside thereof.

⁸⁶⁰ There is no data available for 1% of collegium students relating to their faculties during this period.

⁸⁶¹ There is no data available for 3% of rejected applicants in relation to their chosen field of science.

sciences, this was followed by the pairing of mathematics-physics with 20 rejected applicants and lagging far behind that was the natural history-chemistry pairing, with 8 people.

9.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1936 and 1944, the Reasons for the Academic Failure and Rejection

12% of admitted applicants had an occupation belonging to the category of production (11% smallholders with 0–3 hectares, 1% farmers, farm hands). Their number more than doubled compared to the previous period, which can be seen as a significant change in recruitment policy.⁸⁶² In the case collegium students with a parent who was a smallholder peasant or a caretaker, it was possible to obtain a position among secondary school teachers still ranked among middle-class existences in term of prestige hierarchy and income ratios, even with their prestige gradually diminishing. The agricultural crisis did not ease by the mid-1930s, as evidenced by the introduction of entails in 1936 for farms with at least 17 hectares of land. The application of their children to the Collegium also indicates the progressive inability to maintain their way of life (Gyáni 2006: 314). 18% of guardians were employed in positions belonging to the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport.⁸⁶³ This is also a significant seven-percent increase compared to similar data of the Gombocz era. Within the main category, the significant majority of guardians, 12%, were employed as factory workers or craftsman (wheelwright, cobbler, car upholsterer, master tailor), 4% were employed in trade and catering as traders, or as trade workers, and 2% worked in money and credit services (bank manager, bank employee, office clerks, private officers, company owners). The 4% university presence of workers between the two world wars was significantly exceeded (Borsodi 2003: 310).

⁸⁶² The share of those belonging to production in the 1938/1939 academic year was 15.5% among university students (Lázár 1940: 223). It can be stated that these social groups were under-represented in the Collegium in comparison with earlier periods compared to similar proportions of university students.

⁸⁶³ The proportion of guardians belonging to the main category of industry, mining and metallurgy among university students was 15.7% in the 1938/1939 academic year (Lázár 1940: 223). Therefore, collegium students belonging to the main category were overrepresented in the institute compared to the proportion among university students.

| Occupation of guardians of applicants admitted and rejected between 1936–1944 (%) | Collegium | | University students 1938/1939 | National data 1941 |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 12 | 12 | 15.1 | 48.7 |
| Smallholder (0–3 hectares) | 11 | 10 | | |
| Farmer, farm hand | 1 | 2 | | |
| II. Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 18 | 18 | 32.6 | 35 |
| Industry, mining, metallurgy, transport | 12 | 14 | | |
| Trade, catering | 4 | 3 | | |
| Money and credit services | 2 | 1 | | |
| III. Civil services | 37 | 39 | 32.8 | 5.1 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 8 | 2 | 10.8 | |
| Educational services and academic institutions | 20 | 13 | | |
| Judicial services | 1 | 1 | 32.8 | |
| Healthcare management and services | 0 | 0 | | |
| Agricultural management and services | 2 | 1 | | |
| Financial management | 1 | 2 | | |
| Technical/industrial and commercial management | 1 | 1 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 1 | 11 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 3 | 8 | | |
| IV. Armed forces | 1 | 2 | 32.8 | 1.7 |
| V. Intellectual liberal professions | 8 | 6 | 32.8 | 5.1 combined with civil services |
| Lawyer, notary | 2 | 2 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 1 | 1 | | |
| Pharmacist | 0 | 0 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 2 | 1 | | |
| Veterinarian | 1 | 0 | | |
| Literature, art | 2 | 2 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, landlords, capitalists | 23 | 22 | 18.6 | 6.6 |
| Pensioner | 10 | 8 | | |
| Unemployed, dependants of orphanages | 13 | 14 | | |
| No data | 4 | 3 | | |
| | 0 | 0 | | |

Table 15: The employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data of university students and national employment data⁸⁶⁴

37% of guardians were employed in positions belonging to the main category of civil services, which shows a significant decrease of 10% compared to the data of the previous

⁸⁶⁴ The data on the employment of parents of university students during the 1938/1939 academic year is provided in: Lázár 1940: 223. The employment data of the entire population based on the 1941 census are included in: Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 26.

period.⁸⁶⁵ In the subcategory, 8% of fathers worked as Protestant, mostly Reformed ministers. 1% respectively were judges in the judiciary system, or worked as mining authority chief advisors or royal industrial inspectors in the field of technical and industrial administration, or as royal financial advisors in the field of financial management. They belonged to the social group associated with the 6th remuneration category, the higher levels of the middle class. Also, 1% of them worked as other administrative or ministerial officials and 2% worked in the field of agricultural administration as an auditor for the Ministry of Agriculture or as an official of the Lower Transdanubian Chamber of Agriculture. Their social situation was regulated by Act XVI of 1933, which, in the case of graduation from higher education institutions, allowed elevation to the higher levels of the middle class, up to the 6th remuneration category. 3% of guardians were employed in rail and postal services, with their numbers falling to less than half of the previous period. Essentially, as a result of the Act of 1933, they could not elevate themselves higher than the 9th remuneration category and therefore did not belong to the middle classes (Gyáni 2006: 264–265). 20% of fathers of admitted applicants worked for teaching or scientific institutes, including two college, four university, six public school teachers, eight elementary teachers and 19 grammar school teachers.⁸⁶⁶ With the exception of elementary teachers and university teachers, they all belonged to the middle class: the former, however, formed part of the ‘new tekintetes’ class, while the latter formed part of upper middle class. However, the proportion of guardians working in the field of education dropped significantly compared to previous periods. Miklós Szabó also noted their diminishing number of applications to the Collegium. Therefore, regarding the admissions of the 1939/1940 academic year, he asked the ministry to raise the prestige of the teaching profession urgently, as the children of secondary school teachers were turning towards freelance intellectual professions. He noted that instead of the more educated social groups, the lower educated intellectuals, as well as the agricultural proletariat, officer, retailer, artisan and factory worker groups were the ones sending their children to the Collegium.⁸⁶⁷ This finding seems to be correct in light of the statistics of admitted applicants.

1% of guardians worked in the armed forces as gendarmerie NCOs or municipal police officers, their numbers falling to one third compared to the previous period. However, the proportion of freelance intellectuals did not decrease, but their group was still under-represented. 1% of them respectively, were veterinarians, physicians or engineers. 2% of them respectively, made their living as lawyers or notaries, or as writers, journalists and actors within the field of literature and the arts. Their small presence in the institute was not remedied by the fact that the self-recruitment of these paths was traditionally high and most of the civil servants turned towards free carriers who previously provided the natural replenishment base of the Collegium. The ratios of those living on benefits (10%) and those unemployed or dependants of orphanages (13%) constituted less than a quarter,

⁸⁶⁵ In the 1938/1939 academic year, the proportion of guardians of the main category of public services was 33% among university students. So, despite their falling numbers among collegium students, they outperformed their similar university proportions (Lázár 1940: 223).

⁸⁶⁶ Guardians working in education were overrepresented at the Collegium by almost double compared to their 10.8% proportion among university students in the 1938/1939 academic year (Lázár 1940: 223).

⁸⁶⁷ 216/1939. Report of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on recruitment for the 1939/1940 academic year. Budapest, 29 June 1939. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

23%, of those admitted.⁸⁶⁸ As in the previous periods, primarily the children of groups with formerly middle-class existence were admitted to the institute in the period between 1936 and 1944 (orphans of university teachers, grammar school teachers, pastors and lawyers). 24% of guardians worked in the private sector and a significant number of fathers of collegium students continued to receive benefits from the state. It can be stated about the social changes of admitted applicants that the institute had become more open to the lower social groups due to necessity, as the majority of educated intellectuals sent their children into liberal professions instead of sending them to become secondary school teachers.

The selection rate was 32.2% in the examined period, which was an increase of more than 10% compared to the Gombocz era. The increase in the number of students unsuccessful in their studies can be explained by two factors: on the one hand, World War II destroyed the livelihood of many collegium students, or their military service delayed the completion of their studies. On the other hand, director Miklós Szabó proved relentless in terms of study and disciplinary matters: he made decisions regarding violations and inadequate studies pursuant to Section III.9 of the Organisational Rules, i.e. terminated the students' Collegium membership. 28% of collegium students who left before completing their studies resigned their membership voluntarily. In these cases, the circumstances of resignation were not provided, but it can be assumed that they were due to educational reasons.⁸⁶⁹ One fifth of collegium students (20%) were removed from the institution specifically for educational reasons.⁸⁷⁰ Some of them did not even take their basic exam, due to their poor academic performance,⁸⁷¹ while others failed specifically that,⁸⁷² or their vocational exam.⁸⁷³ But membership was also withdrawn if the faculty determined that the collegium student had not made any progress in their faculty subjects.⁸⁷⁴ However, the number of students

⁸⁶⁸ József Lázár's study, by combining the categories of pensioners, capitalists and private individuals, achieved a proportion for this group of 18.6% (Lázár 1940: 223). Therefore, it seems that the members of this social group were admitted to the Collegium in higher numbers than among university students. For a breakdown of the social status of those admitted between 1936 and 1944, see Figure 13 of the Appendix. There is no data available for 4% of guardians in relation to their occupation. See Table 15 for information on the comparison of the employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants with the data of university students and national data.

⁸⁶⁹ Frigyes Arató, a collegium student studying on the mathematics-physics faculty, resigned his membership in his first year, (MDKL box 1, file 1, lot 1). The Hungarian-Latin faculty student, Antal Árkos resigned his membership as a 2nd year student in 1944 (MDKL box 1, file 1, lot 1). In the case of students in higher years, the reason for resignation was almost certainly related to educational reasons. On 15 September 1939, József Csonka, a classical philology student, resigned his Collegium membership less than two weeks after joining. In this case, the reason for resignation most probably was the different treatment of freshers by the higher year students (MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 9).

⁸⁷⁰ According to the survey of the 1938/1939 academic year, 10% of university students cut their studies short due to educational reasons (Lázár 1940: 223).

⁸⁷¹ The membership of Nándor Csengő, a Latin-Italian faculty collegium student, was revoked after he had failed the Greek preparatory exam for the basic exam. 210/1938. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Nándor Csengő. Budapest, 27 June 1938. MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 9.

⁸⁷² The membership of László Kárpáti who studied geography and natural history at the Collegium was terminated precisely for the fact that he failed his basic exam (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

⁸⁷³ Mihály Erdélyi, who studied geography and natural history, failed his vocational exam, therefore his membership was terminated in June 1940 (MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12).

⁸⁷⁴ The membership of German-Italian faculty student Imre Nagy was revoked because the teaching staff did not

removed for educational reasons dropped significantly compared to the previous period and this indicates that during the Gombocz era, discipline was successfully restored at the institute.

14% of the collegium students resigned their membership due to a change in carrier path. There were some members of the institute who announced their intent to change carrier paths before they could be issued with an expulsion decision,⁸⁷⁵ while others did not see themselves becoming teachers, so they chose to pursue military,⁸⁷⁶ legal⁸⁷⁷ or medical carriers.⁸⁷⁸ 12% of the collegium students left the institute due to financial reasons.⁸⁷⁹ Due to their social standing, a few of them were unable to pay the maintenance fee even prior to the break out of World War II,⁸⁸⁰ while for others, the livelihood of their families was destroyed due to the war.⁸⁸¹ However, the proportion of people leaving for financial reasons remained practically unchanged compared to the previous period.

7% of collegium students needed to leave the institute due to disciplinary offences. The Oath was introduced in 1937 under the directorship of Miklós Szabó.⁸⁸² This was a statement by which collegium students committed themselves to complying with the institute's house rules and library use policies. In addition, they also had to undertake to only participate in the work of social organisations that were strictly religious in nature in light of the increasing popularity of extremist political movements. Applications for scholarships, grants or any kind of financial support were first presented to the Board of Directors and then sent to the competent authorities. The Oath had to be signed by the students at the

see potential in him to achieve a serious academic progress. Therefore, citing Section III.9 of the Organisational Rules, his membership was revoked. 159/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Imre Nagy. Budapest, 23 June 1940. MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41.

⁸⁷⁵ Zsolt Kétszery was advised by the teaching staff in their letter of 5 June 1943, that if his academic performance did not improve they would enforce the sanctions of Section III.9 of the Organisational. As a result, Kétszery gave up his membership and pursued a carrier in the military (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 28).

⁸⁷⁶ English-German faculty collegium student Gábor Nagy also decided to pursue a carrier in the military and became a student of Ludovika (MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41).

⁸⁷⁷ László Orbán, also an English-German faculty student, gained admission to law school and left the Collegium as a result (MDKL box 15, file 15, lot 44).

⁸⁷⁸ Sándor Ritter was granted sick leave for the second half of the 1941/1942 academic year due to mental ailments, after which, on 13 September 1943, he advised that we would continue his studies in medical school (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 50).

⁸⁷⁹ According to the reports of József Lázár, 34.5% of students suspended their studies for financial reasons in the 1938/1939 academic year (Lázár 1940: 223).

⁸⁸⁰ Gyula Bolla, a Hungarian-German faculty collegium student, gave up his membership due to the difficult financial situation of his parents (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 5).

⁸⁸¹ In December 1943, Rezső Kuba justified his departure from the institute with his full tuition fee place and his existential hopelessness (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 32).

⁸⁸² At least the earliest Oaths are dated from this year. Ernő Urbán, a Hungarian-French faculty student, resigned due to the fact that he violated the Oath on multiple occasions. Miklós Szabó wrote on his form that he had a depraved lifestyle, excluded himself from all types of control and was a suspect in a string of thefts occurring in 1939, but no evidence was recovered that would incriminate him, therefore no procedure was launched. The fact that he barely passed his French basic exam also contributed to his resignation. In his letter to Urbán's mother, dated 22 September 1939, the director acknowledged that he was the one to convince her son to resign his membership, because if he had not, he would have been dismissed within the framework of the procedure. He had a debt of 90 pengos, but Miklós Szabó was unable to recover the amount due to the financial situation of his parents (MDKL box 22, file 21, lot 64).

beginning of each academic year and if they violated any of its clauses, they had to give up their membership voluntarily.⁸⁸³ In doing so, the Board of Directors tried to prevent the Collegium from being subjected to political attacks through membership.⁸⁸⁴

Likewise, 7% of the students had to give up their membership for health reasons.⁸⁸⁵ In addition to the recurring mental exhaustion present at the Collegium, students had to suspend their studies or give up their membership due to tuberculosis.⁸⁸⁶ In regard to 12% of the students, there is no data, the only thing certain is that they did not finish their studies at the institute. Most of these cases pertained to students admitted in the 1944/1945 academic year who could not even take their places, as they had to report for military service due to the approaching war. The Board of Directors were only notified through second hand information that collegium students were alive, but would probably not continue their studies.⁸⁸⁷ A total of 21 people associated with the institute died during combat operations, among them were two active members of the Collegium⁸⁸⁸ and three ex-teachers,⁸⁸⁹ who died heroic deaths during military service or during the bombings. Just as in the case of the admitted applicants, 12% of guardians of rejected applicants belonged to the main category of Production as smallholders with 0-3 hectares of land (10%), or farmers or farm hands (2%). Therefore, the overall number of guardians working in the main category can be estimated at approximately 12%, which shows an increase (7.5%) compared to the proportion of the previous period. Thus, it can be stated that, compared to the previous sub-periods of the institute, more students applied and were admitted from the agricultural population to the institute. Similarly to admitted students, 18% of fathers of rejected applicants were employed in positions belonging to the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy and transport. Within the main category, 14% of the guardians were craftsmen (cobbler, wheelwright, carpenter, joiner, tailor), the difference compared to those admitted was the fact that there were much less well-trained and high-paid skilled workers or factory workers

⁸⁸³ See the full text of the Oath in the Appendix.

⁸⁸⁴ Just as in the case of Ernő Urbán, György Vágó had to resign his membership due to a clear violation of the Oath. Vágó repeatedly left the Collegium at night without permission, listened to the radio loudly and played the piano during the time dedicated to studying (MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 65).

⁸⁸⁵ György Feniczky justified his departure with his unfavourable health condition (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 14). András Böngérfy also fell ill several times as a result of intense mental stress, which put pressure on his Collegium studies, so he resigned (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 6).

⁸⁸⁶ István Temesi was hospitalised in 1940 with the suspicion of tuberculosis, and later admitted to a sanatorium. As his condition did not improve, he resigned his position (MDKL box 20, file 20, lot 60).

⁸⁸⁷ József Beszteri was admitted to the German-Latin faculty in 1944, but he did not take his position. In 1945, deputy director Jenő Tomasz only noted that he had apparently resigned (MDKL box 2, file 2, lot 4). There is also no information available on István Eckhardt who was admitted to the German-Italian faculty in 1944. Apparently he was captured, and he never reported to the institute (MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12). Gábor Fehér was also admitted in 1944 to the Latin-French faculty but he was captured in Ukraine on 2 November 1944 and was forced to work in a coal mine near Kiev (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 13).

⁸⁸⁸ István Szőke, a geography-history faculty collegium student, was killed during 1944 (MDKL box 20, file 19, lot 59). The case of Egon Pálvolgyi is not clear. The collegium student, admitted to the natural sciences-chemistry faculty in 1943, was captured. Jenő Tomasz wrote on his form that he was captured and that he later died as a prisoner of war. Subsequently however, he also noted that he resigned his membership on 26 July 1945 (MDKL box 16, file 16, lot 46).

⁸⁸⁹ Sándor Fest taught English and German at the Collegium, Dezső Szabó was a well-known publicist and Pál Veress taught mathematics and physics and was also a university private teacher.

among them. 3% of them worked in the trade and catering field as restaurant owners or traders, while 1% of them worked as insurance clerks within the field of the money and credit services sub-category. Therefore, less-skilled and lower-income guardians belonged to the main category compared to those of admitted applicants. Compared to the 12% of the Gombocz-era and the similar university data – especially with regard to the proportion of factory workers – this can be considered a significant increase.

39% of fathers of rejected applicants belonged to the main category of civil services (37% among those admitted). For the first time in the history of the Collegium, those belonging to the main category were represented in higher numbers among rejected than among admitted applicants. 2% of guardians, respectively, worked as Protestant pastors or as financial supervisors, accounting officers or chief accountants in the field of financial management. 1%, respectively, worked as judges or district judges within the field of judicial services, as forest engineers within the category of agricultural management, or as iron factory supervisors or industrial clerks in the field of technical, industrial and commercial administration. They all belonged to the middle class with the 6th and 7th remuneration category, unlike rail and postal workers who represented 8% of those rejected and who worked as postal officers or railway track supervisors. 11% of guardians worked as other ministry and municipal officials. In turn, 13% of them were employed at educational and scientific institutions (20% among those admitted), they included only nine grammar school teachers and headmasters, as well as the same number of elementary school teachers and headmasters, and only a single university teacher. It can be determined from these data and from the cumulative 37.5% result of public services that Miklós Szabó did not exaggerate when he stated to the ministry that the presence of secondary school teachers was declining. The proportion of civil servants during the Gombocz era was 41.5% and the decrease was clearly due to a decline in self-recruitment among teachers.

2% of guardians served in the armed forces as military officers or municipal police officers (1% among those admitted). Their numbers remained virtually unchanged compared to previous periods, as did the proportion of those working in intellectual liberal professions (6%). Among the latter, 1% of fathers worked as physicians or engineers respectively, while 2% of them worked either within the field of literature and arts (writer, opera singer, sculptor), or as lawyers. Similarly to those admitted, the proportions of those living on benefits (8%) and those unemployed or dependants of orphanages (14%) (their combined ratio among admitted applicants was 23%) were lower among rejected applicants than in previous periods.⁸⁹⁰ However, the fact which we have previously stated was also true of the Szabó era: the majority of those rejected came from social groups previously not belonging to the middle class. In this sense, the Collegium continued to be less open to lower social groups.

The most common reason for rejection in the era was that 32% of unsuccessful applicants were not recommended for admission by the faculty. In these cases, in general, the lack of knowledge during recruitment played a role in the rejection of the candidate. Among them

⁸⁹⁰ For a breakdown of the social status of rejected applicants between 1936 and 1944, see Figure 14 of the Appendix. There is no data available for 3% of guardians in relation to their occupation. See Table 15 for information on the comparison of the employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants with the data of university students and national data.

were students who had already passed a basic exam, but its result was ‘only’ good, therefore their admission was not supported by the faulty teachers.⁸⁹¹ The fact that an individual had references or their father was a university professor did not help if they had lack of professional knowledge.⁸⁹² In addition to the weakness of secondary education,⁸⁹³ there were also applicants who had to be rejected by the teaching staff because of their Jewish background.⁸⁹⁴ 29% of the applicants were recommended second by the teachers of the institution, therefore their applications were rejected due to a lack of places. Occasionally, students were ranked second, not because of their professional skills, but rather because of their character⁸⁹⁵ and there was also an applicant who was rejected by the Collegium not only because of his abilities, but also his background, however, Miklós Szabó managed to arrange for him to start his studies at the faculty of arts.⁸⁹⁶ 15% of applicants were dissuaded from pursuing teaching careers by the teaching staff, as during the oral entrance exam they discovered they had a serious character flaw,⁸⁹⁷ or a lack of professional knowledge. 13% of unsuccessful applicants could not be members of the institute, because they had withdrawn their applications during the recruitment procedure. There were applicants among them who could not even pay half of the tuition fee, so they withdrew their application,⁸⁹⁸ while others did not want to wait for the rejection decision of the teaching staff.⁸⁹⁹ 7% of applicants were recommended for admission but they never took their places. From among them, it can be proven only in connection to one person that they did not take their place at the institute due to World War II.⁹⁰⁰ 2% of applicants were rejected by the faculty because they were

⁸⁹¹ György Borsi applied to the geography-natural history faculty in 1938, but was rejected due to his basic exam result (MDKL box 24, file 26, lot 6).

⁸⁹² Miklós Lambrecht applied to the geography-natural history faculty in 1940, his father, Kálmán Lambrecht was a university teacher. He was rejected due to his lack of knowledge (MDKL box 28, file 38, lot 29).

⁸⁹³ Ottó Welker applied to the Italian-History faculty in 1941, but the average of his 5th-7th-year grammar school results were only satisfactory (MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 56).

⁸⁹⁴ Tódor Pfiegel applied to the Collegium in 1941, to the chemistry-physics faculty. Because his mother was of Jewish origin, according to Act XV of 1941 the institute could not admit him (MDKL box 30, file 42, lot 39).

⁸⁹⁵ Sándor Erdő applied for the faculty pairing of Hungarian-French in 1944, but based on the description of teachers, in addition to his lacking in abilities compared to his peers, he would not have been suitable for cohabitation due to his character (MDKL box 25, file 30, lot 11).

⁸⁹⁶ Gyula Vámos applied to the natural sciences-chemistry faculty of the Collegium. He was recommended second by the teaching staff. However, Miklós Szabó noted in his letter to his reference provider, József Takács, that according to the instructions of the ministry, they could not admit persons who had two grandparents of Jewish origin. However, the director promised to ensure an opportunity for the young man to enrol to the faculty of arts. Letter of Miklós Szabó to József Takács. Budapest, 29 June 1943. MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 55

⁸⁹⁷ Károly Vörös applied to the Latin-history faculty of the Collegium in 1944. Each of the teachers highlighted his condescending character, which also led to his dissuasion from the carrier path (MDKL box 33, file 48, lot 55). Vörös, however, later became a renowned social history researcher.

⁸⁹⁸ Zoltán Nyárádi submitted his application to the institute in 1937 with the faculty subjects of geography-natural history. He did exceptionally well on his basic exam. He withdrew his application, as he was not granted a free membership (MDKL box 29, file 40, lot 36).

⁸⁹⁹ Dezső Fehér applied to the English-Hungarian course but the teaching staff did not recommend him for admission, so he withdrew his application (MDKL box 25, file 31, lot 12).

⁹⁰⁰ Miklós Györffy applied as a Hungarian-French student to the institute in 1943. The teaching staff recommended him in first position, but he was still not admitted. Probably because of the war he could not take his place. He reapplied in 1946, but was rejected for being too old (MDKL box 26, file 33, lot 16).

unable to meet their special needs due to their physical disability,⁹⁰¹ or they found them to be unsuitable for cohabitation due to their age.⁹⁰² One student could not be admitted, because he submitted his application after the deadline for application.⁹⁰³ Overall, as in previous periods, it can be established that in most cases applicants were rejected for professional reasons. However, it was also observed in three cases that,⁹⁰⁴ following the implementation of repressive measures against the Jewish population, the Collegium had to refuse applications from students with a Jewish background.⁹⁰⁵

9.4.

Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System of the Eötvös Collegium between 1936 and 1944

In June 1935, deputy director Miklós Szabó took over the running of the institute. Governor Miklós Horthy did not promote Szabó from the 6th remuneration category, which could be seen as a decline in the prestige of the institute. The ministry did not allow him to keep his housing allowance to cover the representation fees, as the University and College Department compensated this with other benefits in kind.⁹⁰⁶

In December 1935, the director repeated his attempts to supplement his benefits. This time he claimed that one of his classical philology teaching positions was vacant due to his appointment as director, however, this position could not be filled, because from the

⁹⁰¹ József Deák applied to the Collegium in 1939 for the Hungarian-History faculty. Due to his serious physical disabilities, director Miklós Szabó rejected his application (MDKL box 25, file 29, lot 10).

⁹⁰² László Harangi applied to the institute in 1937 as a history-geography student. At the time of admission he was too old, therefore the teaching staff rejected him partly for this reason and partly due to his weak graduation results (MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 18).

⁹⁰³ Lajos Szári applied with the faculty pairing of history-Latin, but due to the late receipt of his application he was not eligible for admission (MDKL box 31, file 45, lot 47).

⁹⁰⁴ In addition to Tódor Pflieger and Gyula Vámos, István Cseh was partly rejected for the same reason. Cseh was recommended by the teaching staff in second place, so he would not have been admitted, but Miklós Szabó also noted, that he could not have been admitted anyway, as both of his grandparents were of Jewish origin (MDKL box 25, file 28, lot 9). László Keleti applied in 1941 to study classical philology. Regardless of his background, he was recommended in first place. However, Keleti did not take his place (MDKL box 27, file 37, lot 24).

⁹⁰⁵ There is no rejection reason indicated for of 2% of rejected applicants.

⁹⁰⁶ 129. 152/1935. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to curator Pál Teleki on the housing contribution of Miklós Szabó. Budapest, June 1935. MDKL box 40, file 67.

ordinary teaching positions one was reserved for István Náray-Szabó. Because he was forced to participate as director in the running of the classical philology faculty, he asked for a separate remuneration to be granted to him.⁹⁰⁷ His efforts were unsuccessful, therefore, in 1938, curator Pál Teleki requested the ministry to promote Miklós Szabó to the 5th remuneration category V, as his remuneration category classification had remained unchanged since 1919 and, at the time of his appointment as director, they granted him the reputation belonging to the 5th remuneration category, but left him in the 6th, which indicated an opportunity for a future appointment.⁹⁰⁸ In previous sub-periods it was an unusual phenomenon among the teaching staff of the Collegium for a faculty head to remain in a single remuneration category for such a long time. The MRPE approved the appointment in principle, but due to the resistance of the Ministry of Finance it did not go ahead, therefore, according to ministerial counsel Endre Fülei-Szántó, it could only be executed in the subsequent financial year.⁹⁰⁹ Finally, on 31 December 1939, the governor appointed him to the 5th remuneration category with a supreme resolution,⁹¹⁰ restoring the prestige of the Collegium, but he still had difficulties with the payment of this benefits.⁹¹¹

For maintaining German-Hungarian relations, in 1941, he received the First Class Honours of the German Order of the Black Eagle⁹¹² and the Humboldt Medal of the German Academy (Markó 2011a: 119). Partly for this reason, he was stripped of his director's position after 1945. Following the death of curator Pál Teleki on 3 April 1941, it was discussed that MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman should fill the curator position, for which he provided his preliminary consent, but in the end, due to his ministerial duties, he was unable to accept the position (cf. Markó 2011a: 118). At the time of his appointment as Minister of Education (14 May 1938) Teleki had also wanted to resign from his position as curator, but the Former Members' Association and the director did not allow it. Miklós Szabó proposed that he suspend his curator's duties while he performed his state affairs and appoint Gyula Szekfű or János Horváth to perform the curator's tasks in his place.⁹¹³ Teleki, however, retained his position and did not appoint a deputy, but after his appointment as Prime Minister on 16 February 1939, he was not often seen at the institute. Although the director informed him about important

⁹⁰⁷ 154/1935. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on determining the educational leader honorarium. Budapest, 1 December 1935. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹⁰⁸ 68/1938. Letter by curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Miklós Szabó. Budapest, March 1938. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹⁰⁹ Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning his appointment. Budapest, 29 March 1938. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹¹⁰ 39.372/1939. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to Miklós Szabó on his appointment into the 5th remuneration category Budapest, 31 December 1939. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹¹¹ In March 1940, he complained to the MRPE Minister that even though he was appointed, he was still receiving his previous wage. He asked for the correction of his benefits in accordance with this remuneration category. 69/1940. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the payment of his remuneration. Budapest, 9 March 1940. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹¹² 334/1941. Letter of Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman regarding approval for wearing his foreign honours. Budapest, 25 September 1941. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹¹³ Submission of director Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Pál Teleki concerning Collegium matters. Budapest, 2 October 1938. MDKL box 41, file 73/4.

personal matters, his activity as curator was essentially suspended.⁹¹⁴ Following his death, the curator's position was left unfilled until the closing of the institute in the 1950s. This resulted in the Collegium not enjoying public and political support previously provided during the time of Loránd Eötvös or Teleki himself. With the gradual right-wing shift of public life, the institute was also subject to politically motivated attacks, resulting in the removal of Miklós Szabó from his director's position on 15 July 1944 (Markó 2011a: 121).

Although the Minister of Education of the Lakatos government, Iván Rakovszky decided on his rehabilitation and reinstatement from the Hungarian National Museum to the head of the Collegium, this was never realised due to the coup of 16 October 1944. Instead, Jenő Tomasz took over the running of the institute, filling the position of deputy director from 1940.⁹¹⁵ The new role was not unfamiliar to Tomasz, as he had previously stood in for Miklós Szabó during his summer holidays, which he regularly took during the period from June to August in the Austrian Krumpendorf,⁹¹⁶ or his villa in Balatonszabadi.⁹¹⁷ In the second half October 1944, Tibor Baráth, the new head of the MRPE University and College Department,⁹¹⁸ appointed Béla Kolozsvári Medzuy⁹¹⁹ as the director of the Collegium. Kolozsvári stayed at the institute until the first half of December 1944, following which he departed with government officials towards the west, fleeing from Russian troops. Until 13 February 1945, the end of the siege of Budapest, the running of the institute was once again taken over by Tomasz. Even though Miklós Szabó stayed in the director's apartment and survived the siege with his family in the shelter of the institute, he did not get involved in its matters. Following the fighting, Jenő Tomasz, Dezső Pais and Kálmán Eperjessy jointly pleaded with Szabó to take back control of the institution. The legal ground for this was established by the fact that in the letter sent to the institute by the French Embassy, the name of Miklós Szabó was listed as director, and the new head of the MRPE, Géza Teleki also invited him to his initial talks.⁹²⁰ Then, as a result of another political attack, the Provisional Government's Minister of Education approved decree 58.593/1944 IV. 1, issued by his legal predecessors, and assigned him to the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for service. He had to hand over the director's apartment to the new director Dezső Keresztury

⁹¹⁴ Letter of Miklós Szabó to the dean of the faculty of arts Tibor Gerevich. Budapest, 3 May 1941. MDKL box 88, file 185/6.

⁹¹⁵ 26441/1940. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó concerning the appointment of Jenő Tomasz as deputy director. Budapest, 27 January 1940. MDKL box 40, file 71/10.

⁹¹⁶ 56/1936. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning summer holidays. Budapest, 27 June 1936. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹¹⁷ 32.449/1940. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to Miklós Szabó regarding the authorisation of his summer holiday. Budapest, 20 July 1940. MDKL box 40, file 67.

⁹¹⁸ The documents of Tibor Baráth could not be found in the archives of the Collegium at the time of the research. He was a member of the institute as a student of the history-geography faculty between 1925 and 1930. His teachers did not consider him especially talented. See the report by Ferenc Fodor on geography lessons in the 1926/1927 academic year. Budapest, 22 June 1927. MDKL box 52, file 101/3/c.

⁹¹⁹ His birth name was Béla Medzuy, but after he was adopted by Reformed pastor Mihály Kolozsvári he added 'Kolozsvári' to his name. He was admitted to the mathematics-physics faculty in 1924 and he finished his studies in 1928 (cf. Markó 2011a: 122). MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 38.

⁹²⁰ Letter of Miklós Szabó to Sándor Eckhardt. Budapest, 8 October 1945. MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

by 1 August 1945 (cf. Markó 2011a: 123).⁹²¹ His former teacher colleagues said goodbye to Miklós Szabó in a letter,⁹²² but the relationship did not completely cease, as in 1947 the former director became a board member of the Association (ibid. 124).

In 1936, Miklós Szabó invited Dezső Keresztury to join the Collegium and fill the vacant position of János Koszó as the head of the Hungarian literature department.⁹²³ Hungarian linguistics classes were taught by Dezső Pais until 1937 when he was appointed to a vacant teaching position at the Hungarian Linguistics Department of the Faculty of Arts of Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University of Sciences.⁹²⁴ In the 1938/1939 academic year, the classes were taught by Gyula Laziczus, in the position of remunerated teacher, in exchange for a 300-pengo remuneration.⁹²⁵ From 1939 until the end of the World War, the courses were run by László Hadrovics⁹²⁷ who was also in the position of remunerated teacher, in exchange for a 300-pengo remuneration,⁹²⁸ then, from the 1943/1944 academic year, he received 960 pengos for teaching 4 hours weekly.⁹²⁹

From the classical philology classes, Greek was taught by Miklós Szabó until his dismissal in 1944. Until 1936, classes were divided similarly to the previous sub-period with Gyula Moravcsik. However, the latter was appointed an ordinary teacher of the Faculty of Arts at the Budapest University in 1936,⁹³⁰ therefore, from the 1937/1938 academic year, Jenő

⁹²¹ Letter of Géza Teleki on the relocation of director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 4 May 1945 MDKL box 94 file 199. Originally he was assigned to the teacher training institution, but, as a result of the political attack, the ministry decided that if the youth of the Eötvös Collegium did not find his personality agreeable, it was better not introduce him to a university audience. Therefore they decided on the library of the academy. Letter of Miklós Szabó to Sándor Eckhardt. Budapest, 8 October 1945. MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

⁹²² *We, the teachers of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium, discovered at our first meeting of the year that the minister for religion and public education has reassigned the Director to another post. We sincerely regret that we were unable to say goodbye to you in person and that is why we feel obliged to express in this letter the friendly respect we all have for You. The teachers of the Collegium know how devoted to his job the Director was as the head of the institute, and we are convinced that in your new position you will serve the cause of Hungarian literacy with the same tirelessness and loyalty as at the Collegium. As we say goodbye with old-fashioned respect, we sincerely hope that you will be blessed and successful in your new position. Our admired Director, please accept our appreciation and gratitude: Dezső Keresztury, József Szauder, René Bonnerjea, Jenő Tomasz, Sándor Harsányi, Ankeira Santieri, Domokos Kosáry.* Letter of director Dezső Keresztury and the Collegium teaching staff to former director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 5 July 1945. MDKL box 94, file 199.

⁹²³ Keresztury was also a student of the Collegium studying in the Hungarian-German programme between 1922 and 1928. On the recommendation of Hugo Klienmayr he received a scholarship from 1924 to 1926 to the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna (Keresztury 1993: 104–106). Between 1928 and 1936 he was a native language lecturer and librarian at the Berlin Collegium Hungaricum (Tóth 2004:151).

⁹²⁴ 24454/1937. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Minister Bálint Hóman to Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Dezső Pais. Budapest, 1 July 1937. MDKL box 40, file 71/9.

⁹²⁵ Remunerations of the academic year of 1938/1939. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁹²⁶ Report by Gyula Laziczus on Hungarian linguistic lessons in the 1938/1939 academic year. Budapest, 17 May 1939. MDKL box 53, file 101/7/a.

⁹²⁷ László Hadrovics was a student of the Collegium between 1929 and 1932 studying Hungarian, German and Latin. In 1940, he became a university private teacher (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19).

⁹²⁸ Remunerations of the academic year of 1939/1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁹²⁹ Remunerations of the academic year of 1943/1944. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁹³⁰ *“And even if I now leave this institute behind, please be assured that the ties that connect me with this Collegium cannot be broken; I will always be happy to return to this institute and will happily take the spirit of the Collegium to my new job.”* Farewell letter from Gyula Moravcsik to the teaching staff of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 1 September 1936. MDKL box 40, file 71/5.

Tomasz also participated in faculty management, teaching only Latin lessons. Due to the submission of curator Pál Teleki, he was appointed into the 6th remuneration category in 1937 and three years later he became the deputy director of the Collegium, but continued to oversee its finances.⁹³¹ The rise in the number of classical philology students and their success in recruitment was probably due to the fact that the heads of the institute also came from these disciplines.



Image 21: The 'Good Hungarian Pronunciation Competition Committee', with the portrait of Zoltán Gombocz in the background, 7 December 1937

Following the departure of János Koszó in 1935, the German literary history class was taught by Sándor Fest temporarily in the 1935/1936 academic year.⁹³² Until the 1938/1939 academic year, there is no further data available on who taught these classes. Then, an old student of the institute, Béla Pukánszky returned to the Collegium and gave lessons until the 1942/1943 academic year in a remunerated teacher's position in exchange for a

⁹³¹ 24.469/1937. IV. sz. Letter from the MRPE to director Miklós Szabó concerning the appointment of Jenő Tomasz into the 6th remuneration category. 1 July 1937. MDKL box 40, file 71/10.

⁹³² Report of Sándor Fest on the English and German literary history classes of the second half of the 1935/1936 academic year. Budapest, 29 May 1936. MDKL box 53, file 101/6/a.

600-pengo annual remuneration.⁹³³ In that year, Károly Mollay⁹³⁴ was appointed into the 8th remuneration category, replacing László Göbl (Gáldi), who was granted a university teacher position at the University of Cluj-Napoca. Mollay joined the 2nd battalion of the 1st infantry regiment on 24 May 1944.⁹³⁵ Although he was promoted to the 7th remuneration category in August 1944,⁹³⁶ he was captured by Soviet forces during the fighting. Thus, after his forced departure, the teaching of German literary history was suspended at the Collegium.

In 1936, László Gáldi⁹³⁷ was assigned to the institution as a substitute secondary school teacher, to teach Romance philology classes.⁹³⁸ He was so successful at his work that Pál Teleki requested the ministry to grant him position in the 9th remuneration category at the Collegium, at the cost of a 7th remuneration category position.⁹³⁹ In the 1937/1938 academic year, he won the 4,000-lira scholarship of the Italian Government, so he was granted leave between April and June of 1938.⁹⁴⁰ Between 1939 and 1940, he was once again granted educational leave due to his studies abroad,⁹⁴¹ which, however, did not hinder his progress, as he was appointed into the 8th remuneration category.⁹⁴² His fast promotion was characterised by the fact that within a year he was promoted to the 7th remuneration category together with Miklós Szenci and Domokos Kosáry⁹⁴³ and in 1942, he was appointed an ordinary teacher of the József Ferenc University of Cluj-Napoca.⁹⁴⁴ He did not cut all ties with Ménézi Road, however, as after the World War, he became a teacher at the Collegium once again thanks to Dezső Keresztury. The French literary history lessons were affected by the departure of Albert Szegő (Gyergyai) who had been teaching since 1927, from whom

⁹³³ Remunerations of the academic year of 1940/1941. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁹³⁴ He was a student of the institution studying on the German-French programme between 1932 and 1937 (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 39).

⁹³⁵ 84/1944. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the Central Wage Office regarding the reporting of the service of Károly Mollay. Budapest, June 1944 MDKL box 40, file 71/4.

⁹³⁶ 59390/1944. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Miklós Mester to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Károly Mollay into the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 1 August 1944. MDKL box 40, file 71/4.

⁹³⁷ Originally László Göbl was a student of the Collegium between 1929 and 1933, studying Hungarian, French and Romanian (MDKL box 6, file 7, lot 16).

⁹³⁸ 37576/1936. Letter of Bálint Hóman to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of László Gáldi as a substitute secondary school teacher. Budapest, 28 September 1936. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

⁹³⁹ 84/1937. Proposal of curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of László Gáldi and Domokos Kosáry. Budapest, 30 April 1937. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

⁹⁴⁰ 62/1938. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the leave of László Gáldi. Budapest, 23 March 1938. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

⁹⁴¹ 37239/1939. Letter of ministerial counsel Tibor Eyssen to director Miklós Szabó regarding the leave of László Gáldi. Budapest, 30 November 1939. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

⁹⁴² 32259./1939. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to Miklós Szabó regarding the appointment of László Gáldi into the 8th remuneration category. Budapest, 1 July 1939. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

⁹⁴³ 37.567/1940. Letter of state secretary Kálmán Szily to Miklós Szabó regarding the appointment of László Gáldi, Miklós Szenci and Domokos Kosáry into the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 30 December 1940. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

⁹⁴⁴ 850/1941/42. Letter of the Arts, Language and History Faculty of the Ferenc József University of Cluj-Napoca to director Miklós Szabó. Cluj-Napoca, 11 July 1942. MDKL box 40, file 70/4.

the institute bid farewell in 1939, based on the recommendation of Miklós Szabó. Szabó argued that Szegő had been living in the institute since 1929 and that his place would be better suited for a young teacher who could connect with students. In addition, Szegő also fell under the scope of Act IV of 1939 (on the restriction of the public and economic development of the Jewish population).⁹⁴⁵ While acknowledging the contributions of the French teacher, the minister relieved him of this Collegium duties on 24 July 1939 with his Decree 30.843/1939. IV. The director expressed his regret on his leaving the institute, but assured him that the institute would not forget him despite the termination of their formal connections.⁹⁴⁶ Keeping his promise, in 1940, he asked state secretary Kálmán Szily not to allow Szegő to lose his position at the Lajos Kossuth Higher Commercial College of Budapest⁹⁴⁷ and, in 1944, he also issued a certificate that he was a teacher of the Collegium, which exempted him from wearing the yellow Star of David.⁹⁴⁸

His vacant position was filled by Ernő Knauz (Kenéz).⁹⁴⁹ Kenéz was an ideal choice for the Board of Directors, as in the 1936/1937 academic year, he was a student at the École Normale Supérieure and following that, he assisted at the Collegium by giving French lessons and was also appointed as an apprentice at the French faculty of the University. The remuneration of Kenéz consisted of free housing and full board.⁹⁵⁰ With the 1940 appointment of Jenő Tomasz as deputy director, Kenéz took over the administration of the library and, as a result of the essential services he provided, Miklós Szabó requested the ministry to appoint him to the Collegium as an ordinary grammar school teacher.⁹⁵¹ At the time of his 1942 appointment, he was not only entrusted with giving French lessons, but also with secretarial tasks and the management of library stock to enable Jenő Tomasz to concentrate fully on financial issues.⁹⁵² The French classes of non-faculty students were provided by Endre Horváth until 1937,⁹⁵³ but, due to the decline in the value of remunerations and the appointment of new remunerated natural scientists, his services were no longer required.⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁴⁵ 134/1939. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the exemption of Albert Szegő. Budapest, 5 June 1939. MDKL box 41, file 72/4.

⁹⁴⁶ 254/1939. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Albert Szegő. Budapest, 5 August 1939. MDKL box 41, file 72/4.

⁹⁴⁷ Letter of director Miklós Szabó to state secretary Kálmán Szily regarding Albert Szegő. Budapest, 15 January 1940. MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 56.

⁹⁴⁸ Certificate of Miklós Szabó about the teaching activities of Albert Szegő at the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 15 June 1944. MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 56.

⁹⁴⁹ He was a student of the institution between 1932 and 1938, studying on the Hungarian-French programme (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 29).

⁹⁵⁰ 271/1939. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Ernő Kenéz. Budapest, 6 September 1939. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

⁹⁵¹ 309/1941. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister regarding the appointment of Ernő Kenéz. Budapest, 29 November 1941. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

⁹⁵² 119919/1942. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Gyula Kováts ministerial department head to director Miklós Szabó concerning the permanent appointment of Ernő Kenéz. Budapest 1 April 1942. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

⁹⁵³ He was a student of the Collegium between 1910 and 1914, studying classical philology. He spoke French fluently, and his teaching services were requested initially by Zoltán Gombocz in 1929 (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 21).

⁹⁵⁴ 275/1937. Farewell letter of director Miklós Szabó to Endre Horváth. Budapest, 7 September 1937. MDKL box 41, file 72/1.

He was replaced by René Bonnerjea who also assisted in delivering English and French lessons in exchange for housing and full board, also for non-faculty students.⁹⁵⁵ The Italian faculty was run by József Szauder as a senior teacher from the 1940/1941 academic year and then as a remunerated teacher from 1943.⁹⁵⁶

Pál Lukcsics gave the history faculty lessons until his death on 16 November 1936 as an ordinary appointed teacher of the Collegium. In June 1935, Pál Teleki recommended his appointment to the 6th remuneration category, which was possible as a result of a vacant status due to the appointment of Miklós Szabó as director.⁹⁵⁷ The ministry consented to the appointment, but Lukcsics passed away a year and a half later from the chronic lung disease he had developed due to his wartime injury.⁹⁵⁸ He was replaced by Domokos Kosáry⁹⁵⁹ at the Collegium as a substitute teacher.⁹⁶⁰ He progressed rapidly between remuneration categories: in June 1938, the ministry promoted him to the 9th remuneration category without a director's submission.⁹⁶¹ A year and a half later, by December 1939, he had been promoted into the 8th remuneration category, again without a director's or curator's proposal.⁹⁶² In January 1941, he was promoted into the 7th remuneration category⁹⁶³ and later became the Department Head of the Hungarian History Institute belonging to the Pál Teleki Scientific Institute, while also retaining his position at the Collegium thanks to Bálint Hóman.⁹⁶⁴ As a matter of fact, he achieved his rapid progression while participating in a study trip in England from April 1938 to September 1939⁹⁶⁵ and later, from 18 November 1940 to 15

⁹⁵⁵ 21.701/1937. IV. Letter from state secretary Kálmán Szily to curator Pál Teleki on the mandate of René Bonnerjea. Budapest, 11 June 1937. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁹⁵⁶ See the transcript of the year-opening meeting held on 16 September 1943 (MDKL box 54, file 102/c.).

⁹⁵⁷ 42/1935 cur. sz. Letter of curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister concerning the promotion of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 7 June 1935. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

⁹⁵⁸ 25.663/1935. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Ferenc Orlay ministerial counsel to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Pál Lukcsics. Budapest, 19 July 1935. MDKL box 40, file 70/10.

⁹⁵⁹ Domokos Kosáry was a member of the institute between 1931 and 1936 as history–Latin faculty student. He performed outstandingly throughout his studies (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30).

⁹⁶⁰ 35557/1937. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary András Tasnádi Nagy to director Miklós Szabó concerning the appointment of Domokos Kosáry. Budapest, 29 September 1937. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁶¹ 23233/1938. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Domokos Kosáry into the 9th remuneration category. Budapest, 30 June 1938. The director noted on the appointment document that the appointment was implemented without prior submission (MDKL box 40, file 71/2.).

⁹⁶² 39.345/1939. Letter of MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Domokos Kosáry into the 8th remuneration category. Budapest, 31 December 1939. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁶³ 19/1941. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Domokos Kosáry on his appointment into the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 24 January 1941. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁶⁴ 30115./1941. Letter of MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Domokos Kosáry as the Department Head of the Hungarian History Institute of the Pál Teleki Scientific Institute. Budapest, 12 December 1941. MDKL box 40, file 71/2. In his later memoirs, Kosáry remembered the first time he met Bálint Hóman at the dinner of the *Magyar Szemle* journal who, as a minister, approved his study trips abroad. He also approved his appointment to the Pál Teleki Scientific Institute, while still allowing him to keep his teaching position at the Collegium, which Kosáry personally asked the minister to allow. Therefore, Hóman supported his young colleague who, in 1946, attempted to minimise the involvement of his supporter in wartime activities as a witness for the defence in the national court case against the former Minister of Culture, but was unsuccessful as he was sentenced to life imprisonment (Kosáry 2003: 25–28).

⁹⁶⁵ 20524/1938. Letter of state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó regarding the leave of Domokos

September 1941, on assignment in the United States of America,⁹⁶⁶ therefore the majority of his time in service was spent outside of the Collegium. Originally, he was also supposed to take part in the management of the Latin faculty, but this was only possible during the 1937/1938 academic year,⁹⁶⁷ following which he only taught history lessons. Because of his long periods of leave, Miklós Szabó had to request the ministry to provide a 1,266-pengo remuneration for his substitution in exchange for giving eight lessons a week.⁹⁶⁸ This fee was provided as a remuneration in September 1939 to the already retired, but reinstated Imre Madzsar.⁹⁶⁹ The director expressed his disapproval of the rapid promotion of Kosáry and his long periods of leave on multiple occasions: in June 1938, József Huszti, the former classical philology teacher of the Collegium, asked him to explain why he did not support the secondary school teacher appointment of his son-in-law Kosáry to the Collegium.⁹⁷⁰ In his letter of response Szabó denied the accusations and also noted that, despite his young age and talent, he was appointed an ordinary teacher of the institution too quickly.⁹⁷¹ The director did not support his later promotions either and, in 1943, he attempted to convince the ministry to appoint a new historian as head of the faculty referring to interests of the Collegium.⁹⁷² However, his efforts were unsuccessful and Kosáry remained at the Collegium until 1950. This type of rapid progression (three remuneration categories in three years), however, without the application of such pressure and directorial support was unheard of in the history of the institution.

In part, it relates to the history faculty education that, from 1941, Zoltán Nagy was assigned to the Collegium to teach art history lessons, while leaving him under the employment of the Collection University.⁹⁷³ Nagy taught courses at the institute during the 1941/1942 and the 1942/1943 academic years. Since art history lessons were not previously part of the institute's training system, the Board of Directors entrusted him with the development thereof. In the first semester, he held three lectures accompanied with two practical classes for smaller

Kosáry. Budapest, 25 March 1938. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁶⁶ 364/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Domokos Kosáry regarding his leave. Budapest, 9 November 1940. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁶⁷ Report of Domokos Kosáry on the Latin classes taught to 2nd and 3rd year students during the second half of the 1937/1938 academic year. Budapest, 31 March 1938. MDKL box 53, file 101/6/c.

⁹⁶⁸ 274/1938. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister requesting a remuneration. 16 September 1938. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁶⁹ 295/1938. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the reinstatement of Imre Madzsar. Budapest, 29 September 1938. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁷⁰ As an acknowledged researcher, József Huszti applied pressure on Miklós Szabó. His reasoning was centred around the fact that he supported the appointment of Kosáry as a teacher of the Collegium, because he married his daughter Klára in December 1937 and had to provide a stable livelihood for them. He did not understand why any doubt would arise regarding the teaching position of Kosáry. Letter of József Huszti to Miklós Szabó. Balatonvilágos, 29 June 1938. MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30.

⁹⁷¹ Kosáry became a substitute secondary school teacher employed by the Collegium at the age of 24 and became an ordinary secondary school teacher at the age of 26, which, based on the conditions of the period, signified an unusually fast progression according to Miklós Szabó. Letter of reply of Miklós Szabó to József Huszti. MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30.

⁹⁷² Letter of Miklós Szabó to ministerial counsel Károly Mártonffy on the termination of the mandate of Domokos Kosáry. Confidential. Budapest, 5 May 1943. MDKL box 40, file 71/2.

⁹⁷³ 36362/1941. Letter from MRPE Department IV. 1 to director Miklós Szabó regarding the transfer of Zoltán Nagy to the Collegium. Budapest, 29 January 1941. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

groups, but he envisaged the discussion of the ages of art history in eight semesters for all collegium students, while he would divide the material of the students on the art history faculty into four parts: the 1st year students would discuss the characteristics of Hungarian art history ages from the middle ages until the end of the Gothic era and 3rd year students would discuss their characteristics from the Renaissance until the 20th century.⁹⁷⁴ In the subsequent academic year, he managed to develop the full method of training: the lessons consisted of the presentations of the collegium students and the discussions resulting from them. Although he desired to discuss the material based on the student years, in order to be able to get to know all the students and to take time to visit museums, this did not happen, as, due to his reassignment to the National Committee for Historic Monuments,⁹⁷⁵ the art history lessons were recommenced only in 1943 with the temporary appointment of Dezső Dercsényi to give four classes per week in exchange for 960 pengos.⁹⁷⁶

The Faculty of English Language and Literature was managed by Sándor Fest from 1935 who had left the 7th remuneration category, to which he was assigned, due to his appointment at the Collegium, reaching the 6th remuneration category again in 1937.⁹⁷⁷ In 1939, he was appointed to be in charge of the Department of English Language and Literature established at the Faculty of Arts of Tisza István University in Debrecen.⁹⁷⁸ Until 1937, he was assisted by Sándor Németh, a teacher working for a remuneration of 300 pengos p.a. in two hours a week.⁹⁷⁹ As Fest left, Pál Teleki proposed to the ministry in April 1938 to recall to the Collegium Miklós Schmidt (Szenczi) in 1939 who used to teach at the institute for a remuneration between 1928 and 1937 and who worked as the Hungarian lecturer at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London. Until his return home, László Országh, an ordinary teacher of the 2nd District Archbishop's Grammar School, was commissioned to substitute him. Országh had been a member of the teaching staff since 1937 and was in charge of the English lessons of students not specialising in English.⁹⁸⁰ Országh moved into the Collegium in 1937 where he received the two-room apartment of the former German native language lecturer Walther Schurig. As the grammar school did not grant leave to him for the interest of its operator and Országh also had to teach at the institute,⁹⁸¹ the ministry provided free housing and free boarding to him, instead of paying

⁹⁷⁴ Report by Zoltán Nagy Vitéz on art history lessons taught in the second semester of the 1940/1941 academic year. Budapest, May 1941. MDKL box 53, file 101/8/a.

⁹⁷⁵ 64.415/1943. Letter from MRPE Department IV. 1, ministerial counsel Károly Martonffy to director Miklós Szabó regarding the transfer of Zoltán Nagy. Budapest, 19 March 1943. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

⁹⁷⁶ Remunerations in the academic year of 1943/1944. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁹⁷⁷ 24.469/1937. Letter from MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman to curator Pál Teleki on the appointment of Sándor Fest into the 6th remuneration category. Budapest, 1 July 1937. MDKL box 40, file 70/3.

⁹⁷⁸ 138/1938. Submission from director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister related to the application of Sándor Fest. Budapest, 13 June 1938. MDKL box 40, file 70/3.

⁹⁷⁹ 158/1936. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Sándor Németh, Budapest 10 September 1936. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

⁹⁸⁰ 77/1938. Letter of curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of Miklós Szenczi. Budapest 7 April 1938. MDKL box 40, file 71/8.

⁹⁸¹ 30.926/1938. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Endre Fülei-Szabó ministerial counsel to Miklós Szabó concerning the leave of László Országh. Budapest, 28 December 1938. MDKL box 40, file 71/8.

a remuneration, until 1942.⁹⁸² That measure also indicated the room for manoeuvre of the Collegium in the payment of remunerations. Although Miklós Szenczi was appointed first into the 8th remuneration category⁹⁸³ and then the 7th,⁹⁸⁴ he did not take up his post, because the ministry kept extending his assignment in London.⁹⁸⁵ Országh was assisted in his activities partly by the native language lecturer Neville Mastermann, until he moved in on 20 April 1944 and by József Eddy, an American teacher of Hungarian origin, as well as René Bonnerjea. The latter took over the language classes of students not specialising in English from Országh and of students not specialising in French from Endre Horváth in 1937. In 1940, he was granted Hungarian citizenship⁹⁸⁶ and, in December 1942, he was granted a teacher's status at the Collegium, and was classified in the 10th remuneration category.⁹⁸⁷ Before the appointment with a teacher status, he earned a 240-pengo salary a month,⁹⁸⁸ which was raised to 400 pengos when he moved out of the Collegium in 1942.⁹⁸⁹ However, it caused a serious problem to the institute, as a Hungarian citizen, he had to serve in the army on a number of occasions between 1942 and 1944.⁹⁹⁰

It was important for the management of the Collegium to make sure that students also learn the languages of surrounding nations. Hence, Polish native language lecturer Zaleski Zbigiew taught Polish, László Gáldi taught Romanian, László Hadrovics taught Croatian and Serbian and remunerated lecturer Zsolt Mészáros contracted in 1940⁹⁹¹ taught Slovak language and history to interested students. The remuneration paid to Mészáros was actually equivalent to a 50% reduction of his 60-pengo maintenance fee in exchange for the lessons given by him.⁹⁹² Finno-Ugrian linguistics was not forgotten either following the death of

⁹⁸² 25203/1939. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Endre Fülei-Szabó ministerial counsel to director Miklós Szabó concerning the remuneration of László Országh. Budapest, 14 March 1939. The number of lessons given by Országh was reduced from 1942 and therefore his remuneration was also reduced to free housing, while he had to pay for other services. 84524/1942. Letter from MRPE Department IV, 1 to director Miklós Szabó concerning the remuneration of László Országh. Budapest, 29 January 1942. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

⁹⁸³ 32.257/1939. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Miklós Szenczi into the 8th remuneration category. Budapest, 1 July 1939. MDKL box 40, file 71/8.

⁹⁸⁴ 37.567/1940. Letter from MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman to Miklós Szenczi on his appointment into the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 30 December 1940. MDKL box 40, file 71/8.

⁹⁸⁵ 3695/1940. Letter from state secretary Kálmán Szily to Miklós Szabó on the extension of the London assignment of Miklós Szenczi. Budapest, 21 June 1940. MDKL box 40, file 71/8.

⁹⁸⁶ 121/1940. Submission from director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning René Bonnerjea's application for Hungarian citizenship. Budapest, 26 May 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁹⁸⁷ 96470/1942. Letter from MRPE Department IV, to Miklós Szabó on the appointment of René Bonnerjea into the 10th remuneration category. Budapest, 31 December 1942. MDKL box 40, file 71/1.

⁹⁸⁸ 397/1940. Submission from director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the remuneration of René Bonnerjea. Budapest, 11 December 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁹⁸⁹ 47.708/1941. IV. 2. sz. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the increase of the remuneration of René Bonnerjea. Budapest, 18 December 1941. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁹⁹⁰ In relation to this see the letter from director Miklós Szabó to Béla Máder Hungarian Royal Army Captain. Budapest, 5 February 1944. MDKL box 46, file 84/5.

⁹⁹¹ Between 1939 and 1940, he was a member of the institute as a student specialising in Hungarian and French. He attended the Komensky University of Bratislava and studied at the Hungarian-French-Slovak faculty for 6 semesters and took a basic exam with excellent results. Then he moved to Budapest where he passed a vocational exam in Hungarian and French with a good grade (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 38).

⁹⁹² 27.133/1940. IV. 1. Letter from MRPE Department IV, Tibor Eyssen ministerial counsel to director Miklós

Zoltán Gombocz. After Béla Kálmán had left in 1939, the Finnish language was taught by György Lakó⁹⁹³ in the 1939/1940 and the 1940/1941 academic years.⁹⁹⁴

Upon an express request from Pál Teleki and with reference to the importance of national education and due to the problems of the social psychology course, which had not been resolved since the communist conspiracy in 1932, László Mátrai was appointed to give philosophy lessons in two hours a week for an annual remuneration of 300 pengos,⁹⁹⁵ which was increased to four hours a week and 960 pengos in 1944.⁹⁹⁶ According to Mátrai, the institute introduced philosophy and ethnography studies in order to prevent any political attacks. However, it is not indicated by the sources and the sources do not mention either that after 19 March 1944 both Mátrai and Gyula Ortutay resigned from their positions as heads of faculties (cf. Mátrai 1982: 137).⁹⁹⁷ Director Miklós Szabó asked Ortutay to provide ethnography lessons, because the efforts made by István Györfy inspired a number of collegium students to conduct ethnography research.⁹⁹⁸ The director proposed a 10-hour semester course in the institute for a remuneration of 100 pengos.⁹⁹⁹ He submitted his plan to the director in May 1940, in which he proposed ethnography lessons at the Collegium in three hours a week: students were taught the basic concepts of ethnography, read ethnography sources and prepared and discussed seminar papers on ethnography and were taught the methods of ethnography research in one lesson, dedicated to each aspect a week.¹⁰⁰⁰ In the end, collegium students were able to study the issues of the science of ethnography in four lessons a week in an academic year.¹⁰⁰¹ However, after 1945, neither of them accepted a role in the training system of the Collegium.

Upon the request of Pál Teleki, Ferenc Fodor led the geography lessons in two hours a week from 1923. In 1939, he was appointed to be in charge of the Pécs educational district and left the Collegium. In his farewell speech on 19 December 1939, he mentioned that although he had not been raised by the institute, during his 16 years of service as teacher, he had become part of the intellectual workshop of the Collegium.¹⁰⁰² The curator selected

Szabó on the lecturer assignment of Zsolt Mészáros. Budapest, 7 March 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

⁹⁹³ Lakó was a member of the institute studying Hungarian and German between 1926 and 1930 (MDKL box 11, file 12, lot 33).

⁹⁹⁴ 275/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to György Lakó on the Finnish language teaching assignment. Budapest, 1 September 1940 MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

⁹⁹⁵ Letter of director Miklós Szabó to university library assistant guard László Mátrai. Budapest, 12 September 1939 MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

⁹⁹⁶ Remunerations in the academic year of 1943/1944. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

⁹⁹⁷ László Mátrai was also included on the list of teachers taking part in the assessment of applicants conducted between 10 and 12 August 1944. 103/1944. coll. Report from deputy director Jenő Tomasz on the admission process of the 1944/1945 academic year. Budapest, 16 August 1944. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44-1 (1942-1944-1).

⁹⁹⁸ Invitation from Miklós Szabó to Gyula Ortutay to deliver ethnography lessons. Budapest, 21 February 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

⁹⁹⁹ 73/1940. Invitation from Miklós Szabó to Gyula Ortutay to deliver ethnography lessons. Budapest, 11 March 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ethnography lesson plans of Gyula Ortutay. Budapest, 15 May 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

¹⁰⁰¹ 172/1943. Assignment from Miklós Szabó to Gyula Ortutay to deliver ethnography lessons. Budapest, 1 October 1943. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

¹⁰⁰² Transcript of the teachers' meeting of 19 December 1939. MDKL box 54, file 102/a.

László Kádár¹⁰⁰³ and not Béla Bulla¹⁰⁰⁴ as his successor. Similarly to his predecessor, Bulla gave lessons in two hours a week and received 300 pengos a year, which was raised to 480 pengos in 1944.¹⁰⁰⁵ Apart from geography, natural history students were taught zoology¹⁰⁰⁶ by Adorján Kesselyák¹⁰⁰⁷ and botany by Bálint Zólyomi at the Collegium in two lessons a week in each subject from the 1937/1938 academic year.¹⁰⁰⁸ Zólyomi stayed at the institute until 1944, but Kesselyák left in 1940 when he was appointed to be in charge of the Department of Zoology at the Szeged Teacher Training Institution for State Secondary Schools.¹⁰⁰⁹ In addition, Pál Veress¹⁰¹⁰ undertook giving maths and physics lessons in two hours a week, also with as a remunerated teacher. Although in 1938 he resigned from his head of faculty position due to his versatile duties,¹⁰¹¹ he accepted the invitation again in 1940 and stayed with the institute until the end of World War II when he died under tragic conditions in the first half of 1945.¹⁰¹²

Besides the revival of natural science studies, collegium students could also study pedagogy, in which lessons were provided by Endre Zibolen¹⁰¹³ in the 1943/1944 academic year. In addition, György Kerényi led the choir of the Collegium as a qualified music teacher in the academic years of 1938/1940 and 1942/1943.¹⁰¹⁴ The funding of his 400-pengo p.a. remuneration stopped in 1940¹⁰¹⁵ and therefore he was only able to take part in the activities of the teaching staff of the institute from 1942. In 1943, he cancelled his assignment, because of a significant drop in interest in his lessons. He recommended to the Board to introduce community singing or popular music practice to attract youth to music.¹⁰¹⁶

Pál Teleki also made sure that the students of the Collegium did not have to take part in the university PE lessons. In a submission prepared in November 1936, he asked the

¹⁰⁰³ Kádár studied natural history and geography at the Collegium between 1926 and 1930 (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Bulla studied history and geography at the institute between 1924 and 1928. He completed all his studies with excellent results (MDKL box 3, file 2, lot 7).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Statement of the remunerations paid in the 1943/1944 academic year. MDKL box 41, file 72/a.

¹⁰⁰⁶ 275/1940. Invitation from director Miklós Szabó to Adorján Kesselyák to give Zoology lessons. Budapest, 1 September 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Kesselyák studied natural history and geography at the Collegium between 1924 and 1929 (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

¹⁰⁰⁸ 311/1937. Invitation from Miklós Szabó to Bálint Zólyomi to give botany lessons. Budapest, 10 October 1937. MDKL box 41, file 72/5.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Transcript of the semester-opening teachers' meeting of 16 January 1941. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰¹⁰ Veress studied mathematics and physics at the institute between 1911–1919 (MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 66).

¹⁰¹¹ Letter of Pál Veress to director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 17 December 1938. MDKL box 41, file 72/5.

¹⁰¹² 275/1940. Invitation from Miklós Szabó to Pál Veress to give mathematics lessons. Budapest, 9 September 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/5.

¹⁰¹³ Zibolen was a member of the Collegium studying Hungarian and German between 1932 and 1936. He completed all his studies with excellent results (MDKL box 23, file 24, lot 29).

¹⁰¹⁴ Letter of Miklós Szabó to Music Academy teacher Ernő Szakolczay-Riegler on his assignment as music teacher. Budapest, 27 January 1938. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

¹⁰¹⁵ Letter of Miklós Szabó to György Kerényi on the suspension of his mandate Budapest, 15 October 1940. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

¹⁰¹⁶ Resignation letter from György Kerényi to director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 23 September 1943. MDKL box 41, file 72/2.

minister to provide additional funds to cover the remuneration of a PE teacher with reference to national education criteria and the special position of the institute.¹⁰¹⁷ The ministry accepted the request and appointed Olympic decathlete Péter Bácsalmási as a remunerated teacher at the institute for four hours a week and also exempted the students from attending university PE lessons.¹⁰¹⁸ Bácsalmási worked successfully and therefore his assignment was regularly extended from the 1937/1938 academic year with a 300-pengo honorarium p.a.¹⁰¹⁹ From 1941, Dénes Cseke gave PE lessons, because the ministry transferred Bácsalmási from the Collegium.¹⁰²⁰ However, between April 1941 and August 1941, the lessons stopped, as Cseke was called into military service. However, later he continued to work until the summer of 1944, as a result of which his remuneration was raised first to 120 pengos a month¹⁰²¹ and then to 130 pengos a month in 1943.¹⁰²² In general, PE lessons were held for four groups of 15 students once a week, but students could also take part in fencing practice if they so wished, in order to maintain their fencing abilities.¹⁰²³

Very little data and information are available about the French native language lecturers and their connections with the École Normale Supérieure. Georges Deshusses arrived at Ménesi Road in 1935. Similarly to his predecessor, he took part in the French native language lecturer's tasks at the Collegium and the university and also worked as a cultural attaché at the French Embassy. According to the transcripts of the teachers' meetings and admission reports, he definitely stayed in Hungary until August 1944.¹⁰²⁴ Between 1912 and 1914, the son of another native language lecturer, Aurélien Diegon, Claude Diegon was also appointed to the Collegium in 1943 as a graduate of the Ulm Road institute. He completed his secondary studies at Henry IV. lyceum and joined the École in 1941 and obtained secondary school teacher's qualifications in classical philology and French linguistics one year later. He was interested in Hungarian studies, which is why he wanted to expand his knowledge at Ménesi Road.¹⁰²⁵ His plan was also supported by the head of the Hungarian institute in Paris, Lipót

¹⁰¹⁷ 203/1936. Proposal from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister regarding the appointment of a PE teacher. Budapest, 16 November 1936. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹⁰¹⁸ 93.122/1937. VII. 2. üo. 1. Letter from ministerial department head Ernő Huszka to director Miklós Szabó on the approval of PE lessons and on the appointment of Péter Bácsalmási. Budapest, 15 January 1937. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹⁰¹⁹ 370/1939. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the appointment of a new PE teacher. Budapest, 23 November 1939. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹⁰²⁰ 177432/1941. IX. Letter from state secretary Gyula Wlassics to director Miklós Szabó on the appointment of Dénes Cseke. Budapest, 10 February 1941. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹⁰²¹ 181.777/1941. IX. 2. Letter from MRPE Department IX, to director Miklós Szabó on the increase of Dénes Cseke's remuneration. Budapest, 17 October 1941. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹⁰²² 242.508/1943. XII. Letter from MRPE Department XII, to director Miklós Szabó on the remuneration of Dénes Cseke. Budapest, 28 September 1943. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹⁰²³ 35/1944. Report of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the PE practices at the Collegium. Budapest, 31 January 1944. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/3.

¹⁰²⁴ See the transcript of the academic year closing meeting of 20 December 1943. MDKL box 54 file 102/c. And 103/1944. coll. Report from Jenő Tomasz on the admission process of the 1944/1945 academic year. Budapest, 16 August 1944. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1).

¹⁰²⁵ 128/1943. Submission from Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the native language lecturer assignment of Claude Diegon. Budapest, 3 July 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

Molnos,¹⁰²⁶ and therefore the Ministry of Education approved his employment.¹⁰²⁷ However, his transfer visa was delayed for a long time and Diegon began preparing for the *agrégation* contest exam. Upon his father's request, they did not wish to interrupt his preparations and therefore Molnos proposed that he would take his position as a qualified teacher after the successful exam. The *agrégation* could not be hindered by any political reasons, because the future native language lecturer served in the French ministry as a German interpreter. So both Diegon and Molnos asked the director to send them a certificate for the extension of the visa stating that the Collegium had arranged for a native language lecturer and that his services would only be required from the subsequent 1944/1945 academic year.¹⁰²⁸ There are no data indicating that he arrived in Hungary. Presumably he cancelled the trip due to the uncertain political situation (cf. Nemes 1989: 101).

The Collegium still managed to find a French native language lecturer instead of Diegon by recruiting Paul Lemaire, a physics-mathematics teacher. Lemaire was a prisoner of war and was placed in the military camp of Balatonboglár, but with the help of Elemér Kerékgyártó¹⁰²⁹ and Lipót Fehér he was able to conduct his university maths studies in Budapest. Presumably he was noticed by the Collegium with the help of Elemér Kerékgyártó.¹⁰³⁰ The ministry provided free housing and boarding and also paid 50 pengos of pocket money to him in exchange for French language lessons.¹⁰³¹ However, in May 1944, he moved out from the Collegium, because his wife also came to Budapest, so he looked for and found an apartment in town.¹⁰³² There is no information about his later life and attempts to re-establish contact with the sister institution in Paris were made only after World War II.

The tasks of the German native language lecturer were performed by Ernst Häckel who was at the Collegium from 1925. In reward for his services, the Minister of Education increased his remuneration from 375 to 430 pengos a month in 1936.¹⁰³³ In 1937, he received an Austrian state award for maintaining Hungarian and Austrian relations and for his services performed in the Hungarian capital. The award was also supported by the Collegium.¹⁰³⁴ From 1942, he was paid by the German state, which caused a minor prob-

¹⁰²⁶ Letter from the director of the Hungarian Institute in Paris Lipót Molnos to Miklós Szabó. Paris, 7 June 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

¹⁰²⁷ 68947/1943. IV. 1. Letter from ministerial department counsel Károly Mártonffy to director Miklós Szabó on the native language lecturer appointment of Claude Diegon. Budapest, 23 July 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

¹⁰²⁸ 72/1944. Letter of director Lipót Molnos to director Miklós Szabó on the extension of the visa of Claude Diegon. Paris, 26 January 1944. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

¹⁰²⁹ Kerékgyártó was a student of the Collegium between 1936 and 1941, studying history, Hungarian and English (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

¹⁰³⁰ 66/1943. Letter of Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Jenő Szinyei Merse on the employment of Paul Lemaire. Budapest 2 April 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

¹⁰³¹ 13.664/1943. eln. Letter from ministerial department counsel Géza C. Paikert to director Miklós Szabó on the assignment of Paul Lemaire. Budapest, 30 April 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

¹⁰³² 75/1944. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the moving out of Paul Lemaire. Budapest, 15 May 1944. MDKL box 46, file 84/a/7.

¹⁰³³ 134/1936. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to Ernst Häckel concerning the increase of his remuneration. Budapest, 23 July 1936. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

¹⁰³⁴ 336/1937. Submission from curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister concerning the award to be granted to Ernst Häckel. Budapest, 6 November 1937. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

lem in his remuneration.¹⁰³⁵ However, in 1944, the Budapest representation office of the German Empire informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Häckel would be recalled to Germany to hold a position in a scientific institute and therefore he was definitely not staying at Ménesi Road from September 1944.¹⁰³⁶

The Collegium had two German national native language lecturers during the examined period. Presumably both of them had good relations with the German political regime that was established in 1933. Walther Schurig arrived at the institute in 1935 and from 1939 he was in charge of the exchange programmes between the Hungarian-German College Office and the German Academy of Sciences. During his activities, a summer scholarship system was developed, within the framework of which eight collegium students were able to spend the summer in German language areas each year. The MRPE recommended him for an award in 1940 for the development of Hungarian and German relations.¹⁰³⁷ The proposal was supported by director Miklós Szabó, but he also noted the following: "Although, because of his versatile duties he can only spend very little time at the Eötvös Collegium and has limited time for the scientific education of youth, his activities represent a valuable supplement in German literary studies."¹⁰³⁸ In 1943, he had to leave the Hungarian capital, because he was assigned to the German Ministry of Propaganda for service.¹⁰³⁹ He was succeeded by Kurt Berger, the professor of German literary history of the University of Marburg. In his curriculum vitae, he mentioned having been a member of the NSDAP, the scientific examination office of Marburg and the NS-Dozentenbundes, which was the political organisation of German scholars. Although the director did not mention any political propaganda activities conducted among collegium students, it was hardly accidental that he was able to give literary history lessons only to German students in their final third and fourth years,¹⁰⁴⁰ while his predecessors were able to give language lessons also to students not specialising in German and to recently admitted students. However, in May 1944, he was probably no longer at the institute and practically by the end of the 1943/1944 academic year the German native language lecturer positions were vacant.

Paolo Calabro fulfilled the tasks of Italian native language lecturer at the institute from 1933. The MRPE assigned him to deliver language lessons also in the 1935/1936 academic

¹⁰³⁵ Häckel was not informed about it in time and therefore he picked up his remuneration for April-September 1942 in a lump sum in advance (2,622 pengos). He would not have had enough money to repay that and therefore the ministry cancelled the repayment in exchange for his services. 96.203/1942. IV. 1. Letter of MRPE Department IV, ministerial counsel Károly Martonffy to director Miklós Szabó regarding Ernst Häckel. Budapest, 23 December 1942. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

¹⁰³⁶ 69.418/1944. V. Letter from ministerial department counsel Géza Paikert to director Miklós Szabó concerning the recall of Ernst Häckel. Budapest, 5 February 1944. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

¹⁰³⁷ 30.585/1940. IV. 1. sz. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the award to be granted to Walther Schurig. Budapest, 1 June 1940. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

¹⁰³⁸ 136/1940. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the character description of Walther Schurig. Confidential. Budapest, 6 June 1940. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

¹⁰³⁹ 12.099/1943. eln. Letter from ministerial counsel Géza C. Paikert to director Miklós Szabó on the leave of Walther Schurig. Budapest, 16 January 1943. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

¹⁰⁴⁰ 251/1943. Report of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister about Kurt Berger. Budapest, 30 December 1943. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/2.

year, but,¹⁰⁴¹ according to the transcripts of the teachers' meetings, he took part in the activities of the institute until 1940 when he left for Berlin.¹⁰⁴² Besides Calabro, Francesco Nicosia also gave Italian lessons between 1937 and 1940 in exchange for free housing and boarding.¹⁰⁴³ Thus, for a short while, the institute managed to contract two native language lecturers. The director of the Italian Institute of Culture (Istituto Italiano di Cultura) assisted Miklós Szabó in selecting Calabro's successor, recommending Giacomo Baldini. Baldini was the Italian native language lecturer at the Budapest University and gave lectures at the Institute of Culture. However, the Collegium director considered this solution temporary until the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa sent a graduate to Ménesi Road.¹⁰⁴⁴ The ministry promised that the issue of the native language lecturer, resident of the institute would be an important topic on the next Italian-Hungarian cultural negotiations.¹⁰⁴⁵ Despite the promise, they could not find a native language lecturer for the institute until the end of World War II. In addition, Baldini left the Hungarian capital in May 1943 and indicated to the Board of Directors that he would not wish to return, because on 3 September 1943, Italy called a truce with the Allied Powers. To replace him, Miklós Szabó managed to invite Alberto Gianola, who came to Hungary from Romania. In his submission, the director emphasised that his colleagues found him impeccable in terms of political aspects and therefore he seemed suitable to resolve the emergency that developed in Italian studies.¹⁰⁴⁶ The ministry acknowledged the situation and assigned Gianola to give lessons until 30 June 1944, in exchange for a remuneration of 165 pengos a month.¹⁰⁴⁷ There are no data as to whether or not Gianola served the full time of his assignment, but it is certain that, similarly to French and German native language lessons, Italian lessons also stopped after the 1943/1944 academic year.

Pál Teleki managed to invite Neville Mastermann to follow Barker Vernon Duckworth as English native language lecturer at Ménesi Road. Mastermann arrived at Ménesi Road on 15 January 1938.¹⁰⁴⁸ Mastermann had studied history in Cambridge, was aware of the language and history of our country and therefore was an ideal candidate for the Collegium. The ministry provided free housing and boarding and paid a remuneration of 150 pengos a month for his services as a native language lecturer.¹⁰⁴⁹ During his stay in Hungary, he

¹⁰⁴¹ 27.098/1935. IV. Letter of state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the assignment of Paolo Calabro. Budapest, 11 September 1935. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

¹⁰⁴² About that see the transcript of the teachers' meeting of 17 December 1940. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰⁴³ 32.167/1939. IV. sz. Letter of state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the assignment of Francesco Nicosia. Budapest, 31 July 1939. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

¹⁰⁴⁴ 335/1940. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the native language lecturer assignment of Giacomo Baldini. Budapest, 15 October 1940. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

¹⁰⁴⁵ 7.183/1940. eln. Letter of ministerial department counsel Géza C. Paikert to director Miklós Szabó on the assignment of Giacomo Baldini. Budapest, 22 November 1940. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

¹⁰⁴⁶ 211/1943. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the native language lecturer assignment of Alberto Gianola. Budapest, 15 October 1943. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

¹⁰⁴⁷ 16.194/1943. V. Letter of ministerial department counsel Géza Paikert to director Miklós Szabó on the assignment of Alberto Gianola. Budapest, 4 December 1943. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/4.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Letter of Neville Mastermann to director Miklós Szabó. London, 8 January 1938. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Letter of state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on Neville Mastermann's native language lecturer assignment. Budapest, 3 February 1938. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

came into contact with Gyula Szekfű and travelled in the Hungarian countryside, primarily in Szatmár county.¹⁰⁵⁰ However, because of the World War, he had to interrupt his services and returned to England in the autumn of 1939. Since at that time Hungary still pursued the policy of armed neutrality and did not openly join any of the military blocks, he considered it feasible to return to Ménesi Road.¹⁰⁵¹ While Mastermann was away, the institute employed an American Hungarian, József Eddy as native English language lecturer. As both the Collegium and the native language lecturer made efforts to return, he continued teaching at the institute from 3 February 1940 but,¹⁰⁵² upon the request of Miklós Szabó, Eddy also remained employed by the institute until September 1940. By then, the Brit had left the Hungarian capital though.

Eddy applied to Miklós Szabó in person in July 1939 for the post of English language native lecturer at the institute. Although he was a qualified English language teacher, he did not have any scientific ambitions.¹⁰⁵³ Partly for that and partly because at that time the institute had its own native language lecturers, the director rejected the application, but, given the uncertainty of the political situation, did not fully exclude his further employment at the Collegium.¹⁰⁵⁴ Since Mastermann was forced to leave the country when the war broke out, Szabó enquired about József Eddy at Sándor Fest. The recently appointed professor of Debrecen knew the American and recommended his employment to teach 1st year students and students not specialising in English.¹⁰⁵⁵ Subsequently the director proposed to the ministry to allocate 100 pengos from Mastermann's native language lecturer's remuneration to Eddy with free housing and boarding.¹⁰⁵⁶ Eddy got married in 1940 and moved out of the institute. Although the ministry raised his remuneration to 175 pengos,¹⁰⁵⁷ his mandate, which expired in September 1940, was not extended upon Miklós Szabó's proposal.¹⁰⁵⁸ The native language lecturer's position was given to Sándor Harsányi who was another Hungarian born in America. Harsányi studied English language and literature at the University of Columbia and arrived at Ménesi Road in September 1939. The Ministry of Education supported his studies with a 50-pengo scholarship a month.¹⁰⁵⁹ Harsányi was given the native language lecturer's position in October 1940 and his monthly 100-pengo remuneration was gradually raised to 200 until 1944.¹⁰⁶⁰ However, the native

¹⁰⁵⁰ Letter of Neville Mastermann to director Miklós Szabó. Sajókeresztúr, 28 June 1938. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹⁰⁵¹ Letter of Neville Mastermann to director Miklós Szabó. London, 25 October 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹⁰⁵² 39/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the employment of Neville Mastermann and József Eddy. Budapest, 6 February 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹⁰⁵³ Letter of József Eddy to director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 11 July 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Letter of Miklós Szabó to József Eddy. Budapest, 14 July 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Letter of Sándor Fest to Miklós Szabó. Debrecen, 8 September 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁵⁶ 287/1939. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the employment of József Eddy. Budapest, 6 September 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁵⁷ 77/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to József Eddy concerning the increase of his remuneration. Budapest, 13 March 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ 298/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the native English language lecturer. Budapest, 21 September 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 417/1939. Letter of Miklós Szabó to Sándor Harsányi. Budapest, 30 December 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹⁰⁶⁰ 114/1943. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the extension of the assignment of Sándor Harsányi. Budapest, 9 June 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

English lessons did not stop even then, because the institute functioned through the siege in shelters (Dörnyei 2004: 70).

Felix Oinas arrived at the Collegium as an Estonian exchange scholarship beneficiary in September 1935.¹⁰⁶¹ He left temporarily in 1936, because in May 1938 he was selected as the native language lecturer of the University of Budapest, so he returned to the Collegium in the 1938/1939 academic year.¹⁰⁶² As Oinas intended to organise an Estonian section in the Collegium library, the director supported his repeated accommodation in the institute on condition that the Ministry of Education also required Estonian language lessons from him.¹⁰⁶³ In addition to Estonian, he also gave Finnish language lessons and, as promised, significantly expanded the stock of the Collegium library, therefore the ministry assigned him with the tasks of native language lecturer also for the 1939/1940 academic year.¹⁰⁶⁴ Szabó also achieved the approval of the MRPE for his stay in the institute even subsequently, but, after the Soviet occupation of the Baltic states, the Estonian-Hungarian cultural agreement lost its force and Oinas had to cancel his trip to Hungary.¹⁰⁶⁵ Valter Soever offered his services to the Collegium in December 1940 as an employee of the Estonian Embassy, which was in the process of being terminated.¹⁰⁶⁶ The ministry approved the employment of Soever at the institute for the 1940/1941 academic year in exchange for free housing and boarding.¹⁰⁶⁷

In 1942, Lauri Kettunen who had already worked at the institute as an exchange scholarship beneficiary between 1935 and 1937, returned to the Collegium (Nagy 1995: 87). His position was taken over by Viljo Tervonen in January 1943. Similarly to his predecessor, Tervonen was first an exchange scholarship beneficiary and then also became native language lecturer of the institute at first and then also at the faculty of arts of the University in August 1943. Originally the ministry granted him a remuneration of 300 pengos a month,¹⁰⁶⁸ which was raised to 400 pengos in April 1944.¹⁰⁶⁹ The ministry intended to extend his assignment also for the 1944/1945 academic year, but he left the institute in June 1944.¹⁰⁷⁰ He was replaced by Ankeria Santieri, the Finnish native language lecturer of Munich who

¹⁰⁶¹ 21.813/1935.IV. Letter from MRPE Department IV, state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó concerning the appointment of Felix Oinas. Budapest, 23 May 1935. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶² Letter of Felix Oinas to director Miklós Szabó. Kambja, 19 May 1938. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶³ 262/1938. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the accommodation of Felix Oinas at the Collegium. Budapest, 7 September 1938. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶⁴ 30732/1939. IV. Letter of ministerial department counsel Endre Fülei-Szántó to director Miklós Szabó on the native language lecturer assignment of Felix Oinas. Budapest, 17 June 1939. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Letter of Felix Oinas to Miklós Szabó. Tartu, 8 October 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶⁶ 401/1940. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the employment of Valter Soever. Budapest, 16 December 1940. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 37.149/1940. IV. 1. sz. Letter from MRPE Department IV, ministerial department counsel Károly Martonffy to director Miklós Szabó on the employment of Valter Soever. Budapest, 1 February 1941. MDKL box 46, file 84/3.

¹⁰⁶⁸ 15072/1943. eln. Letter of ministerial department counsel Géza C. Paikert to director Miklós Szabó on the native language lecturer assignment of Viljo Tervonen. Budapest, 6 August 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹⁰⁶⁹ 70.300/1944. V. 1. sz. Letter of ministerial department counsel Paikert Géza to Viljo Tervonen. Budapest, 12 April 1944. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹⁰⁷⁰ 70.787/1944. V. Letter from MRPE department V to director Miklós Szabó on the extension of Viljo Tervonen's assignment. Budapest, 20 April 1944. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

studied linguistics at Miklós Zsirai.¹⁰⁷¹ In November 1943, he was placed at the institute as an exchange scholarship beneficiary and a student of Lauri Hakulinen who had also been a Finnish native language lecturer between 1932 and 1934. However, after Viljo had left he became the de facto Finnish native language lecturer. Similarly to Harsányi, he also lived through the siege of Budapest in the shelters of the Collegium. During the weeks spent in the shelters, he taught collegium students Russian preparing for the expected consequences of the Soviet occupation (Dörnyei 2004: 70).



Image 22: Director Miklós Szabó and the teaching staff greet Finnish language lecturer Lauri Kettunen, 1942

The changes in the teaching staff indicate a great deal of fluctuation during the Szabó era. Of the 13 ordinary teachers, only Miklós Szabó and Jenő Tomasz remained permanent members of the institute and none of the 21 remunerated teachers remained employed by the Collegium during the entire period. The reasons for that relate to the social impacts of World War II. Two previously unknown phenomena occurred in the history of the institute. Albert Szegő clearly had to depart from the institute due to his background and, with the

¹⁰⁷¹ 220/1943. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister on the accommodation of exchange scholarship beneficiary Ankeria Santieri. Budapest, 3 November 1943. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

lack of support from the Board of Directors, Domokos Kosáry had a rather fast-ending carrier. The director and the curator always tried to provide a native language lecturer in all major modern languages, but, with the exception of English (American) and Finnish, all native language lecturers left the country by the summer of 1944 due to the uncertain political situation.

The training system of the Collegium did not change significantly compared to what it had been during the Gombocz era, because Gombocz made the teaching staff approve the measures aiming at enhancing study discipline with the consent of Miklós Szabó and the curator. However, with the introduction of philosophy, ethnography and pedagogy lessons, the training structure had become more versatile, which satisfied the requirements of the curator and put an emphasis on national orientation.¹⁰⁷² In 1937, he recommended strict monitoring of attendance of collegium lessons (also in the case of language lessons) and required a syllabus from the teachers at the beginning of each semester, which pointed towards the standardisation of the educational regime. He believed in consistent selection, similarly to Pál Teleki. It also related to the approach that the granted membership equalled advanced trust, which had to be consistently maintained during collegium work. If that trust ceased, membership could be withdrawn at any time (cf. Markó 2011a: 116).¹⁰⁷³ They expected that the measures would help to restore the high quality of work at the Collegium, which was observed in the early period of the foundation of the institute.

At the same time, the strict requirement of attending collegium lessons led to a situation where hardly any students attended university. In many cases, they attended university lectures of former institute members who had acquired a scientific reputation, or they also missed those due to their obligations at the institute. Pál Veress pointed out the problem in 1941. The remunerated mathematics lecturer objected to the fact that collegium students did not attend his lessons either at the university or at the teacher training college, although all of them were allocated to him for a basic exam. As a result of intensive collegium work, students gained a lot of knowledge in special fields, but there were still gaps in their general knowledge. He wished intensive subject studies to be combined with the supplementation of general knowledge in the given scientific discipline.¹⁰⁷⁴ However, it was not suggested at the teachers' meetings later. The institute clearly supported intensive scientific work with its training practice, in which early specialisation was a necessary factor. Presumably, Veress recognised the contrast between the approach dominating in his own collegium period (training highly qualified secondary school teachers) and the training regime prevailing after 1928 (replacement of the scientific elite). However, the training objectives dominating the Gombocz and then the Szabó era remained the same until 1948.

It was a remarkable achievement of the Board of Directors that despite the gradually deteriorating political and economic circumstances they managed to reorganise natural science

¹⁰⁷² In relation to that see the commemoration of director Miklós Szabó of Pál Teleki. Transcript of the teachers' meeting of 29 May 1941. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰⁷³ See the letter of Miklós Szabó to wid. Dénesné Gáspár. Budapest 4 April 1937. MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 15. The transcript of the end of semester teachers' meeting of 15 December 1937. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Report by Pál Veress on the mathematics lessons in the second semester of the 1940/1941 academic year. Budapest, 29 May 1941. MDKL box 53, file 101/8/a.

training and introduce PE lessons independent from the university. They could only achieve that by reallocating remunerations, which did not change between the 1933/1934 and 1943/1944 academic years¹⁰⁷⁵ and involving seniors in the training system of the institute from the 1936/1937 academic year (cf. Markó 2011a: 116). The involvement of graduated and final-year members in the management of studies had occurred before, but it did not have any institutionalised form. Miklós Szabó argued for the new system claiming that remaining at the institute was significant help for young scholar candidates at the beginning of their carrier in terms of their existence and it was also useful for the Collegium, because “they could lead practices, for which some teachers had to be employed before for a remuneration, although some of the tasks could also be performed by enthusiastic scientifically trained youngsters.”¹⁰⁷⁶ The seniors graduated in humanities and in classical philology until 1945.¹⁰⁷⁷

As the war was becoming inevitable, the director ordered the teachers of various subjects to apply stricter control over their students, preventing them from being involved in politics. In order to increase control, he thought it would be practical to organise conferences during the semester, like in the first half of the Zoltán Gombocz era, but his initiative soon died off, similarly to the one in the past.¹⁰⁷⁸ In addition, upon the proposal of Ernst Häckel, the evaluation of students according study programme was changed to evaluation by name at the teachers’ conferences. So each collegium student was discussed only once, which significantly shortened the duration of the conferences (Markó 2011a: 116).¹⁰⁷⁹ It was another significant change in the training system that, upon the proposal of Miklós Szabó, the MRPE accepted the idea to encourage youngsters with scholarships to apply for a carrier in teaching, which was in crisis. According to the director, children of highly qualified intellectual families began to turn away from the Collegium in large numbers, because they believed that they would be able to resolve their financial difficulties in other occupations, as there were options to earn money even during their college studies. That is why he proposed encouraging applications for the Collegium either totally free of charge (which would have resulted in a cost of 18,000 pengos p.a. for the budget) or with scholarships (9,000 pengos p.a.). The MRPE considered the latter solution acceptable and therefore, in addition to the 20 students admitted free of charge, the ministry granted 300-pengo scholarships p.a. to the 20 students paying full tuition fee and 150-pengo scholarships p.a. to the also 20 students paying 50% tuition fee from the 1941/1942 academic year.¹⁰⁸⁰ The ministry also accepted that the institute would extend the

¹⁰⁷⁵ The director complained about it in 1941. A major increase in the remunerations was observed only from 1943. 81/1941. Report of Miklós Szabó on the budget of the Collegium. Budapest, 19 March 1941. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

¹⁰⁷⁶ 147/1936. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the opening of senior teaching positions. Budapest, 15 August 1936. MDKL box 47, file 85.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Senior positions were granted to István Borzsák and István Sőtér in the 1936/1937 academic year, Károly Borsányi and Ernő Kenéz in the 1937/1938 academic year, Ernő Kenéz, Oswald Szemerényi and, when his position became vacant, István Borzsák in the 1938/1939 academic year, János Soltész, János Harmatta in the 1939/1940 academic year, János Balázs, József Szauder in the 1940/1941 academic year, the same individuals again in the 1941/1942 academic year, József Szauder and György Bánhegyi in the 1942/1943 academic year and József Szabó and János Harmatta in the 1943/1944 academic year (MDKL box 47, file 85).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Transcript of the teachers’ meeting of 14 September 1939. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Transcript of the semester-opening teachers’ meeting of 16 January 1941. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰⁸⁰ 81/1941. Report of Miklós Szabó on the budget of the Collegium. Budapest, 19 March 1941. MNL OL K

period of membership to five years from the 1942/1943 academic year, also including the year of practice.¹⁰⁸¹

9.5. Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE As Supervisory Authority Between 1936 and 1944

Although following the death of Zoltán Gombocz, the MRPE staff considered putting their own candidate into the director's position of the institute, these ideas were blocked by the consistent approach of the Former Members' Association and thus Miklós Szabó was able to assume the position of director in one month. Curator Pál Teleki assisted him in that, as he also supported Miklós Szabó as a candidate, ensuring the stability of the institute.

Until 1940, the most important objective of the Collegium managed by Szabó was to break out from the situation created by Prime Minister's Decree 7000/1925 (6 November) left unchanged by Prime Minister's Decree 9000/1927 (1 November) and have the college status of the institute recognised by the ministry. The situation of the Collegium was first described to the MRPE in Pál Teleki's submission in 1935, in which he asked for the reclassification of the director into the 5th remuneration category, to which the directors of the other college-type institutions belonged and the rearrangement of the remuneration status of teachers, as it was done in the case of the Public School Teacher Training Institution (director in the 5th remuneration category and five teachers in the 6th and seven teachers in the 7th remuneration categories).¹⁰⁸² In 1936, the curator extended his request asking for a ministerial decision recognising the college status of the Collegium and introducing the seminar system in relation to the teachers' remuneration.¹⁰⁸³ As the ministry could envisage funding for the request only in the 1939/1940 budget, the director made another submission on the issue in 1938. He could hope for a favourable assessment of his proposals, because in the meantime, curator Pál Teleki became the Minister of Education on 14 May

636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

¹⁰⁸¹ Transcript of the end of year teachers' meeting of 28 May 1942. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹⁰⁸² 13. cur. sz./1935. Submission of curator Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister, requesting the recognition of the college status of the Collegium. Budapest, 1935. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

¹⁰⁸³ 202/1936. Submission of curator Pál Teleki for the recognition of the college status of the Collegium. Budapest, 1936. MNL OL K 636. box 655, item 42, lot 697 (1932–1936).

1938. Szabó repeatedly requested reallocating the teacher's status in the 6th remuneration category of István Náray-Szabó (who was appointed a teacher at the technical university in 1938) to the institute, introducing remuneration based on the period of service for the teaching staff and appointing the director into the 5th remuneration category V.¹⁰⁸⁴ Due to the resistance of the Ministry of Finance, only the director's appointment happened until December 1939. The issue of the teachers' positions remained unclear.



Image 23: Minister of Education Bálint Hóman leaves the Collegium building accompanied by director Miklós Szabó, 1937

Owing to the reallocation of remunerations and the support of Pál Teleki, other scientific disciplines were introduced in the training system of the Collegium, with a focus on nationalistic education, which previously had not existed (philosophy, art history, ethnography, pedagogy). He also suggested restoring regular study trips where young students were able to visit the re-attached territories. Of the allocated 2,000-pengo support (600 pengos for remunerations, 1,400 pengos for excursions and summer ethnography collection trips), the ministry approved 1,600 pengos.¹⁰⁸⁵ The Ministry of Education also supported the increase of the number of Collegium members from 60 to 66 and the introduction of the scholarship system, which was necessary, because highly qualified social groups turned away from the institute. The descriptive statistical analysis of the 1936-1944 period showed that compared to former periods, more students applied to and were admitted by the institute from lower

¹⁰⁸⁴ Submission of director Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Pál Teleki concerning the status arrangement of the teachers of the Collegium. Budapest, 2 October 1938. MDKL box 41, file 73/4.

¹⁰⁸⁵ 53/1939. Submission of director Miklós Szabó on the nationalistic education of youth. Budapest, 23 February 1939. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

social groups. Miklós Szabó described that phenomenon to the decision makers first in 1939¹⁰⁸⁶ and continued urging for a solution in 1940.¹⁰⁸⁷ Finally, after the introduction of the scholarships in 1941, he reported that a lot more applicants took part in the admission procedure than in the preceding years.¹⁰⁸⁸ He also managed to persuade the ministry to raise the 54,000-pengo budget support, which had not changed between 1933 and 1940, to 60,100 pengos and to also raise the remunerations.¹⁰⁸⁹

The relationship between MRPE and the Collegium was pleasant even before, while Bálint Hóman was the minister, even despite the unresolved issues of the director and teacher wages. This is proven by the fact that the ministry supported the ideas of Miklós Szabó to start negotiations with the sister institution of the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa for the establishment of official relationships as the director of the Collegium. That was inspired by a Pisa teacher, Luigi Russo, who suggested that foreign exchange students could also be placed in the Superiore. The initiative was also supported by Ambassador Vinci who was the number one person of Italian diplomacy in the Hungarian capital (Krász 1995: 119).¹⁰⁹⁰ The relationship was established on the basis of an indication from the École Normale Supérieure of Paris, because a new laboratory was opened at Ulm Road, to which the Budapest sister institute was also invited. The director believed that the two events could be interconnected and applied for a leave and a 500-pengo travel allowance between 10 and 31 May 1937.¹⁰⁹¹ The MRPE approved the trip,¹⁰⁹² as a result of which the director was able to accept the invitation to the inauguration ceremony in Paris as the only foreign guest. According to Miklós Szabó's report, French politicians, led by the President of the Republic and the Minister of National Education, made favourable statements about the Collegium and Hungarians. Those statements were also underlined by the fact that in 1937, only one foreigner was accepted in the École a student of the Collegium, and that the French government offered books worth FRF 25,000 to the institute. The director also mentioned that his visit coincided with the publication of the book *Découverte de la Hongrie* (Discovery of Hungary) by former native language lecturer Sauvageot, which created rather favourable impressions about the country among the French public, which, in turn, could be exploited in multiple ways. In Pisa, Szabó visited the Scuola restructured in 1932 and established contact with its secondary school teacher training section and made a verbal agreement with the director of the section

¹⁰⁸⁶ 216/1939. Report of Miklós Szabó on the 1939/1940 admission procedure. Budapest, 29 June 1939. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

¹⁰⁸⁷ 174/1940. Proposal of director Miklós Szabó on the admission procedure in the 1940/1941 academic year. Budapest, 29 June 1940. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

¹⁰⁸⁸ 40.422/1941. IV. sz. MRPE Department IV on the increase of the number of members of the Collegium. Budapest, 1 July 1941. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

¹⁰⁸⁹ 81/1941. Report of Miklós Szabó on the budget of the Collegium. Budapest, 19 March 1941. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

¹⁰⁹⁰ 61/1937. Submission of director Miklós Szabó concerning the commencement of a relationship with the Scuola Normale of Pisa. Budapest, 11 April 1937. MDKL box 82, file 161/3.

¹⁰⁹¹ 75/1937. Submission of director Miklós Szabó concerning the invitation to the inauguration ceremony of the ÉNS laboratory in Paris. Budapest, 30 April 1937. MDKL box 82, file 161/3.

¹⁰⁹² 21.365/1937. IV. sz. Letter of MRPE state secretary Kálmán Szily to director Miklós Szabó on the visit to ÉNS in Paris and the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa. Budapest, 9 May 1937. MDKL box 82, file 161/3.

on the establishment of exchange relations.¹⁰⁹³ Pál Teleki also supported the exchange programme and recommended delegating 5th year collegium students who were in their final year of their studies to Italy, so the Italian exchange student would not take the position of an ordinary collegium student but would be placed among foreign students. He also recommended providing free housing and boarding to them in addition to the 300-pengo pocket money. The MRPE supported the idea under the condition that each student had to cover their own travel expenses.¹⁰⁹⁴ It also indicates the lack of balance in the relations that on 22 October 1937 Bálint Hóman accompanied his Finnish colleague Uuno Hannula on his visit to the Collegium. During the visit, the Board of Directors ceremonially received the guests who also observed the lessons.¹⁰⁹⁵

Not even a letter written by an unknown author in November 1935 accusing the Collegium of freshers being exposed to brutal beatings applied by higher year students in the course of the 'initiation' procedure, making a number of students cancel their membership, managed to change the balanced relationship with the ministry. According to the author, freshers were intimidated and that is why they were afraid of talking to higher authorities about their ordeal. The ministry ordered an investigation, as a result of which Miklós Szabó concluded that the reason why the student practice had developed was to reduce the excessive self-confidence of freshers. It was a symbolic act, during which older students made their young fellows lie on a desk and 'patted' their bottoms. They also interviewed religious 1st year students, each of whom rejected the author's statements and described in detail the reasons why students cancelling their memberships departed from the institute until November 1939.¹⁰⁹⁶ The ministry accepted the investigation and the submitted reasons for cancellation and also concluded that there was no correlation between the students' practice and the author of the letter.¹⁰⁹⁷

The relationship between the Collegium and the supervisory authority did not change even after the death of Pál Teleki in 1941. That was because Bálint Hóman verbally agreed to assume the curator's position, which, however, never happened because of his political assignment. When Hungary announced the state of war with the Soviet Union (27 June 1941), the Soviet Embassy in Budapest was terminated. The Soviets assigned the Swedish Embassy to sell the valuables of the diplomatic representation office, including

¹⁰⁹³ 127/1937. Report of Miklós Szabó to curator Pál Teleki on his visit to the SNS in Pisa. Budapest, 20 June 1937. MDKL box 82, file 161/3.

¹⁰⁹⁴ 127/1937. Submission of curator Pál Teleki concerning the establishment of an exchange relationship with the Scuola Normale di Pisa. Budapest, June 1937. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

¹⁰⁹⁵ Announcement of director Miklós Szabó concerning the visit of Uuno Hannula and MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman. Budapest, 22 October 1937. MDKL box 51, file 97/3.

¹⁰⁹⁶ "The following cases occurred: 2nd year student László Varsányi and 1st year student Mibály Koncz were accepted at the Ludovika Academy. After one week's stay, 1st year student István Tolnai announced that his father was unable to pay the maintenance fee, so he cancelled his membership and opted for a legal carrier, which he considered easier to follow. 1st year student István Temesi left because of an actual disease, because physicians diagnosed him with bilateral open tuberculosis. At the moment he is treated at the Miklós Horthy hospital from where he will be sent for a 1-year sanatorium treatment." 364/1939. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning an anonymous letter. Budapest, 15 November 1939. MDKL box 51, file 98/2.

¹⁰⁹⁷ 37. 629. sz. Submission from MRPE Department IV, in relation to the report of director Miklós Szabó. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44-2 (1937-1941).

its library. The Swedish Embassy informed the Collegium on 4 September 1941 of the intention to sell part of the library to it.¹⁰⁹⁸ The MRPE approved the purchase driven by the idea that the books could be sold in private trade. Thus the literary history, literature and youth volumes of the library were transferred to the institute, and other works were sent to the Parliament library (cf. Markó 2011a: 117).¹⁰⁹⁹ In 1942, the Board of Directors was assigned by the ministry to turn the cellar of the institute into an air raid shelter. 4,000 pengos were projected for the costs and the amount was actually granted to the Collegium by the MRPE.¹¹⁰⁰ Although unexpected costs also incurred during the transformation of the cellar, due to a water leakage caused by a crack in an old water pipe, the ministry also financed the 2,000-pengo cost of repairs.¹¹⁰¹ The air raid shelter provided invaluable protection not only during the siege, but also in this period, because royal senior government counsel István Pözel, chief officer of Budapest Székesfővárosi Takarékpénztár Rt. and his family sought protection in that air raid shelter on a number of occasions during the bombing of Budapest, for which they granted a donation of 2,000 pengos to the institute.¹¹⁰² The ministry also supported the idea that the members of the institute should receive additional pork and bread tickets in addition to the daily rations introduced with the ticket system in 1941, in view of their increased intellectual efforts.¹¹⁰³

The successor in the office of Bálint Hóman, Jenő Szinyei Merse visited the institute on 8 October 1943. Miklós Szabó agreed with the ministry in advance on the selected members of the reception committee who were members of the teaching staff as well as members of the Former Members' Association.¹¹⁰⁴ In his welcome speech, the director emphasised that ever since its foundation, the Eötvös Collegium had practically served the same objective, for which it had been established by its founders Loránd Eötvös and Géza Bartonicsek: to supply scientifically qualified teachers for Hungarian public education. He recognised and highlighted that, owing to the Hungarian state, the institute had found its final place at the Nagyboldogasszony Road palace and also stated that with the improvement of the selection system and with their extensive scientific knowledge curator Pál Teleki and Zoltán Gombocz expanded

¹⁰⁹⁸ 50.a/1947. coll. sz. Report of Jenő Tomasz concerning the purchasing of the books of the Russian Embassy. Budapest, 17 February 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3 (1946–1947).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Transcript of the academic year-opening teachers' meeting of 15 September 1941. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹¹⁰⁰ 247/1942. Report of Miklós Szabó on the construction of an air raid shelter. Budapest, 30 September 1942.

The technical part of the construction was controlled by architect Károly Miakich and the actual construction work was performed by construction contractor János Bogyó. 318/1942. Submission of M. Sz. with the bill for the air raid shelter cellar for technical review. Budapest, October 1942. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1).

¹¹⁰¹ 10/1943. Submission of Miklós Szabó regarding the draining of groundwater from the air raid shelter. Budapest, 13 January 1943. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1).

¹¹⁰² 340/1942. Report of director Miklós Szabó on the donation of István Pözel. Budapest, 21 December 1942. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1).

¹¹⁰³ 66/1942. Application of director Miklós Szabó for the approval of additional bread and pork tickets. Budapest, 8 April 1942. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1).

¹¹⁰⁴ The members of the committee: Béla Mauritz retired ordinary teacher Rector Magnificus, Gyula Németh, Sándor Eckhardt, János Horváth, Tibor Gerevich, Gyula Szekfű, Gyula Moravcsik, Dezső Pais, Lajos Ligeti, Béla Bulla István Kniezsa, Zoltán Bay, Zoltán Kodály. Letter from Miklós Szabó to ministerial counsel Szabolcs Lőrinczy on the list of the reception committee compiled for the MRPE Minister. Budapest, 29 September 1943. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

the training provided by the institute. “*The main proof of the existence of this spirit for 50 years was that the Eötvös Collegium has always enjoyed the greatest deal of freedom from the main authorities of the state in every aspect of its operation. There are very few points in Hungarian public life where independence and freedom are not influenced and are undisturbed as in our institute.*”¹¹⁰⁵ The director asked the minister to strictly review their operation and efforts and conclude whether or not the Collegium was worthy of further sacrifice made by the state.¹¹⁰⁶ Although there was no objection to the institute then, far right political movements in 1944 began to attack Miklós Szabó for the traditional objectives of the institute tailored to the needs of a civil society.

An article under the title of “*Change in the Eötvös Collegium orienting to the left*” written by an unknown author was published in far right newspaper *Egyedül Vagyunk* (*We are alone*) in May 1944. The subtitle of the article (*The new world penetrates even the citadel of the false humanist spirit*) also indicated that the author intended to examine the activities of the institute on a political basis. The author presented the Ménesi Road institute in relation to the government commissioner appointed to manage Györffy Collegium and described it as an institute dominated by a ‘false humanist spirit’, which triggered Bolshevism in the past. The author remarked that training scholars was the main goal of the institute, which was proved with a number of excellent scholars, but, in addition to diverted careers it was also observed among graduate collegium students that they looked at a secondary school teacher’s position as a clear step backwards.¹¹⁰⁷ The author accused the Collegium of creating a myth around itself in the 1920s and 1930s by keeping the former students within the ‘company’, which was also reflected when they were appointed for a scientific career. In relation to the director, the author stated that Zoltán Gombocz was a scholar and not a teacher and Miklós Szabó was too dull. The institute subscribed only for *Népszava* (*People’s World*) and *Magyar Nemzet* (*Hungarian Nation*) from the daily papers and the author also expressed some criticism about the French-like spirit and student habits. The communist conspiracy in 1932 and the fact that the director limited the autonomy of the student self-government having had enough of the cosmopolitan attitude of the students were described as clear signs of a crisis. The author also mentioned that new generations turned away from the institute, because with the lack of the hundreds of young applicants of the past, the institute had a problem to fill first year places (cf. Markó 2011a: 119).¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰⁵ Speech of director Miklós Szabó during the visit of MRPE Minister József Szinyei Merse. Budapest, 8 October 1943. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

¹¹⁰⁶ The press also reported on the visit. See: [Sine nomine] (1943): Visit of the Minister of Education to Eötvös Collegium. *Nemzeti Újság* (*National Newspaper*), 9 October 1943. MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

¹¹⁰⁷ This thought is likely to originate from László Antal, former graduate of the institute who objected to the fact that collegium students obtained intensive knowledge in specific sciences and were not trained for teaching in secondary schools. Collegium students regarded these teachers as average people. The tragedy of being a collegium student was that there was no need for their special qualifications in public education and therefore it was a shock to them when they were transferred to grammar schools in the countryside and were forced to leave a scientific career. László Antal (1942): The school of the excellent and the excellent at school. Crisis of the Eötvös Collegium. *Újság* (*Newspaper*), 30 August 1942. 6. MTAKK Ms. 5207/99. Rudolf Paksa also reached similar conclusions independently from him in his late works based on the analysis of certain memoirs and literary works (Paksa 2009: 126–132).

¹¹⁰⁸ [Sine nomine] (1944): Change in the Eötvös Collegium orienting to the left. The new world penetrates

Miklós Szabó felt obligated to respond to the political accusations and responded to the unknown author within a short time. The director explained, on 15 pages, that the Collegium had very little influence on the position of secondary school teachers as it was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education that it let the favourable opinion on a teaching career diminish in society. Repeating the words of Loránd Eötvös, he said that the institute could not abandon scientific training, because a good secondary school teacher must keep up with the development of sciences. He also refuted that hundreds of people applied to the institute and that the Collegium subscribed only for the two daily newspapers mentioned by the unknown author. He also mentioned that their foreign sister institutes and exchange students and professors accommodated by the institute always recognised the performance of the students and the training system of the institute. A clear sign of that recognition was that the director was awarded the German Empirical Eagle Order and a Humboldt medal by the German Academy for maintaining German-Hungarian cultural relations.¹¹⁰⁹ He noted that the unknown author in fact did not attack him or the institute but Loránd Eötvös who defined the principles of operation of the Collegium and Pál Teleki who somewhat modified them as a result of the crisis of the 1920s. (cf. Markó 2011a: 119–120).¹¹¹⁰

Following the change of government on 22 March 1944, the political atmosphere of the country changed fundamentally, because the cabinet led by Döme Szójay fulfilled all requests of the Germans without any reservation and watch the spread of the Arrow Cross party in public life helplessly. Miklós Szabó's position as director was also shaken, as it may also be reconstructed from his private correspondence (Markó 2011a: 121). Another press attack by a former member of the institute, Tibor Baráth, which was also published by *Egyedül Vagyunk* (*We are alone*), suggested his removal. According Baráth, the Collegium was established on the turn of the century, because it was part of an independent state that the country should have its own intellectuals who could join the European flow of ideas. The library and the special training system created a school of the excellent, which produced scholars in the spirit of liberal nationalism. Baráth claimed that the institute gradually eased its ties with the nation, as a result of which Bolshevik organisers appeared in Ménesi Road by the beginning of the 1930s. He accused the Board of Directors of taking only firefighting measures rather than introducing a shift in their world concept when they excluded communist members. He also described it as a mistake that the Collegium accepted part of the library stock of the Soviet Embassy in its library and that people were employed in the teaching staff who were directly influenced by Jews. Disregarding even the elementary rules of the contemporary political journalism, he failed to name the sources of his statements, but, in

even the citadel of the false humanist spirit. *Egyedül Vagyunk* (*We are alone*). 12 May 1944. 9. MTAKK Ms. 5207/91.

¹¹⁰⁹ It is obvious that he referred to the awards to protect himself. However, he could not guess that following the war, in 1945, they would launch a press campaign against him by referring to that statement in his document. See the letter of Sándor Eckhardt to Miklós Szabó concerning his removal. Budapest, 22 September 1945. MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

¹¹¹⁰ Miklós Szabó (1944): „*Pro Domo*”. To the “*Change in the Eötvös Collegium orienting to the left*” article published in the issue of “*Egyedül vagyunk*” (*We are alone*) of 19 May 1944. Antiqua Rt., Budapest. 1–15. MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

the conclusion of his article, he outlined a programme whereby the institute should return to its original objective of serving modern national objectives. That objective was defined as a training system built on the concept of work, focusing on nationalism spreading in society.¹¹¹¹



Image 24: Deputy Director Jenő Tomasz standing among the ruins of the Collegium building with his son, 1945

Minister of Education István Antal tried to fulfil that expectation when he dismissed Miklós Szabó from his position as director and transferred him to the Hungarian National Museum in his Decree 58.593/1944 (1 April) effective from 15 July 1944. He temporarily assigned Jenő Tomasz to continue the management of the institute.¹¹¹² Although in the

¹¹¹¹ Tibor Baráth (1944): Return the Eötvös Collegium to its original objectives! Letter of Tibor Baráth to Egyedül Vagyunk. *Egyedül Vagyunk*, 16 June 1944 11. MTAKK Ms. 5207/91.

¹¹¹² Interestingly, the MRPE Minister of the temporary government Géza Teleki referred to the same Decree when he dismissed Miklós Szabó one year later. Letter of Géza Teleki on the transfer of director Miklós Szabó.

Lakatos government Minister of Education Iván Rakovszky intended to restore Szabó, it did not happen due to the occurring historical events. Tibor Baráth also had a role in the Szálasi cabinet, formed as a result of the Arrow Cross party coup on 16 October 1944: he became the Head of the Department of University and College Education at the Ministry of Education. In line with his previous articles, he arranged for appointing a director to the Collegium who represented the ideas matching the expectations of the new power: Béla Kolozsvári Medzuy.

The new director only had funds available for three measures. This suggests that, contrary to former directors, he did not try to preserve the autonomy of the Collegium and accepted all requests of the Arrow Cross administration without any objections. One of his first measures was the mandatory oath to the Szálasi administration imposed on the teachers.¹¹¹³ Then he agreed to the accommodation of the replacement battery of the first defence force assault artillery group, in the institute.¹¹¹⁴ In any former cases of tense public life and military situations the Board of Directors strongly objected to similar proceedings, but this did not happen in this case. In addition, based on his consent, soldiers could stay in the building of the institute as they wished. Kolozsvári also did not object to the order of Tibor Baráth according to which the ministry occupied the third floor premises, the dining room and the auditorium of the institute due to the transfer of part of the MRPE to Buda.¹¹¹⁵

However, the order was not executed, because by 24 December 1944, the Soviet siege surrounded the capital and the members of the Arrow Cross dictatorship fled to the west, including acting director Béla Kolozsvári M. Originally, the director also wished to move the members of the Collegium to the west, but in the end he left for Transdanubia alone on 9 December 1944 (Hajdú 2004: 50). Jenő Tomasz was in charge of the administration until the end of the siege and asked Miklós Szabó who also stayed in the building to assume the position of director again at the end of February 1945. The old-new director managed the institute until the summer of 1945 when he was finally dismissed by MRPE Minister Géza Teleki. His removal was repeatedly driven by political reasons: following a council meeting at the faculty of arts, Lajos Ligeti called aside the former collegium students present (Sándor Eckhardt, Tibor Gerevich, János Horvák, Dezső Pais and Gyula Székfü) and informed them that a group of active collegium students had approached him outlining the plan of a press attack campaign against Miklós Szabó. They wanted to execute their plan by using certain parts of the Pro Domo (German awards, subscription for the *Völkischer Beobachtung* for the institute). As this time was the period of certification procedures, at

Budapest, 4 May 1945. MDKL box 94, file 199.

¹¹¹³ 152/1944. Report of acting director Béla Kolozsvári M. on the oath. Budapest, 30 October 1944. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44-1 (1942-1944-1).

¹¹¹⁴ "Personnel: 62 persons (officer and staff). The accommodation will last until the unit leaves. The personnel is accommodated in the gymnasium, the officers stay in a student suite, the office is located in a staff room in the basement and the vehicles are parked in the yard." 142/1944. Report of acting director Béla Kolozsvári M. on the military accommodation. Budapest, 25 October 1944. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44-1 (1942-1944-1).

¹¹¹⁵ "I inform the Board of Directors that I shall book and occupy the third floor premises, the consultation room and auditorium of the Collegium for the Ministry of Religion and Public Education as part of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education is transferred to Buda. From the Minister's Decree: Signed by Tibor Baráth, retired university teacher, Head of the Department of Universities." 62.606-1944./IV. sz. Order of Tibor Baráth on the occupation of the premises of the Eötvös József Collegium. Budapest, 5 December 1944. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

the ad hoc meeting, they agreed (with the exception of János Horváth) that the scandal should be prevented, as it would have led to the loss of pension or a politically motivated show procedure. Ligeti informed collegium students who wished to see Domokos Kosáry or Dezső Keresztury in the position of director of the institute.¹¹¹⁶

At the end of April 1945, Miklós Szabó was informed of the events in the home of Tibor Gerevich. He was recommended to apply to the minister for retirement because it would have been due in a few years' time anyway. Under the effect of the first shock, Szabó agreed to apply for retirement to a ministerial commissioner at the dean's office of Gerevich on the subsequent day. However, on the following day, he did not appear at the arranged time, because, having discussed the issue with his wife, he concluded that his assignment had been suspended in 1944 and the minister could approve that as he wished. Despite that, Teleki still dismissed him and transferred him to serve at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.¹¹¹⁷ The minister sent him a message with a confidante stating that he could not do anything else, because he saw, according to Miklós Szabó, that no one supported the old director (cf. Markó 2011a: 123–124).¹¹¹⁸ So the new director Dezső Keresztury was able to report to the Minister of Education on 10 June 1945 that he took over the position of director of the institute based on Presidential Order 3183/1945.¹¹¹⁹

It had never happened in the history of the institute before that students actively tried to influence the filling of the vacant director's position or organise a political attack against the director exercising their powers. It was also rather unusual that the MRPE also contributed to these efforts indirectly. The students used the ex-lex situation occurring after October 1944 to achieve their own goals. Presumably the collegium organisation of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Organisation, the operation of which the director intended to restrict, was behind the removal of Miklós Szabó.¹¹²⁰

¹¹¹⁶ Letter of Sándor Eckhardt to Miklós Szabó concerning his removal. Budapest, 22 September 1945. MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

¹¹¹⁷ Letter of Géza Teleki on the transfer of director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 4 May 1945. MDKL box 94, file 199.

¹¹¹⁸ Letter of Miklós Szabó to Sándor Eckhardt. Budapest, 8 October 1945. MTAKK Ms. 5207/9.

¹¹¹⁹ 35/1945. Report of acting director Dezső Keresztury on taking over the position director of the Collegium. Budapest, 10 June 1945. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

¹¹²⁰ At least this is what Tibor Klaniczay implied in his memoirs. *After the liberation, the number of students continued to decline. Those who remained joined MADISZ. Miklós Szabó took back the governing position but the remaining collegium students did not accept him as director, because he said that he would not tolerate a »student council«, i.e. a collegium student council, which then elected me as president, as I mentioned.*” András Barta (1975): Memories of the alma mater. Academic Tibor Klaniczay talks about the 80-year-old Eötvös Collegium. *Magyar Nemzet*, 21 September 1975 (Sunday) 9. MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

9.6.

Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1936 and 1944

When Miklós Szabó was elected director, the internal atmosphere of the Collegium changed, because it was known to the students that his style had become rather harsh during his military service in World War I. The atmosphere of informality and 'disciplined freedom' applied by Zoltán Gombocz disappeared and Szabó managed the matter of collegium students with a certain distance at all times.

His character changed somewhat after he got married. His wife had an informal relationship with collegium students and took over control in the kitchen, as a result of which the quality of collegium catering improved spectacularly. *"Auntie Micu [the name of Miklós Szabó's wife among collegium students] became very popular among collegium students, which was not only reflected in more respectful behaviour and a quieter house, but also in the appearance of Auntie Micu as the angel of the house in the cabaret programmes"* (Keresztury 1993: 252). Nonetheless, in later memoirs, the director became known as a person unable to communicate with students. In the director's office, he expressed his objections to collegium students in a merciless tone (cf. Keveléz 2007f: 24).

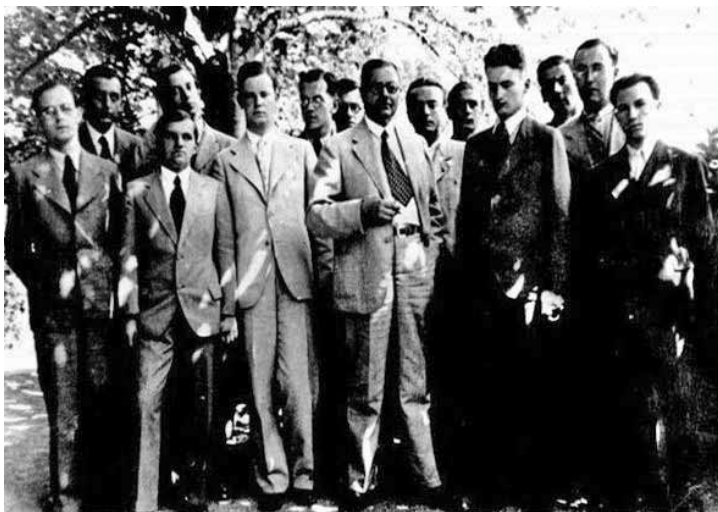


Image 25: Director Miklós Szabó surrounded by his students, 1937

The student habits also went through significant changes. The fresher exam was supplemented by the Janicsek memorial contest, which was mentioned first in

1941.¹¹²¹ In the contest, recently admitted students had to learn a memoriter in an unusual way. The recitation was interrupted by questions and remarks by ‘teachers,’ as a result of which the freshers usually were unable to fulfil the task, to the greatest amusement of older collegium students. The first winner of this contest was Miklós Kovács¹¹²² who was sent to the dean’s office to pick up the financial reward of the memorial contest for his excellent position. However, the dean’s office sent away the young student because naturally the promised reward did not exist (Ruttkay 2007b: 107–108).

János Krencz played a special role in the life of the institute. He served at the Collegium from 1922, but became first class junior officer only in December 1941.¹¹²³ Krencz knew the name of each collegium student, their chosen faculties and their laundry number. Generally he fulfilled the reception tasks. When collegium students were preparing for an exam at university, they usually reported it to Mr Krencz who wished them good luck. This ritual was an inevitable accessory in the preparation for a basic or vocational exam and also indicated that students looked upon the serving staff as an important part of the institute (Keveléz 2007d: 150.). However, there were also members of the staff who abused the trust of the director: On the night of 11 and 12 June 1941, the director’s apartment was robbed. The thief probably did not know that they were risking their life, because from 1936, the Budapest Metropolitan Police allowed the director of the institute to keep a pocket pistol on them, as usually a large amount of cash was stored in the vault of the office.¹¹²⁴ However, Szabó did not wake up and the unknown perpetrator stole 500 pengos worth of his personal belongings. The director named Tobiás Illés, former assistant as the potential perpetrator who had to be removed from the institute under scandalous conditions. Illés appeared at the Collegium drunk on Whit Monday 1941 and had to be removed with the assistance of the police. He found it difficult to accept his dismissal and left Ménesi Road amidst a lot of threats.¹¹²⁵ In the end the perpetrator was not caught and the investigation was closed.¹¹²⁶

¹¹²¹ The contest was named after István Janicsek who studied history and geography at the institute between 1920 and 1925. His scientific career broke and presumably he had a nervous breakdown because of it and was taken to the Sanatorium of Neurology in Lipótmező for treatment. A legend developed about him that he had begun reading the library of the Collegium in alphabetical order. He managed to reach letter ‘G’. About his life and related legend see: Arató–Perényi 2011: 269–310.

¹¹²² Kovács was a student studying French and Latin between 1941 and 1946. He continued to be a part of the student practical jokes later. Accompanied by Lajos Angyal, Sándor Lukács and Péter Hajdú, he set fire to a paper basket in their suite on 3 June 1943, for which they got a warning from the director (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30).

¹¹²³ 36/1942. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to János Krencz on the occasion of his appointment as first class junior officer. Budapest, 16 February 1942. MDKL box 42, file 74/1.

¹¹²⁴ Originally Zoltán Gombocz applied for the permission to keep a pistol. Miklós Szabó extended it on a number of occasions. 7/1936. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the Budapest Metropolitan Police for the permission to keep a pistol. Budapest, 17 January 1936. For the renewal of the permit see: 41/1943. Application of director Miklós Szabó for the permission to keep a pistol. Budapest, 25 February 1943. MDKL box 51, file 98/1/a.

¹¹²⁵ The following items were stolen: Two 100 pengos, three 20 pengos and one 5 pengos bank notes from his wallet. The thief also took a pocket wallet with approx. 10 pengos, consisting of 2-pengo coins and change, a dark grey pair of trousers worth approx. 40 pengos, a light cotton dressing gown worth 40 pengos, one white shirt with the initials Sz. M. worth 20 pengos, a ‘Zenith’ watch with a black face and a leather strap worth 80 pengos and an alarm pocket watch worth 80 pengos. 129/1941. Report of director Miklós Szabó to the Budapest Metropolitan Police. Budapest, 12 June 1941. MDKL box 51, file 98/1/a.

¹¹²⁶ The investigation was closed on 24 September 1941 with Resolution 2/4970/1941 because the perpetrator could not be detected. MDKL box 51, file 98/1/a.

The two most important events of the academic year were the regular annual cabaret, which was moved to 6 December, St. Nicholas' day and the garden party held in June. On both occasions, ladies were also allowed to enter the institute with older collegium students, which led to a number of intimate relationships and marriages later (Ruttkay 2007a: 48–49). The cabaret that followed the visit of MRPE Minister Jenő Szinyei Merse in October 1943, was titled *Ministerial visit to the school*. In one of the scenes of the cabaret, László Oroz, playing Miklós Szabó accompanied the minister into the auditorium with the following words: “*Here are the portraits of my predecessors and here I have put my own statue with wise foresight*” (Keveléz–Ruttkay 2007: 172). After the performance, the director called all actors playing in the scene to his office and strongly reprimanded them for their insolence. After that event, the relationship between the director and the students cooled off, because collegium students interpreted Szabó's response as a sign of despotism and the latter imagined that his authority was questioned with the scene (cf. Markó 2011a: 118).

The youth event series was regularly held at the auditorium of the Collegium under the title of *Evening talks* upon the initiative of Dezső Keresztury from 1938. During the events, the audience could discuss literary and public life issues (cf. Szigeti 2000: 160) and occasionally the Board also invited reputable graduated members who presented not only their own experiences at the Collegium, but also their own scholar work.¹¹²⁷ As the talks were regularly held on Wednesdays, the tradition was also continued after 1945, under the title of *Wednesday Evenings* (cf. Markó 2011a: 116–117).

From 1937, PE lessons were also held at the institute based on the permission of the MRPE. However, this required the refurbishment of the gymnasium, because it lacked the equipment for exercises and the other furniture in the gymnasium was also obsolete.¹¹²⁸ The ministry spent in total 1,528 pengos on equipment for basketball, gymnastics, football and high jump. In addition, new plastering was applied and a new floor was installed in the gymnasium, wall bars were introduced and heating was installed to facilitate lessons in the winter.¹¹²⁹

Collegium students could also take part in study trips in the country and travel abroad with the scholarships granted to the institution. In June 1938, Tamás Rados, a Benedictine monk from Pannonhalma visited the Collegium who later invited the entire institute to visit the Pannonhalma Abbey on the occasion of Saint Stephen's year.¹¹³⁰ The event was organised for 24 September 1938, in the course of which they also visited Saint Gellért College. In his letter thanking the visit, Miklós Szabó referred to the college established as a result of the further development of the one-time repentent dormitory as the sister institute of the Eötvös Collegium, as they both had similar objectives and,

¹¹²⁷ Transcript of the teachers' meeting of 18 May 1938. MDKL box 54, file 102/c.

¹¹²⁸ 129/1937. Submission of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning the renovation of the gymnasium. Budapest, 21 June 1937. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹¹²⁹ 95918/1937. Ministerial Order of ministerial department counsel Vitéz (member of a Hungarian order established by Horthy) Román Tárcazy-Felidices to contractor Gyula Lopos for the renovation of the gymnasium of the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium. Budapest, 11 October 1937. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/2.

¹¹³⁰ Letter of Tamás Rados to director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 9 June 1938. MDKL box 36, file 56.

according to the director, some components of their training system also matched.¹¹³¹ The members (35) and teachers (23) of the Collegium took part in a trip in Upper Hungary on 25–26 May 1939, funded from the 1,000 pengos donated by the MRPE in February 1939.¹¹³² Their itinerary included Lake Losonci (Lučenec), Fülek (Filákov), Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota), Rozsnyó (Rožňava), Krasznahorka (Hrad Krásna Hôrka), Szádalmás (Jablonov nad Turňou) and Kassa (Košice).¹¹³³ In 1943, a group of collegium students led by the director visited the cathedral and the archaeological excavations around it in Esztergom.¹¹³⁴

After World War II had started, collegium students were able to travel only to Germany. The summer scholarships were guaranteed by native language lecturer Walther Schurig between 1939 and 1942, as he was responsible for the exchange relations at the German Academy of Sciences. The Board of Directors recommended eight collegium students for scholarship both in 1939¹¹³⁵ and in 1940.¹¹³⁶ In 1942, German institutions offered scholarships to 12 students: four students were funded by the Deutsches Wissenschaftliches Institut in Budapest and eight scholarships were funded by Deutsches Studienwerk für Ausländer. The sources reveal only the list of students nominated for the scientific scholarship: the applications of Péter Hajdú, Leó Lám, László Lontay and Henrik Krähling were accepted. Upon the request of the MRPE, the director prepared a report on each of them. In relation to the first three, the report stated that they were impeccable in terms of morals and loyalty to the nation and therefore their trip was not impeded. However, in relation to Krähling,¹¹³⁷ the report stated that during the 1941 census he declared himself as German, but complained to his fellow students that the Germans did not

¹¹³¹ Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the Abbot of Pannonhalma. Budapest, 25 September 1938. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹¹³² 53/1939. Submission of director Miklós Szabó on the nationally centred education of youth. Budapest, 23 February 1939. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

¹¹³³ Report on the Upper Hungary trip on 25–26 May 1939. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹¹³⁴ Letter of director Miklós Szabó to prelate, cathedral canon Antal Leopold. Budapest, 1 June 1943. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹¹³⁵ On the basis of a proposal from Miklós Szabó, scholarships were granted to Ernő Lakatos 3rd year student of history and geography, Miklós Szigethy 3rd year student of German and French in Berlin, Lajos Lőrincze 3rd year student of Hungarian-German, György Habis 3rd year student of Hungarian-German in Leipzig, István Rácz 3rd year student of classical philology in Munich, Zoltán Németh 4th year student of Hungarian-English, Pál Vozáry 4th year student of Hungarian-French, Tamás Vargha 2nd year student of mathematics-physics in Heidelberg. Submission of director Miklós Szabó concerning the exchange scholarships in Germany in the summer. Budapest, 9 June 1939. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

¹¹³⁶ Delegation of István Cornides, 2nd year student of mathematics-physics, Emil Laub, 2nd year student of classical philology, Tamás Vargha 3rd year student of mathematics-physics, István Rajniss 4th year student of mathematics-chemistry. If other places were left, then the Board of Directors would also support the delegation of István Király, 1st year student of Hungarian-German, Péter Huszty, 1st year student of German-English, György Vágó, 1st year student of German-English, Ferenc Bogdány, 3rd year student of German-French. 152/1940. Submission of director Miklós Szabó concerning the exchange scholarships in Germany in the summer. Budapest, 15 June 1940. MNL OL K 636. box 883, item 44–2 (1937–1941).

¹¹³⁷ Krähling was a student of Swabian origin from Baranya county who studied Hungarian and German at the institute between 1940 and 1946. In 1945, he disappeared during military service and appeared at the Collegium again only in 1946. His parents were deported after the closing of the World War, but he stayed in the country and changed his name to Henrik Kéri (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 31).

accept him as a fellow national and he felt less Hungarian. He was not a member of the Volksbund though and according to his own statement, did not support their policy either. In the end, Szabó supported his trip, hoping that his experience would help him resolve his psychological crisis.¹¹³⁸ After Schurig left in 1942 and military actions took place, the scholarships presumably stopped.

During the Szabó era, in total, 73 foreign guest students visited the Collegium. Most of them (15) were Italians,¹¹³⁹ including five students from the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa.¹¹⁴⁰ Among the Italian scholarship students, problems occurred only in relation to Gugliemio Brigidi: Brigidi was student of the Music Academy and his piano practice disturbed the Collegium, so Miklós Szabó asked the ministry to accommodate musicians in the institute only if they could practice elsewhere (cf. Nagy 1995: 92).¹¹⁴¹ The Italians were followed by the Germans, delegating 13 guest students.¹¹⁴² The 14th German guest, Klaus Frommelt, did not arrive at Ménesi Road in 1936 and the sources reveal nothing about him.¹¹⁴³ The director sometimes suspected that some of the exchange students were active among the Germans in Hungary and in extreme right movements. However, he never applied any sanctions against them (Nagy: 1995: 86). Six exchange students arrived from the US¹¹⁴⁴ and Bulgaria,¹¹⁴⁵ five

¹¹³⁸ 95/1942. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to MRPE Minister Bálint Hóman. Budapest, 25 May 1942. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹¹³⁹ Economist Orazio Belmonte, 1943. MDKL box 34, file 50. Physician Eugenio Bonetti, 1940–1941. MDKL box 34, file 50. Musician Gugliemio Brigidi, 1939–1941. MDKL box 34, file 50. Physician Mario Marcolini, 1937–1938. MDKL box 34, file 51. Classical philologist Vincenzo Opice, 1943. MDKL box 34, file 51. Lawyer Giuseppe Ratti, 1941. MDKL box 35, file 52. Literary historian Luigi Reho 1940–1941, MDKL box 35, file 52. Economist Alessandro Tacconi 1943, MDKL box 35, file 52. Lawyer Leonardo Tassi 1941, MDKL box 35, file 52. History-literature student Folco Tempesti 1938–1939, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁴⁰ Physician Lirio Barberi, 1940. MDKL box 34, file 50. Surgeon Luigi Barberis, 1940. MDKL box 34, file 50. Lawyer Adolfo Dolmetta 1938, MDKL box 34, file 50. Physician Eugenio Lenzi 1939, MDKL box 34, file 51. Lawyer Yorik Spolidoro 1941, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁴¹ 173/1940. Letter of director Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Ministry. Budapest, 29 June 1940. MDKL box 34, file 50.

¹¹⁴² Doctor Friedelhelm Bräuler 1939–1940, MDKL box 34, file 50. Lawyer Wolfgang Claus 1938–1939, MDKL box 34, file 50. Physician Horst Dörken 1943, MDKL box 34, file 50. Ferdinand Dünisch 1937–1938, MDKL box 34, file 50. History student Ottó Henzler 1942, died during service in 1943, MDKL box 34, file 51. Lawyer Joachim Keil 1937–1938, MDKL box 34, file 51. Doctor Wolfgang Leydeckher 1941, MDKL box 34, file 51. Economic studies Horst Otto Eberhard 1936–1937, MDKL box 34, file 51. Veterinarian Franz Pohl 1938–1939, MDKL box 35, file 52. Finno-Ugrian linguist Wolfgang Schlachter 1942–1943, MDKL box 35, file 52. Lawyer Dietrich Schneider 1937–1938, MDKL box 35, file 52. Physician Günther Schreiber 1938–1939, MDKL box 35, file 52. Lawyer Anton Walmann 1942–1943, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁴³ MDKL box 34, file 50.

¹¹⁴⁴ Lawyer Edward Stephen Gall 1936–1938, MDKL box 34, file 50. Harry Madden 1936, MDKL box 34, file 51. Literary historian Roger Mastrude 1939–1940, MDKL box 34, file 51. Lajos Revey 1939–1940. He moved out of the Collegium on 28 March 1940 after getting married. He most probably settled in Hungary (MDKL box 35, file 52). Architect Wilhelm Ruchort 1944, MDKL box 35, file 52. Hungarian-English teacher Ernő Urbán 1937–1938, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁴⁵ History student Alexandrov Dervingov 1942, MDKL box 34, file 50. Mathematics students Blagovest Dolapcsiev 1942, MDKL box 34, file 50. Doctor Alexandrov Kolavecs 1942–1943. He stayed at the Collegium based on the Hungarian-Bulgarian cultural agreement (MDKL box 34, file 51). Kyrill Kosztov 1940, MDKL box 34, file 51. Tanev Tacso art history-ethnology, 1938–1940, MDKL box 35, file 52. Georgi Tzanoff 1942–1943, MDKL box 35, file 52.

came from Greece,¹¹⁴⁶ and four from Poland¹¹⁴⁷ and Turkey,¹¹⁴⁸ while three students were delegated from Finland¹¹⁴⁹ and Japan.¹¹⁵⁰ In addition, two Hungarians coming from over the border,¹¹⁵¹ two Estonians¹¹⁵² and Austrians¹¹⁵³ and also two Swedish¹¹⁵⁴ guest students visited Ménesi Road. The institute had only one French,¹¹⁵⁵ Canadian,¹¹⁵⁶ Chinese,¹¹⁵⁷ and Slovak¹¹⁵⁸ visitor during the studied period (cf. Nagy 1995: 83–93). The foreign guests were

¹¹⁴⁶ Agriculturist Demeter Diaphia 1939–1942, MDKL box 34, file 52. Veterinary studies Drizis Parmenion 1940–1948, MDKL box 34, file 50. Veterinary studies Gergely Gülekas 1940–1942, MDKL box 34, file 50. Veterinary studies Mihály Kardalis 1940–1943, MDKL box 34, file 51. Physician Jordanis Parisi 1943–1944, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁴⁷ History student Lajos Bazylow, 1936–1937, MDKL box 34, file 50. Felczak Jan Wacław history 1938–1939. He was a liaison officer between the Polish resistance and the Polish government in London. He served as an underground courier first between Warsaw and Paris and then between Warsaw and London (Nagy 1995: 89) (MDKL box 34, file 50.). Finno-Ugrian linguistics Czesław Kudzinowski 1937–1939, MDKL box 34, file 51. History student Péter Wojtocić 1937–1938, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁴⁸ Student of Bizantinology and Turkology Bastav Serif 1941–1948, MDKL box 34, file 50. Student of Turkish-Mongolian studies Musztafa Hassan 1938–1945, MDKL box 34, file 51. Student of history-archaeology Ibrahim Kafesoglu 1943–1945, MDKL box 34, file 51. Mechanical engineer Etyen Sirri Kis 1941–1944, MDKL box 34, file 51.

¹¹⁴⁹ Finno-Ugrian linguistics Vesa Heikkanen 1937–1938, MDKL box 34, file 50. Comparative Indo-European linguistics Eino Karakha 1941, MDKL box 34, file 51. Finno-Ugrian linguistics and Slavic linguistics Ankeria Santieri. From 1944, he replaced the Finnish language lecturer of the Collegium, 1943–1948, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁵⁰ Ahn Ekitai composer 1938–1942. 273/1940. Miklós Szabó asked to stop the accommodation of Ahn at the Collegium, as urgently as possible, because his conduct was not compatible with the intellectual atmosphere of the Collegium and because he regarded the institution as bed & breakfast facility. He often stayed at home and usually failed to report his absence to the police. Letter of Miklós Szabó to the MRPE Minister concerning Ekitai Ahn. Budapest, 12 October 1942. MDKL box 34, file 50 (cf. Nagy 1995: 92). Takei Muneo, teacher of the University of Vaseda 1944, MDKL box 35, file 52. Tokunaga Yasumoto, university teacher of Tokyo, university native language lecturer 1940–1942, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁵¹ Lawyer Gyula Kiss 1942, MDKL box 34, file 51. Lawyer László Tóth 1942, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁵² University teacher Julius Mägiste 1937–1938, MDKL box 34, file 51. Finno-Ugrian linguist Juhan Viiret 1938–1939, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁵³ German-French student Miklós Königshofer. He stayed at the Collegium based on the Hungarian-Austrian cultural agreement (MDKL box 34, file 51). Károly Oberhuber Greek-indogermanistics 1936–1937, MDKL box 34, file 51.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ewald Dahlgren music history 1940–1942. On 15 March 1941, Dahlgren also held a ceremonial speech on behalf of foreign students, in which he stated that he understood what that day meant for Hungarians. The Collegium was a wonderful place through which they were able to learn the Hungarian language and culture, which they fell in love with. He hoped that despite the war, the Collegium could remain an island of peace, of which they will always have pleasant memories (MDKL box 34, file 50). Dahlgren got married in 1943 and reported the birth of his son to Miklós Szabó in the same year. He probably settled down in Hungary (Nagy 1995: 91). Bo Wickman 1937–1938, MDKL box 35, file 52.

¹¹⁵⁵ Engineer Róbert Basile, 1943–1944, was a student of the École Normale Supérieure (MDKL box 34, file 50).

¹¹⁵⁶ Róbert Graham English-German, 1939–1943. He gave a speech on behalf of foreign students on 15 March 1939 (MDKL box 34 file 50).

¹¹⁵⁷ Archivist Vendel Jankovic. 272/1942. Miklós Szabó asked the Ministry of Education to grant accommodation to Jankovics under the same terms and conditions as applied to foreign exchange scholarship students and require two Slovak lessons a week from him in exchange. He was able to stay under the same terms and conditions in 1943 (MDKL box 34, file 51).

¹¹⁵⁸ Chao Tung-Sung Chinese native language lecturer 1942–1943. It was not clear in his personal file whether he was a native language lecturer of the university or of the Collegium. He did not play an important role in the training system of the institute, because his name was not mentioned in any other document (MDKL box 34, file 50).

able to stay at the institute despite the difficulties of the war. Between 1 July and 15 August 1943, the Collegium canteen did not operate, as the Board of Directors was unable to fund the kitchen due to financial difficulties. Nevertheless, some foreign guests were still allowed to stay in the building, as they were unable to return to their home country, because of the war.¹¹⁵⁹ A number of them also survived the weeks of the siege at the Ménesi Road shelter: Bastav Serif, Mustafa Hassan, Ibrahim Kafesoglu, Drizis Parmenion, Sándor Harsányi and Ankeria Santieri. Hassan learnt Hungarian rather well. He was able to speak in various dialects, which provided entertainment to those stuck in the shelter, while the Finish guest student, as I have indicated before, gave a Russian course and exhibited heroic conduct on 11 February 1945 against the violent Soviet soldiers breaking into the institute, forcing them to retreat with an assorted torrent of Russian abuse (Dörnyei 2004: 69).

The difficulties caused by the war were felt by collegium students already in 1939. On 7 October 1939, the Board of Directors introduced savings in electricity consumption and, in March 1940, Miklós Szabó prohibited the use of electricity in suites after midnight.¹¹⁶⁰ In addition, the Board of Directors also regulated and limited the use of radios and telephones, which were spreading rapidly in that period. Telephones were installed at the institute in 1938, but they could be used only between 14:00 and 17:00, for no more than three minutes.¹¹⁶¹ The management of the institute also regulated the use of the piano in 1939¹¹⁶² and 1942. The piano in the auditorium could be used between 08:00 and 10:00 and between 14:00 and 17:00 on weekdays and there were no restrictions on Sundays and on public holidays. In relation to radios, youngsters either listened to music while studying or dedicated the majority of their working time to that entertainment. Consequently, the same restrictions as applied to the piano were also introduced concerning the use of radios and the Board of Directors also indicated that radios would be banned.¹¹⁶³ The rules of meals were also made stricter: any absence from the Collegium had to be reported in the canteen to enable the institute to save on the ingredients. If students failed to comply with the rules, the principles of the 'Oath' could be applied.¹¹⁶⁴

After the bombing of the capital on 4 April 1944, Miklós Szabó decided to terminate the semester on 14 April 1944. With the exception of those who were preparing for basic and vocational exams, everyone had to leave the institute. As the start of the subsequent semester was uncertain, the Board decided that they would notify each collegium student

¹¹⁵⁹ The individuals concerned are as follows: Greek scholarship student Drizis Parmenion, American citizen language teacher Sándor Harsányi, Turkish citizen Mustafa Hassan, Slovak archivist Vendelin Jankovic, French citizen language teacher Paul Lemaire, Turkish scholarship student Ibrahim Kafesoglu, Greek scholarship student Mihály Karadalis, Turkish scholarship student Etyen Sirri Kis, Spanish journalist Eugenio Don Suarez. 127/1943. Submission from Miklós Szabó concerning the summer stay of foreign citizens. Budapest, 1 July 1943. MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44–1 (1942–1944–1).

¹¹⁶⁰ The prohibition did not apply to permanent teacher's apartments or senior rooms. Announcement of Miklós Szabó on saving electricity at the Collegium. Budapest, 30 March 1940. MDKL box 51, file 97/4.

¹¹⁶¹ Announcement of director Miklós Szabó on telephone use. Budapest, 11 January 1938. MDKL box 51, file 97/3.

¹¹⁶² Announcement of director Miklós Szabó on piano use. Budapest, 17 November 1939. MDKL box 51, file 97/4.

¹¹⁶³ Announcement of director Miklós Szabó on radio use. Budapest, 24 January 1942. MDKL box 51, file 97/5.

¹¹⁶⁴ Announcement of director Miklós Szabó on dining. Budapest, 29 September 1941. MDKL box 51, file 97/5.

about the continuation of their studies.¹¹⁶⁵ As the fights also reached the territory of the Hungary of Trianon in the autumn of 1944 (on 25 September 1944, the Soviet troops occupied Makó), the majority of the members of the institute were drafted into military service (Romsics 2004: 266–267). There were only very few people who were able to pick up work at the Collegium.¹¹⁶⁶ After 16 October 1944, the Arrow Cross government ordered that each man aged between 17 and 60 had to report for military service. In order to avoid serving on the front, university students began to organise Supplementary Police Corps Battalions, of which the Görgey and Táncsics battalions became the best known. Collegium students joined the latter. The students of the institute formed section II. of the battalion and referred to it among themselves as ‘Leprosy’ (Barta 2013: 29). Tibor Klaniczay¹¹⁶⁷ was elected as commander. From October to December 1944, they had to serve at the Üllői Road clinics on specific days and then, as the front was getting nearer, they were accommodated permanently at a Köztelek Street dormitory. However, on 24 December 1944, the city management commanded them all to front service near Vecsés (Hajdú 2004: 46). Klaniczay managed to command his troop back to the border of Pest and contacted Jenő Tomasz who seemed willing to receive the deserters. At the end of December 1944, the corps decided to dissolve itself by applying false stamps on the two-week letters of leave obtained from the Mária Terézia (Maria Theresa) barracks (later known as Kilián barracks) and they returned to Ménesi Road. In order to ‘legitimise’ their stay, the doctor’s surgery at 37 Horthy Miklós Road (currently Bartók Béla Road) was equipped for them with medical instruments obtained from the Technical University based on the advice of Klaniczay (Lukácsy 2004: 97). The external room of the assistance facility functioned as a ward, while the internal room was used as an operating theatre. The facility was operated with the help of physicians Lajos Szarka and János Jákli and water and patient carriers Sándor Dörnyei and Teofil Zulauf. Although the Arrow Cross officers insulted the staff and the patients on a number of occasions, no personal injuries occurred (Dörnyei 2004: 73–75).

The appointed director of the Collegium Béla Kolozsvári M. left the institute at the beginning of December 1944. Management was taken over by Jenő Tomasz who tried to accumulate food reserves and prevent any abuse and harassment caused by the accommodated German and Hungarian soldiers. Food was hidden in a number of places, including the shelter and library to make sure that some stock was left after of any confiscation. This action paid off, because on 11 January 1945, Arrow Cross officers appeared at the institute and were able to take only part of the stock.¹¹⁶⁸ The teachers and ministry officers who fled

¹¹⁶⁵ Report of director Miklós Szabó on the completion of the 1943/1944 academic year. Budapest, 14 April 1944. MDKL box 51, file 97/5.

¹¹⁶⁶ According to the recollection of Sándor Dörnyei, in the autumn of 1944, the following students began their studies at the institute: 5th year students: István Csüry, Imre Imolya, Dénes Kövendi. 4th year students: Péter Hajdú, Gusztáv Heckenast, Tibor Klaniczay, Miklós Kovács, Sándor Lukácsy, Teofil Zulauf. 3rd year students: Ferenc Debreczeni, Sándor Dizseri, Sándor Leel-Össy, Miklós Mikolás. 2nd year students: Gábor Gyapay, Jenő Simon. 1st year students: Ottó Antal, Árpád Brusznay, Sándor Dörnyei, Géza Eperjessy, László Molnár, Bálint Sárosi. Apart from them, deserters Elemér Kerékgyártó and Ottó Heckenast were also hiding in the institute (Dörnyei 2004: 69).

¹¹⁶⁷ Klaniczay was a member of the Collegium between 1941 and 1946 as a Hungarian-Italian faculty student. He later became a professor of Hungarian literary history (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 29).

¹¹⁶⁸ In his report, Jenő Tomasz stated 11 January 1945 as the date of Arrow Cross commandeering. 40/1945. Report

to the institute stayed at the shelter under the eastern wing and collegium students were in the shelter under the western wing of the Collegium. Under the control of Tomasz, water supply was organised from the nearby wells and bread was delivered from the bakery operating next to Hotel Gellért. Performing these tasks was rather dangerous while fighting was going on in the streets (Hajdú 2004: 52–53). The conflicts between German and Hungarian soldiers also involved the possibility of an armed collision but in the end it did not happen. By 10 February 1945, most of the Germans had left the institution due to the expected arrival of the Soviet soldiers (Imolya 2004: 35–37).

The Soviet troops reached the Collegium in the early afternoon of 11 February 1945. Having accepted the hospitality of the institute, they collected all the men staying at the institute and transported them to a collection detention centre in Kelenföld. Jenő Tomasz took the registers of the institute with him, containing the data of the members. The next morning, Sándor Harsányi and Mustafa Hassan visited the detention centre and, as they were foreign citizens, they managed to arrange a meeting between the leader of the camp and Tomasz. As a result, the deputy director managed to present the exemption documents that proved the scientific institute status of the Collegium for the military authorities. With the help of the register records each detained individual could return to the institute (Dörnyei 2004: 76.).

The siege also left traces on the building of the Collegium. According to the report of Jenő Tomasz, the institute was hit by a large chained air bomb, four smaller air bombs, two of which did not explode, and number of shells. The greater air bomb made huge destruction in the western wing of the building: it fully destroyed the roof and the attic, three rooms on the 3rd floor, five rooms on the 2nd floor and two rooms on the 1st floor. The two small air bombs destroyed the gymnasium, which had already been significantly damaged by the accommodated soldiers. The greater guest room and the deputy director's room of the Collegium became unsuitable for use when they were hit by artillery fire. Shells hit the dining room, the teacher's room in the western wing on the 2nd floor, the bathrooms, the infirmary rooms and certain parts of the library, as well as the director's and deputy director's apartments. Hardly any losses occurred in the library stock and other assets, as they were taken to the basement: the Germans damaged some of the rescued glass from the windows, two pianos were damaged and the busts of József Eötvös and his son Loránd were also destroyed.¹¹⁶⁹

of Jenő Tomasz on the damage caused to the Eötvös Collegium by the war (Dörnyei 2004: 129–134). On the contrary, Imre Imolya remembered that the Arrow Cross officers appeared at the Collegium on 13 January 1945, and claimed that they had paid for the taken food (Imolya 2004: 25).

¹¹⁶⁹ The institution also sustained further losses, because in January 1945, the deputy director gave 12 iron beds to the medical service on duty at 37 Horthy Miklós Road and in March the military command centre operating near the institute was furnished with parts of furniture constituting the assets of the institute. 40/1945. Report of Jenő Tomasz on the damage caused to the Eötvös Collegium by the war (Dörnyei 2004: 129–134).



Image 26: Ruins of the gymnasium of the Collegium, 1945

The institute was in a difficult position at the end of World War II and on the 50th anniversary of its foundation: the majority of teachers and active members stayed in the countryside or were performing military service. Some of them were captured prisoners of war and were able to return home only months or years later. The building of the institute sustained a lot of damage, as a result of which a considerable part became uninhabitable. In addition, the occupying Soviet troops arrived from a political culture that was fundamentally different from Hungarian culture and suggested a certain degree of transformation of public life. In the new political constellation, the Collegium also had to find the right supporters in order to be able to preserve its vulnerable positions in the university institution system.



Image 27: Director Dezső Keresztury directing the reconstruction of the roof structure of the Collegium, 1945

10

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM BETWEEN 1945 AND 1948

10.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1945 and 1948 by Region and Denomination

During Dezső Keresztury's directorship between 1945 and 1948, the Collegium received a total of 220 applications, out of which 84 were admitted and 136 were rejected. An average of 73 applications were received per year. It was the highest number in the history of the Collegium so far, and was only exceeded by the yearly average of 81.5 applications in the period between 1948 and 1950. As in the period between 1945 and 1948, Hungary was turned into a military zone and underwent a subsequent financial crisis, the significant increase in the number of applicants was especially remarkable. Regarding the circumstances, applicants needed to make extraordinary financial efforts to win and keep their memberships at the Collegium (cf. Gyarmati 2011: 79–83).

Regarding the regional distribution of admitted applicants in this period, the proportion of Budapest residents underwent a significant increase. Similarly to the previous Szabó-era, 63% of successful applicants came from the central or Western parts of the country, (Danube-Tisza Interfluve, Central Hungary: 35%, Transdanubian Region, Western Hungary: 29%), while 30% came from Eastern Hungary. The drastic increase in the latter may be due to the fact that by December 1944, the Transtisza Region was basically occupied by Soviet troops, while in the western regions, military conflicts lasted until mid-April 1945 (Romsics 2004: 269; Gyarmati 2011: 40). Hence for the academic year of 1945/1946, only 2 applications came from the Transdanubian Region (Western Hungary), while 5 applications were received from the Transtisza Region. In the following years, however, regional distribution of applications returned to their previous pattern. Out of all applicants coming from the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, the proportion of Budapest residents was as high as 86.2%, which was 30.9% of the total number of applications coming from all over the country. Highly different from the tendencies of the previous Szabó-era, this sudden increase in the number of Budapest-based applicants may have been a result of the serious damages suffered by cross-country transportation lines during the war. As reparation works were rather slow, travelling to the capital was a complicated and highly expensive task, affordable to only a few, as economic stabilization was also a rather slow process (Romsics 2004: 305). Applicants from the capital city were therefore in a privileged situation, as the Collegium was also located in Budapest. Only 7% of admitted applicants came from Hungarian-inhabited regions beyond the pre-1938 Hungarian borders, reinstated in 1947 by the Paris Peace Treaties (Upper Hungary Region, Czechoslovakia 4%, Transylvania, Romania 2%, Délvidék – Southern Hungary – Region, Yugoslavia 1%). This might be the result of the highly repressive politics post-war Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia applied against their Hungarian inhabitants as a form of collective punishment (Gyarmati 2011: 88–92). After the stabilization of post-Paris Peace Treaty state borders, it was practically impossible for ethnic Hungarians to travel to Hungary.¹¹⁷⁰

Similarly to previous tendencies, the majority of admitted applicants came from Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, Central Hungary, their rate of 36% having exceeded that of the preceding Gombocz-era. From a total of 30 admitted applicants from this county, 26 persons (86.6%) were residents of the capital city. Out of all successful applicants over this period, every third person was Budapest-born. Unlike former tendencies, several municipalities from South and Eastern Hungary excelled in the number of successful applicants in this period (Hajdú: 10%, Somogy: 8%, Tolna: 6%, Baranya, Békés, Bihar: 5% each).¹¹⁷¹ Mostly

¹¹⁷⁰ Records of birthplaces and native regions of all applicants admitted between 1945 and 1948 were available. For a comparison of birthplaces of both admitted and rejected applicants to the general distribution of Hungarian population, see Table 16.

¹¹⁷¹ According to the 1941 Census data, 12.5% of the Hungarian population lived in the capital city. Together with the population of the surrounding Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county (16.4%), 28.9% of the total Hungarian population lived in this central area of the country. The proportion of Budapest-based Collegium members therefore exceeded the general proportion of Budapest residents within the country. Compared to the rather low population data recorded in 1941 for Southern and Eastern Hungarian counties (Hajdú 2.02%, Somogy 3.84%, Tolna 2.93%, Baranya 2.72%, Békés 3.63%, Bihar 1.97%), newly admitted applicants were rather overrepresented among Collegium members (Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21).

due to the consequences of the recent war, residents of counties along the Vienna–Budapest route, formerly the industrial and economic axis of the country, applied rather scarcely in this period.¹¹⁷²

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 36 | 28.9 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 1 | 0 | Hajdú | 10 | 2 |
| Transdanubian Region | 29 | 36.2 | Somogy | 8 | 3.8 |
| Danube-Tisza Interflue | 35 | 49.5 | Tolna | 6 | 2.9 |
| Transylvania | 2 | 0 | Baranya | 5 | 2.7 |
| Upper Hungary | 4 | 0 | Békés | 5 | 3.6 |
| Transtisza Region | 30 | 14.1 | Bihar | 5 | 1.9 |
| No data | 0 | 0 | Borsod | 4 | 3.4 |
| Rejected applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 37 | 28.9 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 2 | 0 | Békés | 10 | 3.6 |
| Transdanubian Region | 24 | 36.2 | Vas | 5 | 2.5 |
| Danube-Tisza Interflue | 47 | 49.5 | Csanád | 4 | 1.9 |
| Transylvania | 2 | 0 | Heves | 4 | 3.4 |
| Upper Hungary | 1 | 0 | Hajdú | 4 | 2 |
| Transtisza Region | 23 | 14.1 | Somogy | 4 | 3.8 |
| No data | 1 | 0 | Győr-Moson | 3 | 2.2 |

*Table 16: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to national population data.*¹¹⁷³

The analysis of applicants' birthplaces according to settlement type shows that 72% of newly admitted Collegium members came from either municipality towns (55%) or county

¹¹⁷² For the distribution of admitted applicants between 1945 and 1950 according to birthplace, see the map on Figure 15 of the Appendix.

¹¹⁷³ National data of the 1941 Census published in: Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1979: 20–21.

towns (17%). From among municipality towns, the proportion of Budapest-based applicants was 56.5%. This is most possibly due to the fact that the Collegium was geographically more accessible for residents of the capital city.¹¹⁷⁴ The high number of urban dwellers among newly admitted Collegium members also implies that, as post-war reconstruction of the country's infrastructure was rather slow, the Collegium was most easily accessible to residents of larger urban settlements with more advantageous social and geographic positions. In this period, only 28% of admitted applicants came from villages with a population of less than 5,000 people (22%), or from towns with a population of 5–10,000 people (6%).¹¹⁷⁵ Never before during the history of the Collegium was new membership so much restricted to the urban population. This data aptly illustrates how hard it was for peripheral areas to join post-war economic and social restoration processes within the country. This argument is further supported by the fact that 62% of admitted applicants graduated from high schools in their birthplaces, and only 37% of students were able to attend high schools away from their home.¹¹⁷⁶ This indicates a smaller rate of mobility among applicants than in any previous eras of the Collegium. After the destruction of the war, most applicants came from families that were either based in Budapest or were able to save some of their money and social position during the war or belonged to one of the social groups privileged by the new government.

71% of rejected applicants came from Central and Western Hungary (Danube-Tisza Interfluvium, Central Hungary: 47%, Transdanubian Region, Western Hungary: 24%) and 23% came from Eastern Hungary. 53.9% of rejected applicants from the Danube-Tisza Interfluvium (Central Hungary) were residents of the capital city, which equals a relative proportion of 25.7% within the country. From among all applicants, 28.3% were Budapest-based. Exceeding any proportions recorded in the interwar subperiods, these numbers also support the assumption about Budapest being in a privileged position. 5% of rejected applicants were born beyond the post-1938 Hungarian borders (2% each in Transylvania, Romania and the Délvidék Region, Yugoslavia, 1% in Upper Hungary, Czechoslovakia). This is an unusually high number, as minority Hungarians had previously been typically admitted to the Collegium; rejections occurred only in special cases. After 1945 though, this policy seems to have changed significantly.¹¹⁷⁷

The list of rejected applicants according to home county is very similar to that of admitted applicants: a relative majority of 37% (36% for admitted applicants) were born in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county (80% of them in Budapest). The proportion of rejected applicants from Southern and Eastern counties was even higher than that of admitted applicants: Békés

¹¹⁷⁴ According to 1941 Census data, 21.28% of the Hungarian population lived in municipality towns (Dányi-Dávid-Ember 1979: 20–21). Thus, compared to the proportions of both the all-Hungarian population and that of university students in 1938/1939 (46.2%), residents of Budapest and other municipality towns were significantly overrepresented among newly admitted Collegium members (Lázár 1940: 224–226).

¹¹⁷⁵ University records from 1938/1939 show that 53.8% of all Hungarian university students came from rural areas (Lázár 1940: 224–226). This also proves that after 1945, residents of rural areas were significantly under-represented among newly admitted Collegium members.

¹¹⁷⁶ Location of high school graduation is unknown for 1% of admitted applicants.

¹¹⁷⁷ Birthplaces of 1% of rejected applicants are unknown. For a comparison of applicants' birthplaces to the general distribution of Hungarian population, see Table 16.

county 10% (admitted: 5%), Vas county 5% (admitted: 2%), Csanád, Hajdú, Heves, and Somogy counties 4% each.¹¹⁷⁸ Though their proportion was less than in the case of admitted applicants, still 64%, an absolute majority of rejected applicants came from municipality towns (43%, 67.8% of whom were from Budapest) or county towns (21%).¹¹⁷⁹ Regarding all applicants, the majority (68%) came from urban areas. 35% of rejected applicants came from towns with a population of 5–10,000 people, and a further 26% came from villages with a population less than 5,000 people.¹¹⁸⁰ Less than third (31.5%) of all applicants during this era came from these smaller settlements. The constant decrease in the number of rural-born applicants might have been due to the agrarian crisis constantly present in the country ever since the early 1930's. Military conflicts and the post-1945 Hungarian economic consolidation policy led to further deterioration within the agrarian sector (Romsics 2004: 309). It is worthy of note that compared to admitted applicants, a higher proportion of rejected applicants graduated from high schools away from their birthplaces (54%, while 43% graduated in their home town)¹¹⁸¹. This implies that those rural social groups who used to have enough assets to educate their children in renowned distant institutions were left in a considerably worse financial situation after the war. Not being able to afford education for their children in the rather distant capital city, these families had to resort to sending their children to universities and colleges in towns close to their home.

Out of all applicants admitted in this period, 43% were Roman Catholic. This is considerably less than the proportion of Roman Catholics among university students in the interwar era and is also less than the proportion of Roman Catholics among the general Hungarian population after World War II (Romsics 2004: 318).¹¹⁸² The second most widely represented denomination (30%) was still the Reformed, and though their number also lessened in comparison to the previous Szabó-era, the proportion of Reformed students among admitted applicants still exceeded their proportion within contemporary Hungarian population¹¹⁸³. The number of Evangelical-Lutherans further decreased to as little as 5%, which was even less than the proportion of Evangelical-Lutherans within the general population (Romsics 2004: 318)¹¹⁸⁴. Former repressive laws against Jewish citizens were cancelled by

¹¹⁷⁸ For the distribution of applicants rejected between 1945 and 1948 according to county, see Table 16 of the Appendix. 10% of admitted applicants came from Hajdú county and another 8% from Somogy county. There are no data available for Csanád and Heves counties in this period.

¹¹⁷⁹ 55% of admitted applicants came from municipality towns, and another 17% from county towns. This shows that the proportion of urban dwellers was considerably lower among rejected applicants.

¹¹⁸⁰ 28% of admitted applicants came from either villages (22%) or smaller towns (6%). Among rejected applicants, this ratio was considerably higher. No data are available about the birthplaces of 1% of rejected applicants.

¹¹⁸¹ No data are available about the mobility of 3% of rejected applicants.

¹¹⁸² In the academic year of 1938/1939, 66% of university students professed to be Roman Catholic (Lázár 1940: 217), while according to the 1941 Census, 67.68% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years belonged to the Roman Catholic Church (Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224).

¹¹⁸³ According to a report by József Lázár, 19.2% of university students were Reformed by religion in the academic year of 1938/1939 (Lázár 1940: 217). 1941 Census data indicate that 19.22% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years belonged to the Reformed Church (Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224). Compared to both data, Reformed students were therefore significantly overrepresented among Collegium members at that time.

¹¹⁸⁴ In the academic year of 1938/1939, 7.2% of university students professed to be Evangelical-Lutheran (Lázár 1940: 217), while according to the 1941 Census, 5.67% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years belonged to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church (Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224). Compared to both data,

Act XXV of 1946 (*ibid.* 309). As a result, the Collegium welcomed several new applicants of Jewish origin. Having exceeded any previous data, the proportion of admitted Jewish applicants was 5%, which was more than three times as much as the general proportion of Jewish citizens in Hungary at that time (Romsics 2004: 308).¹¹⁸⁵ This outstanding number was due to the great efforts these students had made to reintegrate into society and access means of social mobility, while simultaneously reconciling their shattered financial situation. 1% of admitted applicants professed to be Unitarian.¹¹⁸⁶ Starting with the entrance exams for the academic year of 1947/1948, a strikingly high number of applicants began to decline providing any data regarding their religion. Rather than a result of administrative defects, this phenomenon was most likely due to the intensification of radical left-wing tendencies in the country. Applicants probably saw it more advantageous not to provide any information on their possible religious beliefs.¹¹⁸⁷

Though the proportion of rejected Roman Catholic applicants (48%) was somewhat higher than that of admitted ones (43%)¹¹⁸⁸, it still did not reach the general proportions of Roman Catholic university students or the ratio of Roman Catholics within the general Hungarian population. Even among all applicants during the Keresztury-era, their proportion of 45.5% is to be considered relatively low. The ratio of Reformed students among rejected applicants was 24% (admitted: 30%), still indicating the second most numerous group regarding applicants' religion. Though this number underwent a substantial decrease compared to former periods, the ratio of Reformed students among Collegium members far exceeded the general proportion of Reformed citizens within the contemporary Hungarian population. The ratio of rejected Evangelical-Lutheran applicants (15%) was three times as high as that of admitted ones or of the proportion of Evangelical-Lutherans among the general Hungarian population (5%). 5% of rejected applicants were Jewish by origin (admitted: 5%), and 2% were Unitarian (admitted: 1%). Both could be considered a relatively high amount, as compared to their general proportion within Hungarian population, both denominations were greatly overrepresented among applicants. Beginning with the academic year of 1947/1948, an increasing number of rejected applicants also refused to provide information on their religious beliefs.¹¹⁸⁹

Evangelical-Lutheran students were significantly underrepresented among Collegium members after 1945.

¹¹⁸⁵ According to a report by József Lázár, 3.9% of university students were Jewish in the academic year of 1938/1939 (Lázár 1940: 217). 1941 Census data indicate that 3.55% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years were of Jewish origin (Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224).

¹¹⁸⁶ In the academic year of 1938/1939, 0.4% of university students professed to be Unitarian (Lázár 1940: 217), while according to the 1941 Census, 0.12% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years belonged to the Unitarian Church (Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224).

¹¹⁸⁷ For about 16% of admitted applicants, no data are available regarding their religion. For university students, no data are available regarding the number of students declaredly not belonging to any religious denominations. According to the 1941 Census, 0.01% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 denied belonging to any religion (Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224). For the comparison of the ratio of both admitted and rejected applicants to the ratio of university students in the academic year of 1938/1939, the total number of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years and to the total Hungarian population according to the 1941 Census regarding their religion, see Table 17.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ratio of admitted applicants is indicated in brackets for an easier comparison.

¹¹⁸⁹ No data are available about the religion of 6% of rejected applicants and 16% of admitted ones respectively.

| The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | All university students (1938/1939) | Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 yrs. (1941) | National data (1941) |
| Roman Catholic | 43 | 48 | 66 | 67.6 | 65.7 |
| Greek Catholic | 0 | 0 | 2.2 | 3 | 2.5 |
| Greek Orthodox | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Reformed | 30 | 24 | 19.2 | 19.2 | 20.8 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 5 | 15 | 7.2 | 5.6 | 6.2 |
| Judaist | 5 | 5 | 3.9 | 3.5 | 4.3 |
| Unitarian | 1 | 2 | 0.4 | 0.1 | n/a |
| No data | 16 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 17: The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data of university students, the number of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years and the national data.¹¹⁹⁰

10.2.

The Breakdown of the Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected and Fields of Study Between 1945 and 1948

In line with previous tendencies, a relative majority of admitted applicants (49%) graduated from state-run secondary schools (44% public grammar school, 4% public secondary school of sciences, 1% public commercial secondary school).¹¹⁹¹ This exceedingly high number

¹¹⁹⁰ Information on university students' denominational distribution in the academic year of 1938/1939 is published in Lázár 1940: 217. Data regarding denominational distribution of Hungarian citizens aged 20–24 years and the total Hungarian population according to the 1941 Census is published in Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 224.

¹¹⁹¹ Proportion of state-run secondary schools in the period between 1936 and 44 was 37%. This dramatic increase was undoubtedly due to the nationalization processes that went on in the country. To further illustrate the extent of nationalization, it has to be noted that between 1948 and 50, already 79% of applicants were graduated from state-run secondary schools.

might be due to the fact that a third of new Collegium members was Budapest-based at that time. Compared to the rest of the country, the number of state-run secondary schools in Budapest was considerably high (Karády 2012: 148).

Regarding church-run secondary schools, graduates of Roman Catholic and Reformed institutions were the most numerous among admitted applicants (20-20% respectively). This can be considered a significant achievement for Reformed schools, as despite their constant expansion since the 19th century, they were far exceeded in number by Catholic institutions of secondary education. 7% of admitted applicants graduated from Evangelical-Lutheran secondary schools, and 3% from Jewish ones.¹¹⁹²

The national list of best secondary schools in the period was led by the Affiliated Grammar School of the Budapest Secondary Teacher Training Institution, the Pál Sommsich Secondary School of Kaposvár, and the Budapest Saint Emeric Grammar School of the Cistercian Order, with 6 admitted applicants each. From among the ten best secondary schools, three more were Budapest-based (Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School of Budapest – 5 persons, Piarist Grammar School of Budapest – 3 persons, University Catholic Secondary School of the 2nd District, Budapest – 2 persons). Three grammar schools in the “Top Ten” list were run by the Hungarian Reformed Church: the Debrecen Reformed College and Reformed Grammar School of Kisújszállás – 4-4 persons respectively, Reformed Grammar School of Karcag – 3 persons). The tenth to twentieth places on the list were mostly taken by institutions from the Eastern and Southern parts of Hungary (Gábor Bethlen Reformed Grammar School of Hódmezővásárhely, György Fráter Public Grammar School of Miskolc, István Széchenyi Public Grammar School of Pécs). Formerly successful and renowned Evangelical-Lutheran (Lutheran Lyceums of Sopron and Bonyhád) and Reformed institutions (Reformed Grammar School and Collegium of Pápa) were completely missing from this list. Reformed schools of the so-called “Hajdú town” network in Eastern Hungary that used to produce a few successful applicants in all previous periods were now also missing from the list.

62% of secondary schools producing admitted applicants were located in municipality towns in this period. 53.8% of schools in this subcategory were located in Budapest. Perfectly in line with the tendencies observed regarding the regional distribution of applicants’ birthplaces and the national list of best secondary schools, this data further supports the assumption that most admitted applicants in the Keresztury-era came from Budapest-based secondary schools. In addition to Budapest-based applicants, students from the municipality towns of Debrecen, Hódmezővásárhely, and Pécs were also numerous. 23% of secondary schools were located in county towns, the most successful of which were Kaposvár and Zalaegerszeg (Dezső Keresztury himself being the graduate of a renowned grammar school in Zalaegerszeg). 9% of secondary schools producing successful applicants were located in towns with a population of 5–10,000 people, and a further 5% in villages with a population of less than 5,000 people. This can be considered an increase compared to the proportion of secondary schools located in small settlements in the previous Szabó-era. Similarly to the geographic location of county towns, the majority of these smaller

¹¹⁹² For 1% of admitted applicants, no data are available regarding the type of their secondary schools.

settlements were located in Eastern Hungary (Orosháza, Mezőkövesd, Békés).¹¹⁹³ Almost all (95%) of secondary schools with successful applicants were located within the post-1938 Hungarian borders, only 4% being in Hungarian-inhabited areas beyond the newly reinstated borders. This data aptly illustrates how hard it was for minority Hungarians to access the Collegium after World War II.

41% of rejected applicants graduated from state-run secondary schools (admitted: 49%). Therefore 45%, almost half of all applicants were graduates of some state-run institution. Regarding church-run secondary schools, the graduates of Roman Catholic institutions were also the most numerous among rejected applicants (23%, admitted: 20%), followed closely by students of Reformed schools (20%, same as the proportion of admitted applicants). Quite unlike previous periods, almost one eighth (12%) of rejected applicants graduated from Evangelical-Lutheran institutions (admitted: 7%). Previously overrepresented among admitted applicants, graduates of Evangelical-Lutheran institutions started to lessen in number over the previous Szabó-era and, by the post-war period, they were already overrepresented among rejected applicants.¹¹⁹⁴

Similarly to the list of secondary schools producing the highest number of admitted applicants, the list of schools with the most rejected applicants was also led by a Budapest-based institution. Applications by 11 graduates of the Reformed Grammar School of Budapest were rejected by the Collegium. Second and third places were taken by the Chieftain Csanád Public Grammar School of Makó (6 persons), and the St. Bernard Cistercian Grammar School of Eger (5 persons). Three on the “Top ten” list of secondary schools producing the most rejected applicants were Budapest-based (István Werbőczy Public Grammar School of the 1st District, Budapest, Ferenc Kölcsey Grammar School of Budapest – 4-4 persons respectively; University Catholic Secondary School of the 2nd District, Budapest – 3 persons). The tenth to twentieth places on the list were mostly taken by institutions located in Budapest or Eastern Hungary: Debrecen Reformed College, Reformed Grammar School of Hódmezővásárhely, Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School of Budapest – 2-2 persons respectively, and by secondary schools that used to produce a considerable number of successful applicants over previous periods (Lutheran Lyceum of Sopron, Reformed Grammar School and Collegium of Pápa). Similarly to the list of schools with the highest numbers of successful applicants, this list also lacks the Reformed schools of the so-called “Hajdú town” network in Eastern Hungary. Students of these institutions most probably continued their studies at the nearby University of Debrecen. The same tendencies apply to renowned secondary schools located in towns close to the University of Szeged, Southern Hungary. Despite the presence of a few Pécs-based secondary schools at the end of the list (István Széchenyi Public Grammar School of Pécs, Affiliated Grammar School of the Secondary Teacher Training Institution of Pécs, St Pius Jesuit Grammar School and College of Pécs), it can be generally observed that due to the economic hardships of the post-war period, students tended to apply to universities closest to their home. Therefore, unlike previous periods, only few applicants came from the regions around the universities of Debrecen, Szeged, or Pécs.

¹¹⁹³ For 1% of admitted applicants, no data are available regarding the location of their secondary schools.

¹¹⁹⁴ For 4% of rejected applicants, no data are available regarding the type of their secondary schools.

Unlike the tendency observed in the case of secondary schools with successful applicants, less than half of the secondary schools producing rejected applicants were located in municipality towns. However, this subcategory is also Budapest-dominated, as 62% of such schools were located in Budapest. In contrast to schools with predominantly successful applicants, the list of schools producing high numbers of rejected applicants was primarily dominated by institutions in Central and Western Hungary (Baja, Pécs, Sopron). County towns were rather numerous on this list, as 32% of schools with rejected applicants were located in such places (Eger, Makó, Szombathely, Pápa, Zalaegerszeg). 16% of schools were based in towns with a population of 5–10,000 people (8%), or in villages with a population of less than 5,000 people. Similarly to schools producing admitted applicants, these institutions were also chiefly located in Eastern Hungary (Szarvas, Kisvárd, Orosháza, Békés)¹¹⁹⁵ Only 1% of rejected applicants graduated from institutions operating beyond the post-1938 Hungarian state border.¹¹⁹⁶

Concerning its admittance policies, the Collegium did not change much after World War II in the sense that the majority of admitted applicants was made up of Philologists. In comparison with the previous Gombocz- and Szabó-eras however, a growing number of natural science students were admitted. Altogether, 77% of successful applicants studied Humanities, while 23% were Science students. Students with the most widely accepted fields of study were Mathematics-Physics students (12 persons), to be distantly followed by Physics-Chemistry students (4 persons), as well as Natural History-Geography and Natural History-Chemistry students (1-1 persons). From among students of Humanities, the most widely accepted fields of study were French-Hungarian and Hungarian-German (8-8 persons). The second place was taken by Classical Philology and English-Hungarian students (7-7 persons). Modern languages became dominant within the institution's educational profile; adjusting to the new market demands resulting from the changes in the country's geopolitical position; more traditional Latin, History and Hungarian Philology studies were typically coupled with English, French, and Russian. This period also saw the appearance of new studies that had previously been present within the Collegium only as supplementary fields of study or had not been present at all: Ethnography-Art History (1 person), History-Sociology (2 persons).

Regarding rejected applicants, the ratio of Philologists and natural science students was quite similar: 23% studied science, while 67% studied at the Faculty of Arts.¹¹⁹⁷ The majority of rejected applicants chose Mathematics-Physics as their field of study (24 persons), which was a traditionally scarcely accepted field of study within the Collegium. They were followed by Physics-Chemistry (5 persons) and Chemistry-Natural History (1 person) pairings and there were also a few unsuccessful applicants majoring in Art (1 person) and Economy (1 person). Concerning the field of Humanities, most rejected applicants majored in Hungarian-History (20 persons), Latin-Hungarian (15 persons), and Hungarian-French (12 persons). It needs to be noted that also in the case of rejected applicants, History

¹¹⁹⁵ For 3% of rejected applicants, no data are available regarding the location of their secondary schools.

¹¹⁹⁶ For 3% of rejected applicants, no data are available concerning whether their schools were located within or beyond the post-1938 Hungarian state borders.

¹¹⁹⁷ For 7% of rejected applicants, no data are available regarding their field of study.

and Hungarian were typically coupled with a modern language and literature major and, simultaneously, the number of Classical Philology majors (1 person) decreased considerably as a result of altered market demands.

10.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1945 and 1948, the Reasons for the Academic Failure and Rejection

8% of applicants' guardians worked in agriculture as 0–3 hectare smallholders (7%) or tenants and day-labourers (1%).¹¹⁹⁸ Despite being the main beneficiaries of ministerial decree 600/1945 (III. 17.) ordering the reallocation of agricultural lands (1.8 million hectares of agricultural land were allocated to 642,000 owners by 3-hectare lots [Romsics 2004: 284; Gyarmati 2011: 50]), applications from families with agricultural backgrounds decreased by one third in comparison to the previous period.

The above decrease might be the result of heavy taxation administered on agricultural workers after World War II, combined with the obligation to produce food for the numerous Soviet troops residing in Hungary at that time (Gyarmati 2011: 54–55). To further aggravate this problem, the state-determined price of agricultural products was considerably lower than that of industrial ones, artificially opening the price scissors between the two. Prices of agricultural products were 40–50% lower than that of industrial ones, forcing agricultural workers to produce twice as much as their industrial counterparts to be able to purchase the same amount of goods (Romsics 2004: 309). Families with agricultural backgrounds therefore had to make extraordinary financial efforts to be able to provide university education for their children.

Contrary to the proportion of applicants with agricultural backgrounds, the number of students with fathers working in industry, mining, metallurgy and transport further increased to 21% from the still considerable 18% of the previous Szabó-era.¹¹⁹⁹ 11% of

¹¹⁹⁸ In the academic year of 1938/1939, the proportion of university students with guardians working in agriculture was 15.5% (Lázár 1940: 223). Compared to this data, children of such families were rather underrepresented among contemporary Collegium members.

¹¹⁹⁹ According to József Lázár's reports, the proportion of university students with guardians working in industry, mining, metallurgy and transport was 15.7% (Lázár 1940: 223). Compared to this data, children of such families

guardians in this category were craftsmen (joiner, bookbinder, tailor, ropemaker), and a few worked in factories. 5% belonged to the subcategory of trade and catering (wine merchants, greengrocers, restaurant owners) and another 5% to the subcategory of banking and finance (financial officers, officers in private employment). This increase might have been facilitated by two factors. Firstly, industrial producers were in a privileged position after the war (entitled to higher rations, their income might have reached as much as 50% of their pre-war income), thus being able to establish a more stable existence than other groups of contemporary society (Gyarmati 2011: 82–83). Secondly, those surviving members of the Hungarian Jewry who decided to come back to the country, were quick to return to the slowly recovering fields of Hungarian business and finance. Their financial status made it possible for them to encourage their children to join the Collegium, a channel of social mobility denied from them ever since 1939.

An absolute majority (51%) of applicants' guardians were working in civil service, which, in comparison to previous periods, means a significant increase of 14%.¹²⁰⁰ Proportions of subcategories under this this main category however underwent a substantial change. The ratio of fathers in religious employment fell to 2%, which was only a tiny fraction of previous values. All such persons were employed by the Hungarian Reformed Church, with no Evangelical-Lutheran pastors among applicants' fathers. 4–4% were employed in judicial or financial management as presidents of local councils, district judges, supervisors of the National Bank, or financial supervisors of the Capital City of Budapest. 5–5% were employed in technological, industrial and commercial management (managing engineers of mechanical factories, factory managers, industrial officers) or as other ministry officials (state official, town official). People working in employment categories listed by the new political system were supposed to belong to a privileged layer of society and their wages, falling within the 8th and 5th remuneration categories, should have guaranteed them a stable middleclass life. However, 60–70% of their monthly wages was taken away by the state for financing post-war stabilization processes (Romsics 2004: 309). Before World War II, the average monthly salary of factory workers was $\frac{3}{4}$ of the monthly wages of state-employed officials, while after 1945, state officials earned $\frac{2}{3}$ of workers' wages (Gyarmati 2011: 83). In addition to this significant decline of prestige, members of this social layer soon faced political persecution in the form of backlisting and forced nationalization. The constant decline of their financial conditions forced guardians to make their children choose less the prestigious teaching profession instead of studying law or engineering. 7% of fathers were employed at the Hungarian postal and railroad services as stationmasters, mechanical operators, postal clerks, or postal vice-controllers. As these were seen as areas of strategic interest by post-war Hungarian governments, employees in these fields could enjoy an existence as stable as that of factory workers'. Families of railway employees had the additional advantage of using the reconstructed railway lines at a reduced price, making cross-country transportation considerably easier for their children (Romsics 2004: 315).

were rather overrepresented among contemporary Collegium members.

¹²⁰⁰ In the academic year of 1938/1939, the proportion of university students with guardians employed in civil service was 33%. Among Collegium members however, children of such families were even more numerous in the period between 1945 and 1948. (Lázár 1940: 223).

Due to these changes in social policy, the proportion of applicants from this subcategory doubled in comparison to the previous Szabó-era.

Ever since the foundation of the Collegium, the most numerous division of this main category had been that of fathers employed in education and science. 24% of guardians worked as elementary teachers (4 persons), teachers or heads of grammar schools (8 persons), university teachers (5 persons) or other secondary school teachers (2 persons).¹²⁰¹ Despite contemporary educational policies, the number of guardians working as elementary teachers was still considerably low. The majority of admitted applicants were children of secondary and university teachers despite the hardships these families had to face in that period. Secondary teacher jobs underwent a severe prestige loss, as after the general levelling of incomes, teachers of secondary educational institutions were entitled to only 20% of their pre-war salaries (Romsics 2004: 309). University teachers enjoyed a relatively safer financial status, though with the onset of constant identity checks and the political transformations of 1948, their subsistence became equally unstable.

No applicants were admitted from families employed under the main category of Armed forces. 8% of fathers belonged to the main category of intellectual freelancers: 2-2% worked as lawyers, notaries public or actors and journalists, while 4% were physicians. Typically underrepresented in all periods of the Collegium's history, the values for this category did not change significantly in this period either. The proportion of admitted applicants among the children of pensioners (5%), unemployed, or dependants of state orphanages (8%) was only 13%.¹²⁰² Similarly to the tendencies of previous periods, the majority of admitted students were children of former middle-class guardians (judges, army officers, or pastors). 26% of guardians were working in the rapidly diminishing private sector, while the majority of guardians were state-employed. Regarding the social background of applicants admitted in this period, it can be assumed that the patterns were quite similar to that of the interwar era. The only exception was the main category of industry, mining, metallurgy, and transport, where the proportion of guardians increased to more than one fifth of all successful applicants. Notwithstanding, the Collegium primarily remained a recruitment place for future secondary and university teachers.

¹²⁰¹ In the academic year of 1938/1939, the proportion of university students with guardians employed in education was 10.8% (Lázár 1940: 223). Therefore, their proportion among Collegium members between 1945 and 1948 was twice as high as in the case of university students in 1939.

¹²⁰² Combining the categories of pensioners, landlords and capitalists, József Lázár's reports show that 18.6% of university students were children of such persons (Lázár 1940: 223). Compared to this data, children of such families were rather underrepresented among contemporary Collegium members. For the social distribution of applicants admitted between 1945 and 1948, see Graph 17 of the Appendix. Professions of all guardians are known. For the comparison of employment data regarding the guardians of both admitted and rejected applicants, guardians of all university students in 1938/1939, and national employment data, see Table 18.

10.3. Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected

| Occupation of guardians of applicants admitted and rejected between 1945 and 48 (%) | Collegium | | University students (1938– 1939) | National data (1941) |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 8 | 10 | 15.1 | 48.7 |
| Smallholder (0–3 hectares) | 7 | | | |
| Farmer, Farm hand | 1 | | | |
| II. Industry, Mining, Metallurgy, Transport | 21 | 19 | 32.6 | 35 |
| Industry, Mining, Metallurgy, Transport | 11 | 14 | | |
| Trade, Catering | 5 | 5 | | |
| Money and credit services | 5 | 0 | | |
| III. Civil Services | 51 | 34 | 32.8 | 5.1 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 2 | 1 | 10.8 | |
| Educational services and academic institutions | 24 | 10 | | |
| Judicial Services | 4 | 0 | 32.8 | |
| Healthcare management and services | 0 | 2 | | |
| Agricultural management and services | 0 | 0 | | |
| Financial Management | 4 | 1 | | |
| Technical/industrial and commercial management | 5 | 1 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 5 | 13 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 7 | 6 | | |
| IV. Armed Forces | 0 | 1 | 32.8 | 1.7 |
| V. Intellectual liberal professions | 8 | 8 | 32.8 | 5.1 (combined with Public Service) |
| Lawyer, notary | 2 | 0 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 4 | 4 | | |
| Pharmacist | 0 | 0 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 0 | 3 | | |
| Veterinarian | 0 | 0 | | |
| Literature, Art | 2 | 1 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, Landlords, Capitalists | 13 | 25 | 18.6 | 6.6 |
| Pensioner | 5 | 7 | | |
| Unemployed, dependants of orphanages | 8 | 18 | | |
| No data | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |

Table 18: The employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data of students at Faculties of Arts and national employment data.¹²⁰³

¹²⁰³ Employment data of university students' guardians in the academic year of 1938/1939 are published in Lázár

Out of the 84 students admitted in 1945–1948, 50 left the institution prematurely. This signifies a selection rate of 59.5%, twice as high as in the previous Szabó-era. One reason for this might be director Keresztury's personal judgement: "*We shall return to the principles of our late curator Count Pál Teleki: Collegium membership is by no means permanent, anyone who proves to be unworthy of membership shall be instantaneously expelled.*"¹²⁰⁴ The other reason might be found in the quick twists and turns of contemporary Hungarian public life: 30% of dropout students resigned their membership voluntarily not only for academic or social reasons, but also for political ones. Upon the arrival of a new, communist-friendly direction after Dezső Keresztury's term, several members decided to quit the Collegium at once.¹²⁰⁵ After 1948, 26% of Collegium students lost their membership as a result of exclusion processes explicitly based on political motivation. The two main waves of exclusions took place in June 1948–May 1949, and September–October 1949.¹²⁰⁶

Regarding 20% of Collegium dropouts, no data are available about the circumstances of their leaving; the only information about them is that they left the Collegium before their membership had expired. 10% of members quit due to the deterioration of their financial circumstances.¹²⁰⁷ Under contemporary economic circumstances, several students were not certain whether they could afford paying the tuition fee. In the period between 1945 and 1946, many members faced unfathomable financial challenges.¹²⁰⁸ 8% of Collegium members were expelled for reasons of low academic performance.¹²⁰⁹ In addition to bad results at both basic and qualifying examinations and poor classwork, intensive intellectual workload was also a reason for leaving the Collegium.¹²¹⁰ 8% of Collegium dropouts left because of changing their fields of study. Exclusions also occurred when, without essentially changing their field of study, students refused to take part in teacher training.¹²¹¹ 2% of members left for medical reasons.¹²¹² These reasons were also related to health defects caused by intensive intellectual workload.

1940: 223. General Hungarian employment data according to the 1941 Census is published in Dányi–Dávid–Ember 1978: 23.

¹²⁰⁴ On a teachers' meeting, Keresztury explicitly declared that membership should depend solely on academic performance and all other factors, including social situation, should be completely ignored. Records of end-of-semester teachers' meeting, 17 November 1945 (MDKL box 54, file 102/d).

¹²⁰⁵ French-History major Ákos Garay resigned his membership on 23 June 1948 (MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 15). Mathematics-Physics major Imre Hajnal resigned on 30 June 1948 (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19). History-Geography major Endre Száva-Kováts also resigned in June 1948 (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 56).

¹²⁰⁶ Since the new directorship used these procedures as means of turning the Collegium into a Marxist educational institution, further information on this issue will be provided in Chapter 11.3.

¹²⁰⁷ Hungarian-German major Ottó Harcos resigned on 5 May 1947 for financial reasons (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19).

¹²⁰⁸ Having resigned for financial reasons on 21 August 1945, László Szabó did not even start his membership at the Collegium (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 55). Hungarian-Russian major Áron Tóbiás resigned on 30 September 1946 for financial reasons (MDKL box 20, file 21, lot 61).

¹²⁰⁹ Latin-Italian major László Rajnai was expelled for reasons of poor academic performance (MDKL box 16, file 17, lot 48).

¹²¹⁰ Classical Philology major Géza Gacsályi mentioned this as a reason for his resignation on 7 September 1946 (MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 15).

¹²¹¹ An example of this is the case of Natural History-Geography major László Jakucs. Not willing to pass his final exam at the teacher training program, he wished to graduate with a MA in Liberal Arts instead. For this reason, he was expelled from the Collegium (MDKL box 8, file 10, lot 24).

¹²¹² Mathematics-Physics major István Cseh resigned for medical reasons in 1948 (MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 9).

10% of rejected applicants came from families of 0–3-hectare smallholders (admitted: 8%). Out of all applicants, only 9% had guardians working in agriculture, which was a considerable decrease compared to the previous Szabó-era. Though the prolonged agrarian crisis beginning with the Great Depression temporarily eased during World War II, post-war financial stabilization processes basically pushed the agrarian sector back into its previous critical condition. Due to their constant financial insecurity, children of agrarian families had rather low chances of joining the Collegium. Since the absence of applicants with an agrarian background became quite conspicuous, Jenő Tomasz published press releases to inform the agrarian society about the advantages of joining the Collegium. Without sufficient material resources, however, his effort did not prove to be successful.¹²¹³

19% of rejected applicants had guardians working in industry, mining, metallurgy, and transport (admitted: 21%). Similarly to the fathers of their admitted peers, most members of this category were craftsmen (joiners, tailors, greengrocers), and a few worked in factories. 5% belonged to the subcategory of trade and catering (real estate agents, merchants, waiters). Out of all applicants in the Keresztury-era, members of this main category (20%) were far more numerous than in the previous Gombocz- and Szabó-eras. This dramatic increase is most possibly the result of the relative financial stability enjoyed by this layer of society in that period.

34% of rejected applicants had guardians employed in civil service (admitted: 51%). 1% each worked in technical, industrial, commercial, and financial management, while another 2% were employed in healthcare management. 1% worked as pastors of the Hungarian Reformed Church. 6% were employed at railway and postal services. 10% worked in education and academic institutions (admitted: 24%), out of whom 8 were primary school teachers, 2 were teachers and heads of grammar schools or college teachers, while another 2 taught at universities. Apparently encouraged by the current democratic transformation of contemporary Hungarian society, children of primary school teachers applied to the Collegium in high numbers, however, only a third of them managed to pass preliminary entrance exams. Children of secondary and university teachers tended to go through preselection processes with better results. 13% of fathers within this main category were employed in state administration. Their relatively high proportion among fathers of rejected applicants might be partly due to the considerable deterioration these families had to face in this period both financially and socially. Another reason might be the political cautiousness of the Collegium, as they only admitted applicants who successfully passed all identity checks.

1% of guardians were employed as police officers within the category of armed forces (none of the admitted applicants had fathers belonging to this subcategory). 8% of applicants in this category were children of members of the category of intellectual liberal professions: a painter from the field of literature and arts, several engineers (chemical engineers, forest engineers, architects), while the majority were children of physicians (4%). The relatively high occurrence of these professions might be the result of financial reasons: even combined with the Collegium tuition fee, teacher's degrees were considerably cheaper to attain than engineering or medical degrees.

¹²¹³ 198/1946. Deputy director Jenő Tomasz's report of entrance exams for the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 30 July 1946. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3 (1946–47).

A quarter of rejected applicants were pensioners or capitalists (7%), unemployed or dependants of orphanages (18%) (admitted: 13%).¹²¹⁴ This amount was twice as high as in the case of admitted applicants. Most of the persons belonging to this category were severely traumatized by the war, having often lost all of their family during fights or deportations. For them, Collegium membership would have been a channel of mobility fostering their reintegration into middle-class society, however, personal tragedies often had a lasting psychological impact on these young people. Some of them were unable to tolerate staying in larger communities or could not take substantial intellectual workload. Regardless of their financial situation, most applicants in this category were rejected for psychological reasons.

An absolute majority (52%) of unsuccessful applicants were rejected because of failing the standards set by teachers at the oral entrance exam. Several of these applicants tried to obtain membership with reference letters written by various parties of the Hungarian National Independence Front.¹²¹⁵ In line with previous admission policies, applicants with secondary school diplomas below “excellent” level were automatically rejected.¹²¹⁶ Apart from failing academic standards, applicants explicitly not wishing to become teachers also faced automatic rejection.¹²¹⁷

21% of rejected applicants were put on a waiting list and finally got rejected due to a lack of places. This reason was often applied when, despite having displayed some qualities, an applicant was not suitable in all aspects, or when there was a more gifted applicant with a similar field of study.¹²¹⁸ Primarily focused on recruiting young people of exceptional academic qualities, the selection committee never failed to put the aspect of academic merit before their humanistic sympathy over personal tragedies.¹²¹⁹ Concerning 13% of rejected applicants, the selection committee explicitly objected to their admittance.

¹²¹⁴ For the social distribution of applicants rejected in 1945–1948, see Graph 18 of the Appendix. No employment data are available for 3% of guardians. For the comparison of employment data regarding the guardians of both admitted and rejected applicants, guardians of all university students in 1938/1939, and national employment data, see Table 18.

¹²¹⁵ In 1947, István Császtvay unsuccessfully tried to gain admittance to the Collegium by presenting a reference letter by the National Peasant Party (MDKL box 25, file 28, lot 9). Róbert Geist was personally recommended to Dezső Keresztury by Sándor Szalai, a high-ranking member of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary – not to much avail though. As Geist did not take his secondary school-leaving exam on subjects related to Classical Greek culture, he should not even have been allowed to submit his application (MDKL box 26, file 32, lot 14).

¹²¹⁶ Ernő Kiss graduated from secondary school with results deemed only “good” instead of “excellent”, besides he wished to become an art teacher. These two factors made admittance impossible for him (MDKL box 27, file 37, lot 25).

¹²¹⁷ Hungarian-History major Barna Tálás noted in his application that instead of wishing to become a teacher, he was more interested in psychology. Having failed the entrance exam anyway, he was obviously rejected (MDKL box 32, file 46, lot 50).

¹²¹⁸ An example of this is Hungarian-French major Sándor Húsvéti, who, upon applying to the Collegium in 1945, was unanimously put on a waiting list for his French skills and mediocre knowledge of Hungarian literary history, but was finally rejected due to lack of higher academic merits. (MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 20).

¹²¹⁹ History-Slovak major László Haár submitted his application in 1945. He noted that he had previously been deported to Auschwitz with all of his family and was the only one to return. Despite the sympathy expressed by several members of the selection committee, he was put on a waiting list on the basis of his academic merit (MDKL box 26, file 34, lot 17).

Reasons were mostly of academic nature,¹²²⁰ though some applicants were rejected for psychological reasons and a few were also strongly discouraged from becoming teachers at all.¹²²¹

7% of rejected applicants already withdrew their application during the admission period. Some tried to back out from obvious rejection, while others were forced to quit the selection process for financial reasons.¹²²² Though 2% of these applicants finally got admitted, they never took their places in the Collegium.¹²²³ Another 2% were rejected for their inability to live in a dormitory due to being overage¹²²⁴ or severely disabled.¹²²⁵ 1% of applicants were excluded from the selection process for having submitted their applications after the deadline.¹²²⁶ Similarly to all previous periods, the reasons for most rejections were of academic nature.¹²²⁷ Trying to obtain admittance by presenting references from political organizations was, however, a completely new phenomenon and in this early phase, such applications were unanimously rejected. Another new phenomenon was the presence of applicants with severe posttraumatic neurosis. Due to their mental instability, most of such applicants had to be rejected or even discouraged from becoming teachers at all.

¹²²⁰ Mathematics-Physics major Péter Ada-Winter applied in 1947. Having passed his basic examination on mathematics with an “excellent” grade, his Physics results were only “sufficient”. In addition to this, the selection committee noted that he was mentally unstable and especially prone to fanaticism. For the above reasons, the committee explicitly objected to his admittance (MDKL box 24, file 26, lot 1).

¹²²¹ Writer Szilárd Rubin applied to the Collegium in 1946 as a Hungarian–History major. Having lost all of his family in the war, he was described as a rather nervous and aloof person in a mental state that made his capability of becoming a teacher highly questionable (MDKL box 30, file 43, lot 42). Hungarian–German major Miklós Sávolly applied to the Collegium in 1947. Formerly he had been a prisoner of war for two years, an experience that had deeply traumatized him. Similarly to Szilárd Rubin’s case, he was rejected for psychological reasons and was also discouraged from becoming a teacher (MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 43). Chemistry–Physics major János Sebestyén applied in 1947. Suffering from severe neurasthenia due to a war injury, he was rejected for reasons similar to the former two cases (MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 43).

¹²²² László Csonka applied to the Collegium in 1946. Unable to pay for his Pécs–Budapest return railway ticket (96 million pengos at the time), he withdrew his application (MDKL box 25, file 28, lot 9).

¹²²³ Although Chemistry–Physics major Albert Juhos was admitted with top score at the entrance exam, he never took his place at the Collegium (MDKL box 27, file 36, lot 22).

¹²²⁴ English–Hungarian major Zoltán Nagy applied to the Collegium in 1947. Having previously spent 8 semesters studying law at the University of Debrecen, he was already 24 years old when he applied to the Collegium. He was rejected for being overage (MDKL box 29, file 40, lot 35).

¹²²⁵ Firstborn son of the renowned pedagogue Sándor Karácsony was paralyzed on one side due to a birth defect. He was rejected for being incapable of living in a dormitory (MDKL box 27, file 37, lot 23).

¹²²⁶ Zoltán Somogyi, for example, submitted his application past the deadline, therefore it was not read at all (MDKL box 31, file 44, lot 45).

¹²²⁷ For 2% of rejected applicants, no reason for rejection was recorded.

10.4. Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1945 and 1948

Following Miklós Szabó's second term as a director in May 1945, Minister of Religion and Public Education Géza Teleki appointed Dezső Keresztury as director.¹²²⁸ Just like in 1935, there were several candidates (Domokos Kosáry, Árpád Szabó¹²²⁹, Dénes Kövendi¹²³⁰), but Gyula Szekfű, Dezső Pais, and János Horváth supported Keresztury (Tóth 2004a: 23; Köves-Zulauf 2004: 17) and the Ministry repeatedly approved the informal decision made by the Former Members' Association.

Within the newly formed coalition government after the elections on 4 November 1945, the area of culture was trusted to the National Peasant Party and the appointment of Dezső Keresztury as Minister of Religion and Public Education was sincerely welcome by fellow party members and coalition partners alike. Having been able to retain his position under the prime ministerships of both Zoltán Tildy and Ferenc Nagy, Keresztury finally resigned from his post on 14 March 1947 (Romsics 2004: 326). The end of his ministership also meant the end to the sense of security enjoyed by the Collegium so far. Soon enough, both the Collegium and Keresztury himself faced fierce attacks in the press. Since after the election of the new Student President of the Collegium on 5 May 1948, Keresztury refused to remove the students listed as *persona non grata* by the Communist Party Group of the Collegium upon József Révai's request, he was forced to resign from his directorship on 31 July 1948. He was given a job at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by Gyula Ortutay, his successor as the head of the MRPE and former fellow teacher at the Collegium. Keresztury was able to retain his teaching position in the Collegium until 7 February 1950 when he was removed from his jobs both at the Collegium and the Academy (Tóth 2004a: 27).

Under Keresztury's ministership, directorial tasks at the Collegium were delegated to deputy director Jenő Tomasz. In addition to managing the economic and physical reconstruction of the Collegium after the war, Tomasz also standardized the tasks for the heads

¹²²⁸ 35/1945. Acting director Dezső Keresztury's report of taking over directorship of the Collegium. Budapest, 10 June 1945. (MDKL box 88, file 185/5)

¹²²⁹ Árpád Szabó had himself previously been a student of the Collegium as a classical philology-French major. Between 1935 and 1938, he stayed in Frankfurt, Germany to write his habilitation thesis. Working at the Frankfurt Institute for Cultural Morphology, he encouraged the foundation of a Hungarian lectorate in Frankfurt. Szabó was later appointed to be a teacher at the University of Debrecen. After the war, he joined the Communist Party (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 55).

¹²³⁰ Having graduated with excellent results, Dénes Kövendi had himself previously been a student of the Collegium as a classical philology major between 1912 and 1916. His son of the same name also joined the Collegium as a Hungarian-Latin major in 1940 (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 31).

of different fields of study. Keresztury did not interfere in daily matters in that period. As contemporary reports of teachers' meeting show, all such issues were managed by Tomasz.¹²³¹ Preoccupied by his tasks as a minister, Dezső Keresztury acted rather as a curator of the Collegium at that time. However, this implicit division of directorial tasks proved to be quite advantageous for the Collegium, as Keresztury was in the position to approve of all requests presented to the MRPE by his Collegium. Apart from political safety, this position guaranteed a wider range of chances regarding post-war economic and physical reconstruction of the Collegium. For this reason, no other curator was sought after until 1948. Having resigned from the directorship of the Collegium, Keresztury wished to persuade powerful communist cultural politician József Révai to assume the curator's position, as this would guarantee some sort of security to the Collegium. Révai, however, rejected this request (Papp 2004: 63). In the summer of 1945, previous war activity of Collegium teachers was inspected by the so-called Verifying Committees. The first person to successfully pass all inspections of the 2nd Verifying Committee of the MRPE was Jenő Tomasz on 26 July 1945. Having built a substantial stock of food, he prevented starving and deaths at the Collegium's air-raided shelter. Owing to his responsible behaviour, no Collegium students were taken to forced labour camps by Soviet troops. Tomasz also played a crucial role at keeping all Collegium properties safe during the war.¹²³² His heroic steadfastness during the siege of Budapest made Tomasz the most respected staff member of the Collegium. The rest of the staff was inspected by Gyula Ortutay's Verifying Committee at the Hungarian National Museum.¹²³³ No staff members failed inspections, even Miklós Szabó was rehabilitated despite his previous dismissal for political reasons.¹²³⁴

From November 1945, Jenő Tomasz was practically undertaking all directorial tasks. In October 1946, he was promoted to stage 2 of the 5th remuneration category¹²³⁵ and reached stage 1 in the next year.¹²³⁶ This was the highest category a Collegium employee was entitled to reach. Besides managing institutional administration, Tomasz was the only person to teach courses on classical philology in the second semester of the academic year of 1944/1945.¹²³⁷ In the next academic year, classical Greek language courses were taken over by János Harmatta and Teofil Zulauf to ease some of Tomasz's heavy workload. Returning to his original profile, Tomasz resorted to teaching classical Latin language courses. Harmatta, senior and alumnus of the Collegium became an appointed teacher of classical

¹²³¹ See records of beginning (17 September) and end of term (19 December) teachers' meetings in 1946 (MDKL box 54, file 102/d).

¹²³² 46/1945. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to the Verifying Committee operating in the Hungarian National Museum. Budapest, 30 June 1945. MDKL box 50, file 96/a.

¹²³³ 373/1945. I.B. Letter to director Dezső Keresztury by the Verifying Committee operating in the Hungarian National Museum. Budapest, 24 July 1945. MDKL box 50, file 96/a.

¹²³⁴ 76/1945. Director Dezső Keresztury's list of Collegium employees. Budapest, 30 July 1945. MDKL box 50, file 96/a.

¹²³⁵ 183.570/1946. Letter by Emil Ferenczy, MRPE counsellor at Department VI to Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 26 October 1946. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²³⁶ 34a/1947. Jenő Tomasz's certificate of income issued by Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 1 February 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²³⁷ Jenő Tomasz's report on classical Latin and Greek courses in the academic year of 1944/1945. Budapest, 19 July 1945. MDKL box 53, file 101/9/c.

philology.¹²³⁸ Being simultaneously employed at the Department of Classical Greek Studies at the University of Budapest, he mainly taught classical Greek, but also overtook some of the Latin stylistic exercise courses in order to reduce Jenő Tomasz's workload (cf. Tóth 2004b: 149).¹²³⁹ Up until the closing of the Collegium in 1950, Harmatta played an active part in leading the Classical Philology department.¹²⁴⁰ Teofil Zulauf taught classical Greek language courses as a senior, but resigned from this position in 1948.¹²⁴¹

Until 1948, Hungarian literature and linguistics courses were taught by Dezső Pais and Dezső Keresztury. Upon returning to the Collegium after 1945, Pais taught Hungarian linguistics courses all by himself during Keresztury's directorship. While Keresztury was preoccupied with ministerial tasks, his previous literature courses were taken over by Géza Képes,¹²⁴² Gusztáv Makay¹²⁴³ and József Waldapfel (Tóth 2004b: 146; 151). Having later resigned from his post as a minister, Keresztury returned to teaching 9 classes a week. Waldapfel arrived to replace János Barta who was unable to undertake the management of the Hungarian faculty. Also employed at the Secondary Teacher Training Institution, Waldapfel taught courses for freshmen and juniors, while Makay taught sophomores and seniors.¹²⁴⁴ Waldapfel also played an active part in teaching literary history after 1948. Despite verbally encouraging the transformation of the Collegium into a Marxist centre of academic education, he did not take explicit action to achieve this goal.¹²⁴⁵

German literature and linguistics was taught by György Dallos and Zoltán Rákosi,¹²⁴⁶ substituting Károly Mollay who fell prisoner of war. Despite hopes for his return in 1947, Mollay did not at the time come back, therefore Dallos and Rákosi's contract was prolonged. In February 1948, however, Dallos resigned from his position for medical reasons.¹²⁴⁷ He had previously taught two and later four classes a week from the second semester of the academic year of 1946/1947 (cf. Tóth 2004b: 146).¹²⁴⁸ In October 1947, Rákosi was allowed to go on holiday for a study trip to Italy. Initially confirmed until 31 January 1948,¹²⁴⁹ his

¹²³⁸ Classical philology major at the Collegium between 1935 and 40, already taught classes as a senior (1939–40) and alumnus (1943–44). Graduated with excellent results. (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19)

¹²³⁹ János Harmatta's report on classical Latin and Greek courses in the second semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 17 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a.

¹²⁴⁰ 1515–29/1949. V. 1. sz. Approval of the Collegium's timetable for the second semester of the academic year of 1949/1950, issued by László Bikácsi, MRPE counsellor at Department V Budapest, 29 November 1949. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁴¹ See the record of teachers' meeting on 3 February 1948. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁴² Hungarian-German major at the Collegium in 1928–33 (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

¹²⁴³ Hungarian-French major at the Collegium in 1928–33 (MDKL box 12, file 13, lot 36).

¹²⁴⁴ Record of end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 19 December 1946. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁴⁵ See the record of teachers' meeting on 9 January 1950. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁴⁶ Rákosi was a Hungarian-German major at the Collegium between 1934 and 1939 (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 49).

¹²⁴⁷ 278/1947. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to György Dallos. Budapest, 18 November 1947. MDKL box. 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁴⁸ 122/1947. Report of classes taught by external lecturers. Budapest, 24 April 1947. MDKL box. 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁴⁹ 148.037/1947. Letter from MRPE Department IV to Dezső Keresztury concerning Zoltán Rákosi's holiday. Budapest, 5 November 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

leave was later prolonged till October 1948.¹²⁵⁰ In this period, German language courses¹²⁵¹ were taught by Jenő Krammer.¹²⁵²

Regarding teachers of Romance Philology, the Collegium was quite well supplied. Upon returning from the Royal Hungarian Franz Joseph University of Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca, Romania), László Gáldi undertook the teaching of Romanian and Russian language courses besides French.¹²⁵³ In addition to his job at the Collegium Library, Ernő Kenéz also took part in teaching French courses.¹²⁵⁴ Lipót Molnos, former director of the Hungarian Institute of Paris, was appointed to a teaching position from 1 January 1944.¹²⁵⁵ In the academic year of 1943/1944, he taught one course on history of French Literature,¹²⁵⁶ and in June 1944, he finally returned to the MRPE as a desk officer for French matters.¹²⁵⁷ After 1945, he came back to the Collegium to teach courses on history of French literature until 1948. Upon Keresztury's dismissal, Molnos also left the institution (cf. Tóth 2004b: 155).¹²⁵⁸ Removed from the Collegium staff for racial reasons in 1939, Albert Szegő (Gyergyai) returned upon Keresztury's invitation to become a full professor in the 5th remuneration category.¹²⁵⁹ Travelling in Switzerland and France between 30 January and 30 June 1947, Szegő attempted to consolidate Hungarian-French relations. His efforts brought a wave of new French lecturers to the Hungarian capital.¹²⁶⁰ Upon his return, Szegő joined the management of the Collegium's French department, and tried to receive a promotion to the 5th remuneration category.¹²⁶¹ René Bonnerjea was still a full professor at the institution

¹²⁵⁰ 155.076/1948. Letter by György Alexits, Secretary of State at MRPE Department IV to Dezső Keresztury concerning the prolongation of Zoltán Rákosi's holiday. Budapest, 17 January 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁵¹ Jenő Krammer's report on German and Slovak language courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1947/1948. Budapest, 25 June 1948. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹²⁵² Krammer was a French-German major at the Collegium between 1919 and 1924. Born in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia), he worked at the Érsekújvár Grammar School (now Nové Zámky, Slovakia), where he learnt to speak excellent Slovak. For this reason, he was also employed as a teacher of Slovak language courses. (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 31).

¹²⁵³ Record of end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 19 December 1946. MDKL box 54, file 102/d. For further information, see 122/1947. Report on classes taught by external lecturers. Budapest, 24 April 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁵⁴ Ernő Kenéz's report on French language courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a. Contrary to the statements of the report, Károly Tóth also helped in conducting majors' classes (cf. Tóth 2004b: 150–151).

¹²⁵⁵ 69.116/1943. Letter from MRPE Department IV/1 to director Miklós Szabó concerning Lipót Molnos's new position. Budapest, 7 August 1943. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

¹²⁵⁶ Lipót Molnos' report of French language courses taught to juniors in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1943/1944. Budapest, 19 April 1944. MDKL box 53, file 101/9/b.

¹²⁵⁷ 2954/1944. Letter from MRPE Department V to deputy director Jenő Tomasz concerning Lipót Molnos's new position. Budapest, 15 June 1944. MDKL box 53, file 101/9/b.

¹²⁵⁸ Lipót Molnos' report of French language courses taught in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1947/1948. Budapest, 24 June 1948. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹²⁵⁹ This was made possible by Keresztury's appointment as director, as he left his job vacant in the 6th remuneration category. 136/1945. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to MRPE Minister Géza Teleki concerning the appointment of Albert Szegő Budapest, 24 September 1945. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶⁰ 17174/1947. Letter by Árpád Jencs, MRPE counsellor at Department VI to Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 13 February 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶¹ 51/1948. Director Dezső Keresztury's memorandum to the MRPE concerning Albert Szegő's promotion to the 5th remuneration category. Budapest, 28 January 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

at that time. Due to the restructuring of teachers' positions at the Collegium in 1947, they were both promoted college senior lecturers under the 8th remuneration category.¹²⁶² In line with previous practices, Bonnerjea also took part in organizing English conversational courses for non-English majors. Italian language courses were still taught by József Szauder. During his study trip to Italy in 1947, Szauder was substituted by János Takács.¹²⁶³ Upon his return, Szauder continued teaching, and remained member of the staff even after Keresztury's dismissal (cf. Tóth 2004b: 157).

Apart from teaching at the Collegium, historian Domokos Kosáry led the History Department of the Pál Teleki Scientific Institute and, from 1946, he also substituted his mentor Gyula Szekfű at the Department of Modern Hungarian History at the University of Budapest (Tóth 2004b: 152). At the Collegium, he taught two courses a week¹²⁶⁴ and, due to his positions at a scientific institute and a university, fell under the 6th remuneration category. In contrast to the previous Szabó-era, he did not go on holiday, therefore did not have to be substituted in this period. He kept his position at the Collegium even after 31 June 1948. From September 1947, art history courses were taken over from Zoltán Nagy by Lajos Fülep. Having spent twenty years in the remote village of Zengővárkony, Lajos Fülep was appointed to teach art history and ethnography at the Collegium in return for handing in his precious ethnographic collection to the state.¹²⁶⁵ Keresztury welcomed Fülep with great anticipation, but was soon to be disappointed. As the years of involuntary solitude had a rather negative impact on his character, Fülep had a hard time finding common ground with young students (Tóth 2009: 113).

The swift transformation of society and public life in the period necessitated some orientation on the field of sociology. Upon Keresztury's suggestion, György Káldor and Sándor Szalai were invited to teach courses in Sociology. In December 1947, however, Káldor resigned from teaching further classes at the Collegium.¹²⁶⁶ Szalai introduced his students to Marxist philosophy by studying the basic works of Marxism in the form of oral presentations by students in class.¹²⁶⁷ These courses were met by explicit hostility from some of the students and several of them denied attending them. Szalai often complained to the

¹²⁶² Kenéz and Bonnerjea were the only ones to benefit from the restructuring of teachers' positions at the Collegium, as they were both promoted college senior lecturers. For, the majority of the staff, however, there was no improvement in remuneration categories: Domokos Kosáry and Albert Szegő were promoted to college professors under stage 3 of the 6th remuneration category, Miklós Szenczi became a part-time professor under stage 1 of the 7th remuneration category and Károly Mollay a part-time college professor under stage 2 of the 7th remuneration category. 15.886/1947. MRPE Department VI, Dezső Keresztury, Minister of RPE's letter concerning the restructuring of teachers' positions at the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 3 January 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶³ 278/1947. Dezső Keresztury's letter to János Takács. Budapest, 18 September 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶⁴ 122/1947. Report of classes taught by external lecturers Budapest, 24 April 1947. MDKL box. 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶⁵ 132.607/1947. Letter by György Alexits, Secretary of State at MRPE Department IV to Lajos Fülep concerning his employment at the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 12 September 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶⁶ György Káldor's letter of resignation to director Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 3 December 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁶⁷ Reading list for the course was the following: Ch. 8 of *Das Kapital* by Marx; Engels: *Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science*; Marx: *Le 18 Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte*, and various articles by Lenin and Stalin about the class division of peasantry. Sándor Szalai's report on his courses about Marxism in the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 19 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a.

director about this attitude and remarked that, in addition to being absent from his class in large numbers, students tended to have insufficient knowledge about economics and history.¹²⁶⁸

Apart from Sociology, the institution also offered courses on Philosophy, Education and Psychology. Philosopher László Mátrai¹²⁶⁹ was succeeded by László Faragó teaching two classes a week based on Ákos Pauler's works *Introduction to Philosophy*, and *Logics*. Upon students' requests, they also analysed Plato's *Republic* and the *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie* by Mannheim. Although Faragó wished to make such classes compulsory to all Collegium members, they were only compulsory for freshmen.¹²⁷⁰ In June 1948, Faragó left the Collegium together with Lajos Prohászka who had taught pedagogy at the Collegium since 1946. Discussing the questions of education and participants of the educational process, his classes concentrated on works by Dugas (*Le problème de l'éducation*) and Spranger (*Die Bedeutung der wissenschaftlichen Pädagogik für das Volksleben*).¹²⁷¹ A devotee of *Geistesgeschichte*, Prohászka examined the concept and meaning of "educational ideals" in different periods of history, and aimed to clarify the relationship between "ideal" and "value", drawing attention to the elusive nature of the first.¹²⁷² Psychology classes were taught between 1946 and 1948 by Ferenc Mérei, director of the State Children's Psychological Institute of Budapest. He held courses at two levels. With beginners, he discussed the basic issues of psychology and introduced the most significant schools and methodology together with the history and development of the discipline based on Ferenc Lénárd's work titled *A lélektan útjai* [The Ways of Psychology]. With students returning to his classes from previous semesters, they studied new tendencies in children's psychology through Piaget's *La représentation du monde chez l'enfant*.¹²⁷³

The officially appointed teacher of English language and literature was still Miklós Szenczi, though he did not teach classes at the Collegium anymore. As in the first half of 1947, Szenczi was appointed a fulltime professor at the University of Budapest, the Collegium management wished to appoint László Kéry¹²⁷⁴ as his successor.¹²⁷⁵ Employed at the MRPE at that time,

¹²⁶⁸ See Sándor Szalai's report on his courses about Marxism in the 1st semester of the academic year of 1947/1948. Budapest, 20 December 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹²⁶⁹ The only record of Mátrai's presence during the Keresztury-era can be found in the record of a selection committee meeting on 14 July 1947. There is no evidence of him teaching at the Collegium in this period. (cf. Tóth 2004b: 154). Record of a selection committee meeting on 14 July 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d. In the appendix about the teaching staff of the Keresztury-era, it is mentioned that in 1945, Benjámín Rajeczky substituted Mátrai in philosophy classes. Sources studied by the author of the present work do not mention such cases (cf. Tóth 2004b: 156). Record of a selection committee meeting on 14 July 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁷⁰ László Faragó's report on philosophy courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 19 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a.

¹²⁷¹ Lajos Prohászka's report on education theory courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a

¹²⁷² Lajos Prohászka's report on education theory courses in the 1st semester of the academic year of 1947/1948. Budapest, 18 December 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹²⁷³ Ferenc Mérei's report on Psychology courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a.

¹²⁷⁴ Kéry was a Hungarian-English major at the Collegium between 1938 and 1944. (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 27).

¹²⁷⁵ 132/1947. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning

Kéry was not able to accept the offer, as the Ministry insisted that he stayed with them. Director Keresztury therefore needed to look for other candidates. László Országh, who was originally appointed as Szenczi's substitute, was not able to assume this position, as he was an American prisoner of war in Bavaria until the summer of 1946.¹²⁷⁶ After briefly joining the Collegium as a teacher for the academic year of 1946/1947, Országh was appointed fulltime professor of the University of Debrecen in the summer of 1947.¹²⁷⁷ These events left Keresztury with the option of Tibor Lutter who had started his career at the Reichsdeutsche Schule (School of the German Empire) and taught there until 1945. After a longer study trip to Britain, he got a job at the English Department of the University of Szeged.¹²⁷⁸ As a fulltime professor, Lutter fell under stage 3 of the 7th remuneration category¹²⁷⁹ and, since Keresztury did not ask for his promotion to full college professor, his position was financially disadvantageous.¹²⁸⁰ Instead of promoting Lutter to the 6th remuneration category, the MRPE granted him the title of part-time college professor, while leaving him in the 7th remuneration category. This was a rather unusual practice at that time.¹²⁸¹

The intense presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, coupled with the changes in the country's geopolitical situation, necessitated a more thorough education of Slavic languages at the Collegium. Russian language courses were taught by László Gáldi,¹²⁸² László Hadrovics, and Ankeira Santieri,¹²⁸³ the latter substituting the Finnish lector (Tóth 2004b: 148). Thanks to Jenő Krammer, Slovak language classes were also available twice a week.¹²⁸⁴ A well-rounded intellectual, Krammer was also asked to teach courses in pedagogy in addition to his German and Slovak classes after Prohászka's departure in 1948.¹²⁸⁵

As for sciences, internationally renowned professor György Hajós held four Mathematics classes a week, while Péter Faragó¹²⁸⁶ had four classes in Physics (Tóth 2004b: 149).¹²⁸⁷

László Kéry's appointment. Budapest, 7 May 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁷⁶ See László Országh's letter to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium. Pfarrkirchen (Bavaria), 13 July 1945. MDKL box 41, file 72/3.

¹²⁷⁷ Országh succeeded Sándor Fest, who had died during the siege of Budapest in 1944. For the decision about Országh's appointment, see the record of the end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁷⁸ 33/1948. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning Tibor Lutter's appointment. Budapest, 24 January 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁷⁹ 191.370/1948. Minister of Religion and Public Education Gyula Ortutay's letter to Dezső Keresztury concerning Tibor Lutter's appointment. Budapest, 31 January 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁸⁰ 100/1948. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 1 March 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁸¹ 192130/1948. Letter by Pál Hollán, ministerial secretary of MRPE Department VI to Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 19 March 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁸² László Gáldi's report on Romance Philology courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a.

¹²⁸³ Ankeria Santieri's report on Finnish and Russian language courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1944/1945. Budapest, 19 July 1945. MDKL box 53, file 101/9/c.

¹²⁸⁴ Record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁸⁵ Lajos Prohászka left the institute after Keresztury's dismissal. 430/1948. Tibor Lutter's memorandum about external lecturers in the 1st semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 1948. October 22. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁸⁶ Faragó was a Mathematics-Physics major of the Collegium between 1937 and 1940. MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 13.

¹²⁸⁷ 122/1947. Dezső Keresztury's memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education about external

Biology and Chemistry were taught by Sándor Wolsky and Tibor Jermy¹²⁸⁸ respectively. Wolsky might possibly have been appointed to his teaching position in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947,¹²⁸⁹ however, he seemed to have left the Collegium before the next academic year. Biology was then also taken over by Tibor Jermy for a year. Yet in the following year, Jermy was repositioned to conduct researches at the Plant Health laboratory of Martonvásár, therefore he had to resign from his teaching position.¹²⁹⁰ Geography classes were held twice a week by senior student Jenő Major. His classes focused on the history and development of the discipline, the importance of statistics and settlement geography, along with geographic descriptions and Pál Teleki's role in Hungarian geography.¹²⁹¹ Following his departure in July 1948, geography courses were no longer available at the Collegium.

Physical education classes were taken over in the academic year of 1944/1945 from Péter Bácsalmási by grammar school teacher Dénes Cseke who had previously substituted Bácsalmási.¹²⁹² Students could complete their compulsory sport activities within the Collegium eight classes a week. From the academic year of 1947/1948, Dezső Keresztury reinvented Bácsalmási to the position of PE teacher, however, the number of classes shrunk to a weekly amount of four.¹²⁹³ In the second half of 1948, the MRPE National Office for Physical Education abolished PE classes within the Collegium for the alleged reason that students were supposed to do their physical exercises collectively, together with fellow students at the university.¹²⁹⁴

After World War II, the institution had an exceptionally hard time restoring its international relationships. French lecturer Pierre Bouteiller¹²⁹⁵ joined the Collegium in the second half of 1946, teaching one class a week for juniors and seniors. From the summer of 1947, he was succeeded by Guy Turbet-Delof, student of the *École Normale Supérieure*. Already in 1945, Keresztury wrote a letter to the director of the *École* informing him about the war damages the Collegium building had suffered and asking for a renewal of their previous exchange program.¹²⁹⁶ This might have facilitated the arrival of a new *École* student. Similarly to his predecessors, the new French lecturer took an active part in French language education at the Collegium until the end of the academic year of 1948/1949.

lecturers. Budapest, 24 April 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3 (1946–47).

¹²⁸⁸ Jermy was a Chemistry-Natural History major of the Collegium in 1935–40. Having graduated with excellent results, he won a scholarship to the *École*, but was finally not able to take his place due to the Nazi occupation of France in 1940. (MDKL box 9, file 10, lot 25).

¹²⁸⁹ See the record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁹⁰ Tibor Jermy's letter to Tibor Lutter. Budapest, 24 June 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁹¹ Senior Jenő Major's report on geography courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/a.

¹²⁹² 201.450/1944. Letter by Department XII of the MRPE to Director Miklós Szabó. Budapest, 22 August 1944. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁹³ 315/1947. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education about Péter Bácsalmási's appointment. Budapest, 26 October 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹²⁹⁴ 6933/1948. Letter by Tibor Keresztur, counsellor of physical education to director Tibor Lutter. Budapest, 19 November 1948. MDKL box 51, file 98/a/3.

¹²⁹⁵ Record of the end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 19 December 1946. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹²⁹⁶ Dezső Keresztury's letter to the director of the *École Normale Supérieure*. Budapest, May 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

For the position of the German lector, Keresztury invited Heinz Kühne, an assistant research fellow at the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art in Vienna between 1939 and 1940. Though Kühne was officially appointed as lecturer for the academic year of 1948/1949,¹²⁹⁷ there is no evidence of him actually assuming the position.

Already in September 1945, Keresztury started to make efforts for the recruitment of an English language lecturer for the Collegium.¹²⁹⁸ Originally addressed to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, his request was forwarded to the British Political Mission.¹²⁹⁹ The Mission in turn promised to find suitable candidates.¹³⁰⁰ During the Keresztury-era, the Collegium hosted four persons of British or American citizenship. Reverend Sándor Harsányi, a pastor of Hungarian origin from Cleveland, OH survived the siege of Budapest at the Collegium's air-raid shelter and continued to teach English language courses until the end of 1946. In the second semester of the academic year of 1945/1946, his salary fell under stage 3 of the 9th remuneration category.¹³⁰¹ In October 1946, however, his financial support was suspended due to budget shortages.¹³⁰² Therefore, he had to leave the institution in December 1946.¹³⁰³ In the academic year of 1946/1947, English language courses were taught by lecturer G. Lowes.¹³⁰⁴ Richard Struges also stayed at the Collegium in 1947 and took part in English education (Tóth 2004b: 156). Following the change of directors in 1948, however, both of them left the Collegium. They were succeeded by George Frederick Cushing and Colin Mason, who both stayed at the Collegium until their expulsion from Hungary in 1949. Having studied classical philology, history and French in Cambridge, Cushing was appointed lecturer of the Collegium.¹³⁰⁵ Mason was a composer who taught English language courses in return for boarding. His personality, friendship with Collegium students and researches on Béla Bartók's work was thoroughly described in his close friend and Collegium alumnus author András Fodor's *Napló* [Journal] (Fodor 1991: 166–167).

Ankeria Santieri's heroic behaviour during the siege of Budapest won him a high prestige among Collegium staff. Keresztury personally applied to the MRPE for the prolongation of Santieri's position, as he played a crucial role in providing Russian and

¹²⁹⁷ Heinz Kühne's letter to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium about his appointment as a German lecturer. Vienna, 14 June 1948. MDKL box 47, file 84/b/3.

¹²⁹⁸ 37/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Géza Teleki, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 24 September 1945. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹²⁹⁹ 110.167/1945. Transcript by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the British Political Mission. Budapest, 17 November 1945. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹³⁰⁰ 94.198/7/45. Notice by the British Political Mission to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Budapest, 21 November 1945. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

¹³⁰¹ 15.622/1946. Letter by Department VIII of the MRPE to director Dezső Keresztury about Sándor Harsányi's salary. Budapest, 4 February 1946. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹³⁰² 112.273/1946.X. 1. sz. Letter by Department X of the MRPE to Sándor Harsányi. Budapest, 1 October 1946. MDKL box 46, file 84/2.

¹³⁰³ Though present at the end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 19 December 1946, no further sources mention his presence later than that date. See the record of end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 19 December 1946. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³⁰⁴ G. Lowes's full first name is not displayed in any of the sources. See the record for end-of-year teachers' meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³⁰⁵ Biography of George Frederick Cushing. MDKL box 46, file 84/1.

Finnish language education in the institution.¹³⁰⁶ Until the end of July 1946, the MRPE granted him a salary of 800 pengos,¹³⁰⁷ which was later raised to 93,000 pengos due to the severe inflation¹³⁰⁸ and supplemented with an aid of 120,000 pengos.¹³⁰⁹ In September 1946, however, Santieri asked for an exemption from teaching Russian and Finnish language courses in the Collegium, as he had numerous students at the university, and also needed time for working on his doctoral thesis.¹³¹⁰ After Santieri's withdrawal from teaching at the Collegium, Finnish language courses were taught by Péter Hajdú¹³¹¹ (Tóth 2004b: 148).¹³¹² Since Santieri received boarding at the Collegium in return for teaching language courses, the MRPE proposed his suspension and demanded that he left the institution.¹³¹³ As the MRPE decree arrived in winter, Santieri was allowed to stay in the Collegium with full boarding for humanitarian reasons.¹³¹⁴ In spring 1947, Santieri submitted a declaration to the MRPE stating that he was willing to resume teaching at the Collegium. Therefore, his expulsion was suspended. His lecturer's salary was raised from 106 to 200 forints, and an extra financial aid of 1,000 forints was given to him in July–August 1947.¹³¹⁵ Following the change of directors, however, he was soon to leave the institution.

Training methods within the collegium had not changed much: they were still based on individual supervision and work at tutorial classes. The selection system was developed in line with the standards laid down in 1928. Collegium members were put in three different categories: one for students with high academic performance, one for students whose academic performance was incomplete in some ways, and one for students who did not meet the Collegium's academic standards at all, and therefore were to be excluded.¹³¹⁶ Following World War II however, the Collegium faced selection problems similar to those after World War I. Due to the devastating effect the war had had on secondary education, newly admitted Collegium students displayed lower academic performance. For this reason, Keresztury repeatedly asked the Selection Committee to be especially

¹³⁰⁶ 54/1945. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to Géza Teleki, Minister of Religion and Public Education regarding the prolongation of Ankeira Santieri's employment. Budapest, 7 July 1945. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³⁰⁷ 25.505/1945. V. 1. sz. MRPE counsellor Géza Paikert's letter to Director Dezső Keresztury regarding Ankeira Santieri's salary. Budapest, 13 July 1945. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³⁰⁸ 15.623/1946. VIII. 1. sz. MRPE counsellor Géza Paikert's letter to Director Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 29 January 1946. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³⁰⁹ 17.906/1946. VIII. 1. sz. MRPE counsellor Géza Paikert's letter to Director Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 29 January 1946. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³¹⁰ 108.781/1946. X. 1. sz. Letter by Department X of the MRPE to director Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 25 September 1946. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³¹¹ Hajdú was a Hungarian-German major at the Collegium between 1941 and 1944. In May 1944, he moved out for reasons of getting married. (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19).

¹³¹² Péter Hajdú's report on Finnish language courses in the 2nd semester of the academic year of 1946/1947. Budapest, 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³¹³ 138.305/1946. X/a. 1. sz. Letter by József Nemes, department head at the MRPE to Ankeria Santieri. Budapest, 9 December 1946. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³¹⁴ Jenő Tomasz's report of the Ankeria Santieri-case. Budapest, 20 April 1947. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³¹⁵ 93467/1947. X. 1. sz. MRPE counsellor Kornél Révy's letter to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium regarding the Ankeria Santieri-case. Budapest, 18 July 1947. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³¹⁶ Record of the end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 17 November 1945. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

consistent in keeping to previous high standards.¹³¹⁷ In the academic year of 1947/1948, eight students passed their examinations at the Collegium with “good” and one student with “sufficient” results. Staff meetings also noted a considerable decline in the academic standards of theses. As such a phenomenon did not occur in the Collegium ever since the second half of the 1920’s, the new objectives set by the teaching staff were twofold: they wished to encourage individual work among seniors, and wanted to mend freshmen’s educational deficiencies. For achieving the latter goal, teachers were to meet freshmen once a month at informal dinners for a free intellectual discussion and a reading list of 100–200 volumes was assembled to be read by all freshmen regardless of their field of study.¹³¹⁸ Similarly to Zoltán Gombocz and Miklós Szabó’s intentions, Keresztury also wished to return to previous high standards by restoring academic morals. Intending to implement thorough structural and academic changes within the Collegium, Keresztury applied to the MRPE asking for “...*the establishment of a fully responsible Directory Council comprised of Collegium alumni of high academic and public prestige.*”¹³¹⁹ Even though Keresztury’s such intentions were explicitly stated, further details about these intended changes remain unknown due to lack of appropriate sources.

Despite Hungary’s international isolation after the war, the Board of Directors managed to secure an appropriate supply of foreign language lecturers for the Collegium. Apart from the lack of German and Italian lecturers, pre-1939 academic standards were almost completely restored. Compared to the previous Szabó-era, the most substantial changes took place in the field of social studies. Previously present as elective courses on an experimental basis, such studies became compulsory at certain study years after 1945. The significance of Slavic philology and especially Russian language had risen considerably. The newly restored versatility of academic structure, however, proved to be short-lived. Following Dezső Keresztury’s resignation in July 1948, numerous teachers abandoned the Collegium, leaving complete fields of study vacant. These changes led certain alumni to assume in their memoirs that by forcibly transforming it into a Marxist educational institution, the new Board of Directors actually intended to dissolve the Collegium completely (Keveléz 2007h: 142–144; Keveléz 2007a: 203–204).

¹³¹⁷ See the record of the end-of-year teachers’ meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³¹⁸ The first such consultation was to take place on 9 February 1948. See the record of teachers’ meeting on 3 February 1948. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³¹⁹ 226/1948. Dezső Keresztury’s letter to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 24 May 1948. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/4.

10.5.

Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE as Supervisory Authority Between 1945 and 1948, Changes in the Public Opinion on the Collegium

Unlike during its previous practice, the MRPE did not propose its own candidate for the vacated director's position. Minister Géza Teleki saw Miklós Szabó's dismissal as necessary due to his loss of support¹³²⁰ and readily accepted Dezső Keresztury as new director, since the Former Members' Association informally secured him of their support. Due to the financial aid offered by the MRPE for the reconstruction of the severely damaged Collegium building, the relationship between Teleki and the Collegium was rather cordial.

Reconstruction works took place in two stages: the first between August 1945 and 17 June 1946, and the second between September 1946 and June 1947. During the first stage, the most necessary works were carried out: fallen parts of the western façade were replaced and critical damages to the roof were repaired.¹³²¹ Reconstruction works stopped, because the rapid inflation rates made it impossible for the Ministry to supply the promised monthly sum of 250 million pengos, which, also due to the inflation, soon proved to be insufficient anyway.¹³²² Having been appointed as Minister of Religion and Public Education in the meantime, Dezső Keresztury promised the Collegium's staff to make all necessary efforts for the completion of the reconstruction works.¹³²³ After the financial stabilization of the country, reconstruction aid was again provided by the MRPE. A further sum of 107,000 forints was granted for interior reconstruction works.¹³²⁴ The MRPE was ready to support the reconstruction and refurnishing of both the smaller and bigger guest apartments, so the institution would be able to accommodate international guests once again. Former guest professors tended to regard their stay at the Collegium a positive experience, and thus became potential supporters of Hungarian culture. MRPE Department VI of Universities and Colleges, along with Departments X/a and X/b of International Relations provided 10,000 Hungarian Forints for the reconstruction of guest apartments respectively.¹³²⁵ The constructor was chosen in a closed tender process. The winner, Budapest-based building

¹³²⁰ See Miklós Szabó's letter to Sándor Eckhardt. Budapest, 8 October 1945. MTA KK Ms. 5207/9.

¹³²¹ Record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³²² Record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 20 June 1947. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³²³ Record of the end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 17 November 1945. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³²⁴ 30.525/1947. Letter from MRPE Department VI regarding reconstruction works on the Collegium building. Budapest, 6 February 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³²⁵ 71/1947. Jenő Tomasz's memorandum regarding the reconstruction of the Collegium's guest rooms. Budapest, 5 March 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

contractor Lajos Graff undertook the commission for a total of 39,152 forints.¹³²⁶ The Collegium received a regular MRPE donation for reconstruction works until the second half of 1947. The last sum of 2,500 forints was used for refurnishing the reading and common rooms.¹³²⁷



Image 28: Reconstruction works at the Eötvös Collegium in 1945.

In addition to a considerable improvement in financial opportunities, Dezső Keresztury's ministership also guaranteed the fulfilment of the objective set by the Board of Directors in 1924: the recognition of the Collegium as an independent college. This intention was inspired by Act XXVII of 1924 and the resolution processes of 1925. Attempts had already been made by director Pál Teleki in 1935 and 1936 and Miklós Szabó in 1938. Success was

¹³²⁶ 61784/1947. VI. Decision by MRPE department VI regarding reconstruction works on the Collegium building. Budapest, 18 April 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³²⁷ 162/1947 coll. Dezső Keresztury's letter regarding the equipment of the common room. Budapest, 12 June 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

partial: Miklós Szabó only succeeded in getting promoted to the 5th remuneration category, a privilege provided only to him, but not to his successors in the directorial position. The issue of teachers' wages, the recognition of the institution as an independent college and the single teacher's position under the 7th remuneration category, originally reserved for István Náray-Szabó, still remained unsettled.

In February 1946, deputy director Jenő Tomasz submitted a memorandum regarding the recognition of the Collegium as an independent college. The 50th anniversary of the Collegium's existence, coupled with Ministerial decree II. 18.600/1945 served as a suitable occasion for this action. Apart from the reorganization of teachers' positions, the memorandum basically repeated the request already worded in Pál Teleki and Miklós Szabó's similar memoranda: The Collegium should be declared an independent college by Ministerial decision without a change of name. The way of reasoning was also similar to those in previous memoranda: during the history of its existence, the Collegium had always enjoyed an educational freedom characteristic of academic institutions, having offered courses at university level. This freedom was guaranteed by the fact that the MRPE had always dealt with the Collegium's issues within the department reserved for academic institutions, universities, and colleges (Department IV before 1945, and Department VI after 1945). Ever since the resolution order of 1925, the Collegium had wished to have all future directors to be promoted to the 5th remuneration category. Tomasz also repeated the request that the position originally reserved for István Náray-Szabó of the Eötvös Loránd Collegium in Szeged be returned to the institution in Budapest. The memorandum also contained a request for the librarian's position to be transformed into a college senior lecturer, and René Bonnerjea being promoted from "language master" to "language teacher", as well as a request for the introduction of teacher's positions under the 5th and 7th remuneration category, so that the Collegiums of Budapest and Szeged may be united (cf. Papp 2004: 55–56).¹³²⁸

When the Ministry of Finance issued Decree II. 10.821/1946 as an approval of the restructuring of teachers' positions within the Collegium, Keresztury composed a proposal similar in its contents to Jenő Tomasz's memorandum and submitted it to the Ministerial Council. Department VI of the MRPE considered two options for recognizing the Collegium as a college. The first option included turning the Collegium into an independent teacher training college. In addition to considerable structural changes within the institution, however, this would have required an amendment to Act XXVII of 1924. For this reason, the Department preferred the other option: as a recognition of its outstanding results in the area of teacher training and academic education, the institution would receive a status of "college character" without the right to issue a diploma. Department XI/a also accepted this reasoning: granting a "college character" did not necessitate the granting of the right to issue an individual diploma. "Character" in this case would indicate the difference between the legal status of the Collegium and other colleges. Despite not being authorized to issue an independent college diploma for its graduates, the institution was recognized for providing a college-level education by college teachers.¹³²⁹

¹³²⁸ 40/1946. Jenő Tomasz's memorandum regarding the recognition of the Collegium as an independent college. Budapest, 25 February 1946. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³²⁹ Statement of MRPE Departments VI and XI/a on the structural reorganization of the Collegium. Budapest,

Keresztury's proposal, which contained the option agreed to by the MRPE Departments, was accepted by the Ministerial Council on 25 October 1946. Department VI of the MRPE then asked Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy and President Zoltán Tildy to recognize the Bárá Eötvös József Collegium as an educational institution of college character on the basis of outstanding results achieved in the areas of teacher training and academic education over its 50 years of existence, as well as on basis of § 4. (2) of Act XXVII of 1924 already mentioning the Collegium as an institution of college character and thus exempting its members from certain courses at the Secondary Teacher Training Institution.¹³³⁰ Upon the prime Minister's proposal, the President granted college character status to the Collegium on 11 November 1946 (Lekli 1995: 41).¹³³¹ Along with the fulfilment of all requests, this positive decision was unquestionably the result of Dezső Keresztury's authority as Minister of Religion and Public Education. The granting of college character status might be interpreted as a stabilization attempt among the ongoing political and social transformation processes in Hungary. (Papp 2004: 57) The author of this study is, however, prone to suppose that, along with structural changes regarding teachers' positions, the acquisition of a college character status was a rather advantageous solution for issues constantly considered by Collegium directors ever since 1924. The granting of college character status finally secured the exceptional position the Collegium had always wished to acquire within the system of Hungarian higher education. Up until 1948, this system had not changed substantially, nor did the social composition of university students. Basic transformations after the double university reforms of 1948 and 1949–50 (cf. Ladányi 1986: 10–12), however, had a vital impact on the positions of the Collegium.

The 50th anniversary of the Collegium's existence took place on the academic year of 1945/1946. The idea of a celebration emerged already at the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 28 July 1945. Lajos Ligeti suggested that the wider public should be invited to the event so the Collegium got some publicity and might raise possible funds for reconstruction works. After a lengthy debate, however, the staff accepted the director's proposal of an internal celebration that would nevertheless receive some press coverage¹³³² and agreed to the publication of an anniversary yearbook.¹³³³ Upon Keresztury's request, the MRPE, in 1947, donated

11 April 1946. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³³⁰ 12.4723/1946. IV. Memorandum by MRPE Department VI regarding the recognition of the Collegium as an independent college. Budapest, 28 October 1946. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³³¹ This memorandum listed the arguments previously drawn up by Jenő Tomasz and MRPE Department VI. The strongest one stated that up until 1945, the Collegium had had 730 graduates, out of whom 115 had become university or college teachers, 25 alumni worked at various ministries, 60 were researchers of various scientific institutions, 18 were employed abroad, 58 directed secondary schools and 20 became writers or artists. 400 alumni worked as secondary school teachers and 44 became regular members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. (Lekli 1995: 41; Garai 2009: 133).

¹³³² In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Collegium's existence, the following articles were published: Vass, László (1945): "Az Eötvös-Kollegium fél százada" [Eötvös Collegium for Half a Century]. *Esti Szabad Szó*, 47/169. 1–2. (Friday, 19 October 1945.) Molnár, Aurél (1945): "Ötvenéves a Kollégium. Beszélgetés Keresztury Dezső igazgatóval az újjáépítés munkálatairól, a tagok életéről és a kollégium »titkáról«" [The Collegium Is Fifty Years Old: a Conversation with Director Dezső Keresztury about Reconstruction Works, Student Life and the »Secret« of the Collegium]. *Szabad Szó*, 47/167. 2. (Wednesday, 17 October 1945.) (MDKL box 89, file 185/a.).

¹³³³ See the report of the Selection Committee meeting on 28 July 1945. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

5,000 forints to the Collegium for the yearbook and also gave 4,000 forints for the release of a memorial coin.¹³³⁴ Even though the manuscript of the yearbook was completed, it never got published. Unfinished parts are to be found at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books.¹³³⁵ The director also intended to hold a representative celebration on 26 October 1947, to which he invited Minister Gyula Ortutay of the MRPE along with professor Aurélien Sauvageot, director of the École Normale Supérieure and former French language lecturer of the Collegium and former English language lecturer Barker Vernon Duckworth.¹³³⁶ Yet, there is no evidence of the event actually taking place.¹³³⁷ The 50th anniversary celebration was a private event much like the silver jubilee 25 years earlier.



Image 29: Front and back faces of “The spirit serves freely” memorial coin

Similarly to the interwar era, the only way of acquiring new items for the Collegium library was through international donations. For example, the greatest achievement of Albert Szegő's trip to Switzerland was the acquisition of a larger collection of books donated by the

¹³³⁴ The front side of the coin features a female figure releasing a bird and Keresztury's motto: “The spirit serves freely”. The back side features the Latin inscription *In Memoriam Sollemnium Semisaecularium Collegii a Josepho Eötvös Nominati MDCCCXCV MDCCCXLV*. 39.486/1947 VI. MRPE Department IV on financing the Collegium's 50th anniversary yearbook. Budapest, 28 February 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³³⁵ MTAKK Ms. 5982/113–123.

¹³³⁶ 274/1947. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 10 September 1947. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

¹³³⁷ There is no mention of such a celebration in András Fodor's *Napló* [Journal] either. In his entry dated 26 October 1947, Fodor only talks about some students who were completely unable to identify with the values of the institution. From among them, he mentioned senior-year Hungarian-Romanian major Bálint Sárosi in particular. (Fodor 1991: 37–38).

Schweizerische Bücherspende in response to a reference letter by the MRPE.¹³³⁸ Another issue regarding the library was related to Jenő Tomasz's request for guidance from the Legal Department of the MRPE regarding a purchase of books from the Library of the Soviet Embassy in 1941. The deputy director noted that the Collegium had been informed of the opportunity of the purchase via the Royal Swedish Embassy, and upon conducting the purchase, the institution faced fierce attacks in the press. In addition, as the Collegium building was used for lodging by Nazi troops during the war, the books in question meant a substantial risk factor for the Board of Directors. During a revision process, however, the legitimacy of the purchase was questioned. Tomasz asked the MRPE to guarantee the Collegium's rights to the books, since their removal would result in considerable hardships in Russian education, because of the scarce availability of Russian books at that time.¹³³⁹ The MRPE declared that the purchase was legal, therefore the books in question were lawfully owned by the Collegium.¹³⁴⁰ By clarifying the legal status of these books, Tomasz wished to prevent radical left-wing political assaults. This attempt was successful in the sense that during the so-called "special college debate", the issue of the Soviet books was not brought up by any of the parties.



Image 30: Dezső Keresztury restores the Collegium library with students in 1945

¹³³⁸ 100/1947. coll. sz. Dezső Keresztury's memorandum regarding a donation of books to be received by the Collegium. Budapest, 26 March 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³³⁹ 50.a/1947. coll. sz. Jenő Tomasz's report of a book purchase form the Soviet Embassy. Budapest, 17 February 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³⁴⁰ 106.436/11-1947. Statement by the Legal Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the ownership of the Russian books. Budapest, 26 August 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

The debate was launched by senior Collegium student Jenő Major's article published in the October issue of the journal *Valóság* [Reality] in 1946. In Major's opinion, newly emerging people's colleges educated a new type of intelligentsia in Hungary, however, this new group of intellectuals should enhance social development instead of suppressing it (Major 1946: 245–246).¹³⁴¹ In the first half of 20th century Hungarian history, two types of special colleges were formed: one was the Györffy Collegium, a prototype for later people's colleges and the other one was the Eötvös Collegium. Despite the latter being closely connected to the Faculty of Arts at the University of Budapest, members of the Collegium by no means were isolated from society. Having been an institution of elite education, the Collegium had proven to be an island of intellectual freedom even in the darkest periods. Györffy Collegium, on the other hand, approached education from a political perspective and could, in Major's opinion, only be successful if it adopted the proven methods and educational ideals of the Eötvös Collegium (ibid. 250–254; Paksa 2004: 123).

Béla Köpeczy's¹³⁴² response to Major's article was also published in *Valóság* the following month. Köpeczy emphasized the need of a new Hungarian society for a well-rounded European intelligentsia that was capable of lifting up the society. The development of such a new elite required the foundation of new educational institutions. The selection policy and system of tutorial classes at Eötvös Collegium, guaranteeing its high level of education, could serve as a good example for newly formed people's colleges (Köpeczy 1946: 255–256).¹³⁴³ Köpeczy praised people's colleges for turning to the lower layers of society, but also recommended the adoption of the selection policy and system of tutorial classes implemented by the Eötvös Collegium in order to educate knowledgeable professionals instead of producing dilettantes with a scattered and fragmentary knowledge. He also noted that the Collegium's previous isolation was most possibly due to the fact that pre-1945 Hungarian political systems did not tolerate criticism. Criticism and democracy were, however, not mutually exclusive concepts, therefore Köpeczy hoped that instead of isolation, Hungarian intelligentsia would take an active part in shaping new Hungarian life (ibid. 257–259; Paksa: 2004: 123). To the concealed criticism regarding the Collegium's detachment from matters of public life before 1945, Keresztury published his response in the January 1947 issue of *Valóság*. Besides commemorating the Collegium's silver jubilee, director Keresztury discussed his predecessor Géza Bartoniek's habit of having been ever-present at the Collegium; appearing in the most unanticipated places at the most unanticipated times to check on his students, Bartoniek also encouraged Collegium members to stand their ground in life at least as much as they did in academic studies. In his article, Keresztury also portrayed different types of students including the reserved and restless philologists who, having conquered intellectual peaks, also wished to gain experience in everyday life (Keresztury 1947: 263–266).¹³⁴⁴ Yet he noted that the institution had never yielded to any political catchphrases, as freedom of critical thinking had always been a basic value within the Collegium. During the 1920's,

¹³⁴¹ Major's full article is published in: Szász 1985: 245–254.

¹³⁴² Köpeczy was a French-Romanian major at the Collegium between 1940 and 1945. He graduated with excellent results and won a scholarship to the École Normale Supérieure (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 31).

¹³⁴³ Köpeczy's full article is published in: Szász 1985: 255–260.

¹³⁴⁴ Keresztury full article is published in: Szász 1985: 262–279.

the institution faced several challenges, including financial shortages preventing any further development of the library and poor food supply. Having repeated Géza Laczkó's argument about the Collegium being a Francophone island within German floods at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries,¹³⁴⁵ Keresztury inferred that the high number of Collegium alumni among contemporary leaders of Hungarian intellectual life was a sound proof of the Collegium having become a stronghold of European culture in the country (ibid. 272–274; Paksa 2004: 124).

With his openly hostile article published in *Valóság* in February 1947, Imre Lakatos¹³⁴⁶ raised the debate to a different level.¹³⁴⁷ In Lakatos's opinion, the development of the new intelligentsia was closely connected to the issue of special colleges. Before 1945, the Eötvös and Györfly Collegiums were the two special colleges available for the education of what he called "democratic intelligentsia". The two however had not developed a close relationship, since the Eötvös Collegium had expressed a certain disdain towards the Györfly's educational methods and was afraid to fall victim of the Györfly's expansion through the NÉKOSZ (National Association of people's colleges). Lakatos saw this resentment as mutual, since people's college students were equally critical of the Eötvös's apoliticism. Referring to both Major's and Köpeczy's articles, he highlighted Major's argument about the need for people's colleges to harmonize their educational methods with those of the Collegium. He also responded to Köpeczy's argument by stating that even though people's colleges rightly turned towards lower layers of society, they should transform into genuine special colleges by adopting the system of tutorial classes (Lakatos 1947: 280–282).¹³⁴⁸ Lakatos then examined the two special colleges according to their historic mission and whether these missions were in line with the contemporary transformation of social and political circumstances. He then clearly expressed his opinion that while the Györfly Collegium was perfectly congruent with new tendencies in Hungarian public life, the Eötvös Collegium was undoubtedly incompatible with them. The Collegium, in Lakatos's opinion, trained scholars for a civic state and already expressed certain traits of civic decadence. Even though Act XXVII. of 1924 demanded that special colleges like the Eötvös should be founded beside all faculties of arts in the country, this attempt was in Lakatos's opinion eventually a total failure. For Lakatos, the members of this elite academic institution were far too apolitical and resorted to isolation in 1944 instead of acting against the emergence of the radical right-wing dictatorship (ibid. 284–287). Lakatos also drew examples from two works of fiction featuring Collegium members (Géza Laczkó's *Királyhágó* [*Királyhágó*, literally King's

¹³⁴⁵ Géza Laczkó (1930): "Bégé úr. Egy volt Eötvös-kollégista visszaemlékezik" ["Mr. GB: memoirs of an Eötvös alumnus"]. *Pesti Napló*, 81/41. 2. (19 February 1930.) MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

¹³⁴⁶ Lakatos was already a postgraduate student when he joined the Collegium as a Mathematics-Physics major between 1945 and 1948. Though at his entrance exam, Dezső Keresztury expressed his doubt about Lakatos's ability to integrate into the Collegium's community, as he was overage, he finally did not object to Lakatos's acceptance. (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 33). During his years at the Collegium, Lakatos worked on his doctoral dissertation until 1948 and took an active part in the forced transformation of the Collegium into a Marxist centre of academic education. (Mihályi 2012: 179).

¹³⁴⁷ According to Mátyás Domokos, his fellow Collegium member András Fodor saw Lakatos working on the article at the Collegium library (Domokos 2004: 338).

¹³⁴⁸ Lakatos's full article is published in: Szász 1985: 280–311.

Pass, a mountain pass between Partium and Transylvania Regions in present-day Romania] and István Sótér's *Fellegjárás* [*Walking on Clouds*]) to illustrate that the Collegium educated upper-class teachers and scholars who eventually were mesmerized by their own intellectual superiority. He also argued that the history of the Collegium was closely connected to the tragedy of Hungarian middle-class society, which had completely been unable to take action against the expansion of fascism in the country. In contrast to this argument, Lakatos saw the Collegium members' post-1945 apoliticism and critical opinions as an explicit action against the rise of people's democracy. He concluded that the new intellectual elite of the emerging people's democracy was going to be comprised of Györfly alumni, as this special college prepared its members for taking an active part in public life. To the Eötvös Collegium, Lakatos suggested that, through the invitation of Marxist scholars and a closer cooperation with people's colleges, they should immediately start an academic attack on fascism (ibid. 298–303). In his concluding thoughts, Lakatos violently assaulted Keresztury, labelling him a devotee of conservative middle-class science and an unconditional follower of Kunó Klebelsberg, former Minister of the MRPE. He recommended that Keresztury should swiftly introduce a progressive approach in his Collegium, otherwise he might become the last of the institution's directors (ibid. 310–311; Paksa 2004: 124–125).

Lakatos's article bore all the characteristics of politically motivated press attacks: the author subordinated all facts to one idea and interpreted them in a way that they would all support his argument. To achieve his goal, Lakatos did not refrain from withholding certain facts or presenting them inaccurately. He did not mention Collegium members' characteristic interest in issues of Hungarian public life, though it was rather ostensibly expressed during the revolutions of 1918–1919 and also in the 1930's. Lakatos gave an obviously inaccurate report of the Collegium's attitude towards the events of 1944–1945 by wrongfully denying the fact that Collegium members took part in resistance movements against Nazi expansion. Nevertheless, Lakatos's article had achieved its goal: the student society of the Collegium split into two ideological groups and a growing number of public figures joined the debate, turning it into a political dispute.

Collegium students' response to Lakatos's article was published in the March 1947 issue of *Valóság*.¹³⁴⁹ The authors pointed out that Lakatos used Marxist terminology and simplified some issues deliberately. They also emphasized that, despite an attempt at being objective, Lakatos's sentences often expressed strong emotions. The students' article tried to refute Lakatos's arguments referring to his personal features and the nature of his sources. As for his personality, students noted that Lakatos had been admitted to the Collegium despite being overage, and that students met him with immediate trust and hospitality. As a sign of social acceptance, Lakatos was also invited to the Collegium Fathers' Meeting. Since Lakatos did not internalize the values of Marxism himself, he presented his personal failure as an educational shortcoming of the Collegium. In addition, Lakatos failed to handle his sources with the adequate amount of criticism: by referring to works of fiction, oral histories, and cabaret evenings at the Collegium, he made a serious methodological mistake (Sine nomine 1947a: 312–314). The students' article then systematically disproved the arguments

¹³⁴⁹ [Sine nomine] (1947): Response of the Eötvös Collegium's Youth Imre Lakatos's Article. *Valóság*, March 1947. Full article is published in: Szász 1985: 312–322.

stating that Collegium students had not taken part in anti-Nazi resistance movements or had hindered the spread of Marxist ideology. Conversely, the students' article argued that the strategy for higher educational reforms at the Faculty of Arts was developed by Collegium students (ibid. 317). On the other hand, Collegium students did not deny that their relationship with people's colleges was rather strained, but argued that this was due to the difference in their educational objectives. The article stressed, nevertheless, that the Collegium had overcome many of its previous traditions, in order to be at further service of society (ibid. 321–322; Paksa 2004: 125). Another group of 34 Collegium students, however, published an essentially different reaction in the journal titled *Március Tizenötödike* [March 15].¹³⁵⁰ Starting with the statement that the previous response in *Valóság* did not reflect the unequivocal opinion of all students, the article aptly illustrated the schism within the Collegium's student society. Even though the Collegium's academic results were of a high value to the society, these values needed to be radicalized. This left the Collegium with two options: either it was degraded to a simple boarding school with an ineffective education system or became the intellectual stronghold of all Eastern European democracies (Sine nomine 1947b: 323–324). The article also expressed Collegium students' wish to take part in decision making about the appointment of teachers, selection policies and the system of academic education. The article nevertheless emphasized the Collegium's intentions to form a good relationship with NÉKOSZ colleges and reported having taken part in the work of the MEFESZ (Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolai Egyesületek Szövetsége – Alliance of Hungarian University and College Students) along with the development of the future Bill for Higher Education (ibid. 325–326; cf. Paksa 2004: 125–126). This article was significant for two reasons. On the one hand, this was the first case when Collegium students gave press publicity to their disagreement with fellow Collegium members regarding internal issues of the institution. On the other hand, the latter article expressed the ideas of the Collegium's newly formed Communist Party Group for the reorganization of the institution's educational system.

Formerly an active participant of the resistance movement, Tibor Klaniczay also published a reaction to Lakatos's article. He pointed out that Lakatos failed to consider that, as people's college students essentially came from worker and peasant backgrounds, they more readily embraced Marxism than the primarily middle-class students of the Eötvös Collegium. Members of the latter first needed to deny their own middle-class background. Although an increasing number of Collegium students expressed interest in Lenin and Marx's works after 1945, and several also joined the Party, they did not succeed in implementing ideological aspects during the selection process (Klaniczay 1947: 327–330).¹³⁵¹ He also stated that Lakatos had drawn a false picture of the Eötvös Collegium in the 1920's and 1930's, since during that period, the institutions expressed the most progressive views in contemporary

¹³⁵⁰ [Sine nomine] (1947): Statement by Students of the Eötvös Collegium. *Március Tizenötödike* [March 15], 26 March 1947. Full article is published in: Szász 1985: 323–326. The journal's name, *Március Tizenötödike* [March 15], refers to the first day of the 1848–49 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence. Hungarian political reform movements after 1945 generally referred to the 1848–49 Revolution as their antecedent and supporters of democratic – later radical – changes tended to identify themselves as followers of 1848–49 revolutionaries.

¹³⁵¹ Klaniczay's full article is published in: Szász 1985: 327–336.

Hungarian public life. The general character of the institution had always necessitated the implementation of the most current academic ideas. Therefore, Klaniczay reasoned, the embracement of Marxism was also necessary. "*Progressive members of the Collegium have taken all efforts to restore the institution's pioneering position. This, however, requires understanding and compassionate support, instead of articles with limited objectivity and a malicious presentation of facts*" (Klaniczay 1947: 336). Similarly to the statement published by the group of 34 Collegium students, Klaniczay also supported the idea of turning the Collegium into a Marxist centre of education. Out of Lakatos's article, he only criticized exaggerations and the distortion of facts (cf. Paksa 2004: 126).

In April 1947, the debate entered a new stage, as persons more closely related to the contemporary Hungarian political elite also started to publicly express their opinions. Sándor Lukácsy¹³⁵² published his arguments in the April 1947 issue of *Valóság*.¹³⁵³ He began with stating that the debate was by no means exaggerated for those who were aware of the significance of the Collegium. Having pointed out the basic agreement between Klaniczay and Lakatos, Lukácsy reasoned that the real schism was demonstrated by the two very different reactions published by the two separate groups of Collegium members. He was quick to express his approval of the statement published by the group of 34 students. The other article, in Lukácsy's opinion, resorted to condemning Lakatos, instead of reflecting on the institution's real problems. In line with Lakatos's argument, Lukácsy also reprimanded Collegium students for their lack of armed resistance against Nazi forces. In his opinion, only one student took an active part in the resistance movement and he was later used by right-wing youth to divert attention from real problems. Lukácsy found the first press reaction of Collegium youth hardly credible. He argued that the idea of a press reaction to Lakatos's article was first conceived by left-wing students, but during a debate over putting it into actual words, right-wing students finally dominated the more acquiescent left-wing group. Yet this policy failed, in Lukácsy's opinion, as the 34 left-wing students published their own opinion, in which they supported the people's democracy, listed practical tasks and condemned fellow Collegium members for their retrograde attitude. Lukácsy concluded his article by expressing his hopes for the quick transformation of the Collegium into a progressive Marxist institution (Lukácsy 1947: 338–340; cf. Paksa 2004: 126–127).

As a rather foreboding sign for the Board of Directors of the Collegium, the next person to publicly express his opinion was Géza Losonczy,¹³⁵⁴ member of the Hungarian Communist Party's Central Committee, and editor-in-chief of the Internal Affairs column of Communist daily paper *Szabad Nép* [*Free People*] (Paksa 2004: 127). In the 17 April 1947 issue of *Szabad Nép*,¹³⁵⁵ Losonczy recalled the Communist conspiracy of 1932, arguing that even in the highly repressive Horthy-system, the Collegium was a haven of critical thinking. The conspiracy, however, brought this tendency to a halt, as it led the Board of Directors to opt

¹³⁵² Hungarian-French major at the Collegium in 1941–45 (MDKL box 12, file 12, lot 35).

¹³⁵³ Lukácsy's full article is published in: Szász 1985: 337–342.

¹³⁵⁴ Losonczy's relationship to the Collegium was only superficial, as he repeatedly applied for membership as a Hungarian-French major in 1935 and 1936. Both of his applications were rejected. (MDKL box 28, file 38, lot 30).

¹³⁵⁵ Losonczy's article is published in: Szász 1985: 343–347. Also to be found in: MDKL box 89, file 185/a.

for a more apolitical attitude within the institution. Contradicting Lakatos and Lukácsy to some extent, Losonczy argued that despite this intended apoliticism, an opposition group of some sort was formed in the Collegium during the Nazi occupation of the country (Losonczy 1947: 343–344). Since the country had been liberated from Nazi dictatorship, Losonczy argued that there was no further need for the Collegium to be in opposition. In his opinion, there was no need for transforming into a Györffy-type institution either. The Collegium had to remain an institution of high-level academic education producing scholars dedicated to democracy. This goal however required putting an end to the institution's isolation. The Board of Directors needed to transform from an obstacle to development to a facilitator of progress. At this point, Losonczy argued, the process needed to be fostered by the state through the appointment of a progressive teaching staff (ibid. 346–347; Cf. Paksa 2004: 127). In addition to urging the Collegium's transformation into a Marxist centre of higher education, Losonczy went a step further than Lukácsy and the group of 34 Collegium students. Suggesting the necessity of state intervention, Losonczy did not wish to wait for the results of an organic process of transformation into a Marxist institution; he proposed a forced reorganization instead. This suggestion was in fact a covert message to Dezső Keresztury who had resigned from his ministerial position at the MRPE a month earlier. By foreshadowing the possibility of state intervention, Losonczy wished to warn him that the transformation of Hungarian public life was unlikely to stop at the gates of the Collegium.

Losonczy's message was intensified by another malicious article published in *Szabad Nép* the day before, featuring an unknown author's report about the election meeting of the Eötvös Collegium Former Members' Association. The author mentioned that the new president was composer Zoltán Kodály, Gyula Szekfű had become co-president, Miklós Nagy and Miklós Zsirai had been elected vice-presidents, and Kálmán Benda had become secretary general. As a new board member of the Association, however, electors preferred Miklós Szabó to Péter Mód in a ratio of 70:21. The author of the article pointed out that Mód had taken part in the Communist conspiracy of 1932, for which he had been arrested and sentenced to prison. Miklós Szabó, however, banned all autonomous students' associations after 1945. In addition, in his work *Pro Domo* published in 1944, Szabó mentioned that he had previously received the Order of the German Eagle along with the Humboldt-medal for the improvement of German-Hungarian cultural relations (Sine nomine 1947c: 2).¹³⁵⁶ In spite of being aware of these facts, the electors had preferred Szabó to Mód despite the latter's devotion to labour movement (cf. Markó 2011a: 124).

The nature of this debate illustrates how a professional or academic issue gradually had become loaded with political contents concentrating on ideological aspects rather than historical facts. According to contemporary sources though, the idea of Keresztury's dismissal from his director's position did not emerge even after this fierce public debate. The relationship of the MRPE to the Collegium, however, underwent a substantial change. As a sign of this change, in his 1947 memorandum, director Keresztury self-critically admitted that for decades, Collegium youth had retreated to their academic fields, having

¹³⁵⁶ [Sine nomine] (1947): „A Német Sasrend mint ajánlólevél – 1947-ben” [“The Order of the German Eagle as a Reference – in 1947”]. *Szabad Nép*, Wednesday 16 April 1947. 2. (MDKL box 89, file 185/a).

isolated themselves from everyday Hungarian life. To express their genuine interest in the questions of public life and transformations in contemporary Hungarian society, Collegium members wished to study the problems of rural Hungary. Students had already organised a trip to Jászapáti for fieldwork and would be glad to carry on with studies there. To cover the cost of railroad tickets, Keresztury asked the MRPE for a contribution of 500 forints.¹³⁵⁷ In his memorandum, Keresztury operated with the central argument of the previous press debate; the Collegium was ready to put an end to its policy of isolation, and expressed its openness towards social issues. Despite this explicit gesture by the Collegium, the MRPE rejected the request on the basis of budget shortage.

Due to the extreme acceleration of changes in public life in 1948, director Keresztury was left with two options: he either stayed at his position and restructured the Collegium according to the expectations of the Communist party, or he resigned as a sign of protest against such changes. Following the explicit intervention of the Communist Party and especially József Révai into the internal conflict resulting from the election of the Collegium's new Student President on 5 May 1948, Keresztury decided to resign from his post on 30 July 1948. The MRPE accepted his resignation and appointed Tibor Lutter, member of the Hungarian Working People's Party as acting director.¹³⁵⁸ So the Collegium's transformation set out as a mixture of Lukácsy's and Losonczy's plans: the former director had resigned, due to an internal conflict and, after August 1948, a new, state-appointed Communist director was to carry out all previously suggested changes.

10.6.

Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1945 and 1948

Until the summer of 1947, the internal life of the Collegium was hallmarked by the building's serious war damages. Right after the end of the siege, students began the removal of debris and to rescue remaining material possessions under Jenő Tomasz's command. The most necessary reconstruction works had been carried out already in summer 1945, in order to render some parts of the building habitable by the beginning of the academic year of 1945/1946 (Ruttkay 2007d: 213).

¹³⁵⁷ 351/1947. Dezső Keresztury's request for funding the Collegium's field trips. Budapest, 20 November 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹³⁵⁸ 329/1948. 201.331/1948. VI.1. Tibor Lutter's letter to the MRPE about taking over the directorial position of the Collegium. Budapest, 1 August 1948. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.



Image 31: Ground floor ruins of the Collegium building, 1945

In order to secure the availability of regular meals in the Collegium, students admitted in 1945 were to provide a monthly supply of the following amounts of food: 2 kg flour, 25 dkg lard or 0.3 l sunflower oil, 3 kg leguminous vegetables, 10 eggs or food of corresponding value. They also had to hand in a monthly amount of 0.5 kg laundry soap along with their ration books (Kucsman 2004: 124–125). Despite all efforts, supply was rather scarce for a long time. Until the reopening of the Collegium's laundry in 1946, students had to take care of cleaning their own clothes and linen themselves (Ruttkay 2007c: 240). Heating did not work either, and, during the winter of 1945–46, a lengthy “coal vacation” was issued due to the damaged heating system and shortage of coal. The fact that the regular end-of-semester

teachers' meeting was held on 17th November 1945, a month earlier than usual, also supports the idea that the institution was forced to issue an involuntary vacation.¹³⁵⁹ Students were crowded into the scarce rooms where heating worked or where the Board of Directors was able to supply some form of heating equipment. This led to the temporary disruption of the family system, a primary means of education and control within the institution. This was the period when students started to use the Library of the Hungarian Parliament for studying, as it was always properly heated (Kelevész–Ruttkay 2007: 182). Anekria Santieri's case at the end of 1946 implies that heating problems persisted in the winter of 1946/1947, leaving entire apartments, including senior Jenő Major's room, without any form of heating.¹³⁶⁰ The problem was permanently solved only in the summer of 1947. Professionals of the MÁVAG (Magyar Királyi Állami Vas-, Acél- és Gépgyárak, Hungarian Royal State Railroads' Machine Factory) gave a price offer of 26,000 forints for repair costs and the installation of new shower rooms in the basement. Out of this sum, 24,000 forints was the workers' wages, which the Collegium was unable to finance. Repair and construction works were therefore carried out within the movement "Munkások a Tudományért" ("Workers for Science"), which made it possible for the Collegium to make up for workers' wages by providing courses in languages, history, literature and geography.¹³⁶¹

The good relationship between MÁVAG and the Collegium carried on: on 11th December 1947, the complete community of Collegium students visited the MÁVAG factory, and András Fodor gained very pleasant experiences in relation to the workers (Fodor 1991: 57). On 11th February 1948, a delegation of eight MÁVAG workers came to the Collegium's regular Wednesday Evening lecture series to talk about their profession (Paksa 2004: 107). On 15 April 1948, however, this cordial relationship came to an abrupt end. On that day, Collegium students were to join university employees for working a day at the MÁVAG as part of a politically forced demonstration of sympathy for workers. As they could not form an individual brigade, Collegium students were scattered among brigades of people's college students. During the midday assembly, however, the group leader publicly reprimanded Eötvös students in front of their peers from people's colleges. Fodor described the whole incident as highly humiliating (Fodor 1991: 102–103).

Apart from its devastating impact on the students' physical environment, the war had also considerably affected the general form of student life within the Collegium. The family system, the institutions' characteristic form of living, could only be reinstated in 1946. The traditional end-of-year cabaret evening was moved from December to the end of academic years, most usually June. Similarly to previous traditions, the cabaret was followed by a party, to which female guests were also allowed. The last cabaret of the "old *Collegium*" took place on 19 June 1948. Its title, *Félistenek alkonyulása* (*Twilight of the Demigods*) accurately reflected on the ongoing radical changes within the Collegium (Fodor 1991: 127–131). Along with sketches from everyday Collegium life, parodies featured an increasing amount of political jokes reflecting on the swift transformation of public life (Paksa 2004: 105).

¹³⁵⁹ See the record of the end-of-semester teachers' meeting on 17 November 1945. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹³⁶⁰ Jenő Tomasz's report of the Ankeria Santieri-case. Budapest, 20 April 1947. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

¹³⁶¹ 160/1947. Dezső Keresztury's letter to the NIK (Nehézipari Központ) Munkaverseny Bizottság (Labour Contest Committee of the Centre for Heavy Industry). Budapest, 6 June 1947. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

During the first period of the Keresztury-era, political parties were allowed into the institution. Prior to the parliamentary elections on 4 November 1945, a political information week was organized at the Collegium between 1 and 6 October. Lectures were held on 1 October by Géza Supka of the Civic Democratic Party¹³⁶², on 2 October by Sándor Szalai of Hungarian Social Democratic Party,¹³⁶³ on 3 October by József Révai of the Hungarian Communist Party¹³⁶⁴ and on 5 October by Péter Veres of the National Peasant Party¹³⁶⁵ and Imre Oltványi of the Independent Smallholders' Party.¹³⁶⁶ On 6th October, renowned writer and village researcher Zoltán Szabó was invited to hold a closing lecture.¹³⁶⁷ Wednesday Evenings continued to feature scholars, writers and sportspeople. In the academic year of 1947/1948, Wednesday Evening guests included Zoltán Bay, philosopher György Lukács (internationally also known as Georg Lukacs), Erik Molnár, József Révai for the second time, Gyula Illyés, János Pilinszky, Magda Szabó, Miklós Gyárfás, Iván Mándy, György Somlyó, Ottó Major, László Benjámin, György Rába, and table tennis champion Gizi Farkas. All lectures were followed by a question and answer session. Politicians tended to receive particularly inconvenient questions from students (Paksa 2004: 101–102).¹³⁶⁸

The most important position was still that of the Student President who was responsible for representing all Collegium students before the Board of Directors. Elections were usually preceded by a week of campaign, during which students coined funny rhymes in favour of their preferred candidates (see Fodor 1991: 37–38; Szász 1985: 41).¹³⁶⁹ The Student President continued to have his right to summon all Collegium students or to call the Fathers' meeting to discuss questions regarding the guidance of freshmen. Following 1945, the new position of the Eagle Guard appeared. During the clean-up procedures immediately after the end of the siege, Miklós Kováts, a junior student previously reprimanded for setting a wastebin on fire, had found Miklós Szabó's Order of the German Eagle hidden in the library (Hajdú 2004: 54). For the protection of this curious object, the new title of the Eagle Guard was invented. The position was usually given to a person whom it might make the most uncomfortable. In order to make fun of the former political system, as well as of Miklós Szabó's notoriously ceremonious manners, the Eagle Guard was supposed to hang the medal in front of his genitals. He was then either carried all through the building by fellow Collegium members, or set upon a table at the cafeteria, so all freshmen could reach up and kiss the medal hanging in front of the Eagle Guard's crotch (Kucsman 2006: 100; Ruttkay 2007d: 222; Kelevéz 2007g: 311–312).¹³⁷⁰ The Eagle Guard however also had the

¹³⁶² 145/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Géza Supka. Budapest, 26 September 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹³⁶³ 145/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Sándor Szalai. Budapest, September 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹³⁶⁴ 145/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to József Révai. Budapest, September 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹³⁶⁵ 145/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Péter Veres. Budapest, September 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹³⁶⁶ 145/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Imre Oltványi, Minister of Finance. Budapest, 26 September 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹³⁶⁷ 145/1945. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Zoltán Szabó. Budapest, September 1945. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹³⁶⁸ In addition to András Fodor's *Napló* (Fodor 1991), the list of lecturers invited to Wednesday Evenings in the academic year of 1947/1948 is also available in the Collegium's archives: "List of Lectures in the First Semester of the academic year of 1947/1948 ("Wednesday Evenings"). MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

¹³⁶⁹ „Elnökséghez nem kell ész, legyen elnök egy dögész!” (Fodor 1991: 37). „Kenyeret nem sülttököt, Kommunista elnököt!” (Szász 1985: 45) Both also published in: Paksa 2004: 104.

¹³⁷⁰ Árpád Kucsman's memoirs include a list of Eagle Guards' names: Miklós Mikolás, Mathematics-Physics major

function of conducting the Student President election as master of ceremonies. *"Just like all similar rituals of the Collegium, this one also had some ironic air to it. The mysterious distribution of papers, the secret counting, the constant noise, throwing of chairs and endless joking all showed that the whole thing was kind of half serious"* (Fodor 1991: 76–77). Having completed his task of supervising the election process, the Eagle Guard chose his successor who was to "step into office" in the next academic year (Kucsman 2006: 112–113). After the overarching transformations following the end of the academic year of 1947/1948, this position vanished, along with several other student rituals.

Due to financial and infrastructural hardships, cross-country travel had become almost impossible. Records of only two field trips are available from this period: an ethnographic data collection trip to Jászapáti in 1947 and another trip of similar nature to the Őrség Region, upon the invitation of the Vas megyei Szabadművelési Társaság (Vas County Society of Free Education) between 15 February and 1 March in 1948. Having spent a week in the village of Kistrákos, students moved on to Szalafő, paying shorter visits to the villages of Szaknyér, Nagyrákos, Pankasz, Ispánk, and Őriszentpéter. During the two weeks of their field trip, students held 18 lectures on literature, history and social studies. Jenő Major suggested that both ethnographic data collection and the lecture series should be continued. This, however, never happened, because it would have meant an extra expense of 600–900 forints to the Collegium¹³⁷¹. The request for funding similar field trips was already rejected by the MRPE in the autumn of 1947. Ethnographic data collection trips were most probably attempts to respond to intense press criticism condemning the Collegium's isolation. They however did little to change the essentially negative public opinion about the Collegium. Keresztury also planned a trip to the College of Sárospatak in April 1948, but the college director asked for postponement. Keresztury resigned soon after, so the trip finally did not take place.¹³⁷²

Opportunities for international study trips were equally limited, due to Hungary's newly restricted international relations. In March 1947, Jenő Tomasz submitted a memorandum to the MRPE stating that, considering present financial circumstances, he requested 15 scholarships primarily to neighbouring countries in the Danube Basin.¹³⁷³ Since the Minister of Religion and Public Education at this period was Dezső Keresztury, the MRPE granted a scholarship of 1,000 forints to each of the 15 students for the summer of the academic year of 1946/1947.¹³⁷⁴ In May 1947, the Collegium's Board of Directors requested visas for

between 1942 and 1947 (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 38). Kálmán Ruttkay, Hungarian-English major between 1941 and 1947 (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 50). Emil Niederhauser, History-Hungarian-Russian major between 1945 and 1948 (MDKL box 15, file 14, lot 43) (Niederhauser took the position on behalf of Sándor Bornyi, who rejected it). Géza Eperjessy, History-Latin-Hungarian major between 1944 and 1946 (MDKL box 4, file 5, lot 12) (Kucsman 2006: 100). The last Guard was Kálmán Ruttkay in the academic year of 1947/1948. He was a Hungarian-English major at the Collegium between 1941 and 1948 (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 50).

¹³⁷¹ Jenő Major's report of the Collegium's field trip to Őrség Region. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹³⁷² 203/1948. Letter to Dezső Keresztury by the director of the Sárospatak College. Sárospatak, 23 April 1948. MDKL box 36, file 56.

¹³⁷³ 87/1947. Jenő Tomasz's letter to Dezső Keresztury, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 7 March 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁷⁴ 44.158/1947. Letter by MRPE Department X to deputy director Jenő Tomasz. Budapest, 13 March 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

these students, and due to the MRPE's support, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs granted the visas.¹³⁷⁵ In the next academic year, Keresztury requested a similar summer scholarship for 17 Collegium students.¹³⁷⁶ Although the press debate and changes in public life deteriorated the Collegium's reputation, the Ministry gave a positive answer. Trips to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were, however, not supported, as Hungarian diplomatic relations with those two countries were rather strained at that time. The Ministry suggested that students travel to Romania instead.¹³⁷⁷

In addition to scholarships to neighbouring countries, Albert Szegő returned from his Swiss and French study trip with promises of further international travels. The Universities of Geneva and Lausanne promised summer scholarships including food, lodging, and free tuition to 10-12 Collegium students. The MRPE was to provide 6,000 forints for travel expenses, however, the trips never took place, due to complications regarding visas¹³⁷⁸ and withdrawal of promises by host universities. Keresztury therefore suggested that the MRPE should grant a scholarship of 1,000 forints per student to the Collegium Hungaricum of Vienna, so students could elaborate on their German language skills.¹³⁷⁹ The MRPE eventually provided 500 forints to each of the students.¹³⁸⁰

Referring to the Collegium's special training system, the Board of Directors attempted to make study trips to western European countries regular again. These attempts, however, failed due to political changes in the meantime.¹³⁸¹ In April 1947, Keresztury wrote a letter to the director of Morley College in London to request the establishment of an exchange relationship between the two institutions, as several Collegium students would be glad to conduct researches on English Language and Literature in the British capital.¹³⁸² Yet, no

¹³⁷⁵ 15 students were allowed to travel to the following countries: Czechoslovakia: József Benczédi year V, Gábor Gyapay year IV, Zoltán Majdik year IV, György Rózsa year IV, József Vekerdi year II; Romania: Sándor Dizseri year V, József Hermann year IV, Miklós Nagy year V, Miklós Németh year III, László Orosz year IV, Bálint Sárosi year III, László Török year III, Kálmán Újlaki year IV, Zsolt Trócsányi year III; Yugoslavia: Tibor Rusvay year III. 148/1947. Dezső Keresztury's memorandum to the MRPE regarding a scholarship of 1,000 forints to each of the 15 students. Budapest, 28 May 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁷⁶ Czechoslovakia: János Szabó year III, János Benyhe year III, Árpád Kucsman year III, Gábor Mihályi year IV, Elemér Hankiss year III. Romania: Béla Papp year II, Bálint Sárosi year IV, Jenő Simó year IV, Géza Bodolay year V, József Kiss year V, Sándor Bornyi year V. Yugoslavia: Zsolt Kiss year II, Imre Szász year III, Pál Kardos year III, László Molnár year IV, Tibor Herczeg year IV, Róbert Frankl year IV. 227/1948. Dezső Keresztury's memorandum to the MRPE regarding the granting of international scholarships. Budapest, 30 May 1948. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁷⁷ 250.247/1948. Letter by MRPE counsellor János Szentmihályi to director Tibor Lutter. Budapest, 14 July 1948. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁷⁸ Jenő Tomasz's letter to professor László Ledermann (Geneva). Budapest, 20 July 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁷⁹ 206/1947. Dezső Keresztury's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education regarding a scholarship to Vienna. Budapest, 16 July 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55. (Keresztury requested funding for Tibor Starky, Tibor Hercegh, and János Szabó, but apparently was rejected.)

¹³⁸⁰ Students concerned: Andor Tarnai, József Banner, Árpád Brusznay, Sándor Dörnyei. 76648/1947. Letter by Zoltán Zsebők, counsellor of MRPE Department IV to Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 16 June 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸¹ 383/1947. Dezső Keresztury's letter to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 15 December 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸² 120/1947. Dezső Keresztury's letter to the Board of Directors of Morley College in London. Budapest, 5 April

sources indicate the actual formation of such an exchange relationship. In August 1948, however, the Collegium was notified that Zoltán Majdik¹³⁸³ and Kálmán Ruttkay had both won an 8-month scholarship to Britain.¹³⁸⁴ Also in April 1947, director Keresztury suggested to Minister Gyula Ortutay that in order to honour the centenary of the 1848-49 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, a group of Collegium students could research and clarify the Revolution's Italian connections. To achieve this goal, four Collegium students¹³⁸⁵ would spend the summer of the academic year of 1947/1948 in Rome, with lodging provided by the local Collegium Hungaricum.¹³⁸⁶ The MRPE allowed a two-month stay for each of the students and granted a sum of 6,000 forints for the project altogether.¹³⁸⁷ Out of the four applicants, Miksa Manninger and Jenő Simó finally did travel to the Italian capital, only to realize that the promised sum of money was not provided by the MRPE at all. In order to rescue the project from turning into an utter fiasco, the Board of Directors of the Collegium needed to apply to the MRPE again.¹³⁸⁸ In addition to this study trip, the previous exchange relationship with the Scuola Normale of Pisa seemed to have been temporarily resumed, as Géza Sallai stayed there for several months in 1947.¹³⁸⁹

Despite all efforts to resume its previously profuse system of international relationships, the Collegium's such attempts finally failed due to financial shortages and political restrictions. In the academic year of 1947/1948, Colin Mason, George Frederick Cushing, and French language lecturer Guy Turbet-Delof were the only remaining non-Hungarian citizens to stay at the Collegium. Bastav Serif from Turkey and Drizis Parmenion from Greece, both of whom had survived the siege of Budapest in the Collegium, had already left the country.¹³⁹⁰ Although the MRPE apparently established a Swedish-Hungarian exchange relationship with the Collegium as a Hungarian basis in the academic year of 1947/1948, no sources indicate the actual presence of Swedish exchange students at the Collegium at that time.¹³⁹¹ According to an MRPE decree in April 1948, the Collegium was only to accept international guests with the permission of MRPE Department X of International Relations.¹³⁹² This did not seem

1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸³ Majdik was a German-English major at the Collegium between 1942 and 1948. In 1943, he travelled to Munich on a scholarship, and won another scholarship to Graz in 1947. (MDKL box 12, file 13, lot 36).

¹³⁸⁴ 250.993/1948. MRPE Secretary of State László Bóka's notice to Tibor Lutter about a successful application for scholarships in Britain. Budapest, 3 August 1948. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸⁵ Participants of the research: Ferenc Debreczeni, Hungarian-Italian major between 1942 and 1947 (MDKL box 4, file 4, lot 10). Jenő Simó, Hungarian-Italian major between 1943 and 1947 (MDKL box 8, file 18, lot 52). Miksa Manninger, Italian-Latin-Hungarian major between 1943 and 1948 (MDKL box 12, file 13, lot 36). Géza Sallai, Hungarian-Italian major between 1945 and 1949 (MDKL box 17, file 18, lot 51).

¹³⁸⁶ 116/1947. Director Dezső Keresztury's letter to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 14 April 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸⁷ 65.481/1947. Secretary of State Zoltán Bassola's letter to director Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 31 May 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸⁸ Jenő Tomasz's letter to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 19 August 1947. MDKL box 36, file 55.

¹³⁸⁹ See Géza Sallai's personal files. MDKL box 17, file 18, lot 51.

¹³⁹⁰ See MDKL box 34, file 50.

¹³⁹¹ 168.524/1947. VI. Letter by MRPE Department VI to director Dezső Keresztury. Budapest, 18 November 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90-3 (1946-47).

¹³⁹² 196.189/1948 VI. 1. Letter by MRPE counsellor Gábor Tolnai to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös

curious as first sight, as the Collegium had usually asked the MRPE's approval for hosting international guests. From the second half of 1948, however, this decree was obviously used for conducting a preliminary political inspection of future international guests.

Aspiring to fundamentally change the Collegium's structure and internal life, the institution's Communist Party Group most possibly emerged in the second half of 1946. Its creation was motivated by numerous factors. During the war, several members of the anti-Nazi resistance movement had got into touch with the Illegal Communist Party. Attracted by the party's promises of post-war democratization processes, many resistance members also obtained a party membership at that time (Romsics 2004: 260–261). After the formation of the Left-wing Bloc however, when the real objectives of the Communist Party had become obvious, several former resistance members completely abandoned all political activity (Kelevéz 2007d: 158–160).¹³⁹³ Out of applicants admitted after 1945, many were admitted to the Communist Party. Some of them, e.g. András Nagy or Gábor Mihályi, were politically dedicated (Mihályi 2012: 171), while others, e.g. Pál Kardos (Pándi)¹³⁹⁴ or Róbert Frankl (Falus)¹³⁹⁵, were motivated by the severe persecutions they had undergone as Jewish persons in 1944. Due to András Nagy and Imre Lakatos's intensive activism, as well as to mutual visits with people's college students, the Communist Party Group soon became recognized as a distinct organization within the Collegium (cf. Papp 2004: 52). By the end of 1947, 16 Collegium Students were either members of the Communist Party Group or sincerely sympathized with its objectives.¹³⁹⁶ The Communist Party Group was also supported by senior Collegium students who had closer connections to the leading politicians of the Communist Party (István Király, Leó Lám, József Szigeti).

The activity of the Communist Party Group within the Collegium was further supported by the disruption of the institution's internal traditions. Collegium members were to attend several compulsory celebrations together with other university students. The first of these externally imposed celebrations was the commemoration of the 1917 October Revolution on 7 November 1947. On this occasion, Gábor Gyapay held a speech on the Soviet Union's 30 years of existence, and Géza Nagy¹³⁹⁷ read Oszkár Gellért's poem about Lenin, causing considerable laughter among Collegium students (Fodor 1991: 40). Another open blow

Collegium. Budapest, 26 April 1948. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/4.

¹³⁹³ Having been followed by the Gestapo, Gábor Gyapay had to go into hiding during the siege of Budapest. Later he threw his Party member's booklet into the Danube (Kelevéz 2007d: 160). Another certain ex-party member was László Fazekas, a Hungarian-History major of the Collegium between 1943 and 1947. He got rid of his Party member's booklet in way similar to Gyapay (Kucsman 2006: 158) (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 13).

¹³⁹⁴ Hungarian-English major at the Collegium between 1945 and 1950. In 1944, he was deported by the Nazis, but survived and soon became an active member of Hungarian political life. A central figure within the Collegium's progressive group. In works of Hungarian history and culture, he is referred to as Pál Pándi (MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26).

¹³⁹⁵ Latin-Greek-Russian major at the Collegium between 1945 and 1950 (MDKL box 5, file 6, lot 14).

¹³⁹⁶ The most complete list of these persons is provided by Árpád Kucsman: Imre Lakatos, Róbert Frankl, Dániel Csatári, András Nagy, Gábor Mihályi, Pál Kardos, Tibor Herczeg, Ferenc Bakos, Pál Miklós, György Bodnár, András Békéssy, Miksa Manninger, Zoltán Majdik, Jenő Simó, Géza Sallai, Kálmán Újlaki (Kucsman 2006: 158).

¹³⁹⁷ Nagy was an English-French-Hungarian major at the Collegium between 1947 and 1950. (MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41).

to the Collegium's traditions was delivered on 28 November 1947, when György Lukács arrived as guest lecturer to the "Wednesday Evenings" series. During the question and answer session, several students addressed him as "comrade", openly demonstrating their sympathy and political agreement (ibid. 48). As part of the March 15 celebrations in 1948, Collegium students were to join other university students for a torchlight procession on March 14, and also had to take part in the ceremonial procession on the 15th along with all other university students.¹³⁹⁸ On this occasion, András Fodor noted that whereas ceremonial addresses mentioned people's colleges as the strongholds of democracy, the Eötvös Collegium was not mentioned at all. As for the extensive compulsory self-celebration, Fodor assumed it was an adoption of some Eastern tradition (Fodor 1991: 90–91). The beginning of open hostility between the NÉKOSZ and the Collegium was marked by Imre Lakatos's article. Antagonism between the two institutions was further deepened by several participants of contemporary Hungarian political life (Pataki 2005: 236–237). For the International Workers' Day celebrations on 1 May 1948, Collegium students were to march along with all other arts faculty students on Heroes' Square, Budapest (Fodor 1991: 109).

As the Hungarian Working People's Party tried to grasp power with all possible means, Collegium students could no longer detach themselves from the cultural and political objectives of the newly emerging single-party state. Against the Collegium's own internal traditions, a new, universal student culture emerged, which was highly political in nature. This transformation of circumstances was marked by the strengthening of the Collegium's student government. In the summer of 1947, the student government proposed significant structural changes. They asked Minister Gyula Ortutay to allow student government members to be present at teachers' meetings where they would express their opinions without a right to vote. This request was supported by director Keresztury, as teachers' meetings essentially featured questions about the Collegium's students. Members of the student government were also allowed to be present at entrance exams so that they could decide whether applicants were capable of coexistence in the Collegium.¹³⁹⁹ Never in the history of the Collegium before did students wish to have a say in decision mechanisms. A year later, a complete plan was developed by the Collegium's student government. No written documents have remained about it, but it is rather conspicuous that in his memorandum, director Keresztury asked for the MRPE's opinion without expressing any support for his students' plan.¹⁴⁰⁰

Representatives of the emerging political culture assumed that by setting up their own candidate at the Collegium's Student President elections on 5 May 1948, they could turn the institution's internal life in favour of their political objectives. They did not anticipate, however, that despite all sympathy towards the Communist Party, the majority of students still tended to be loyal to the Collegium's traditional values and thus set up their own candidate against that of the Communist Party Group.

¹³⁹⁸ Dezső Keresztury's announcement to the Collegium's youth. Budapest, 10 March 1948. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

¹³⁹⁹ 199/1947. Petition by the Collegium's youth to the Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 4 July 1947. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

¹⁴⁰⁰ 162/1948. Dezső Keresztury's memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education regarding the Collegium's Student Self-government. Budapest, 12 April 1948. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

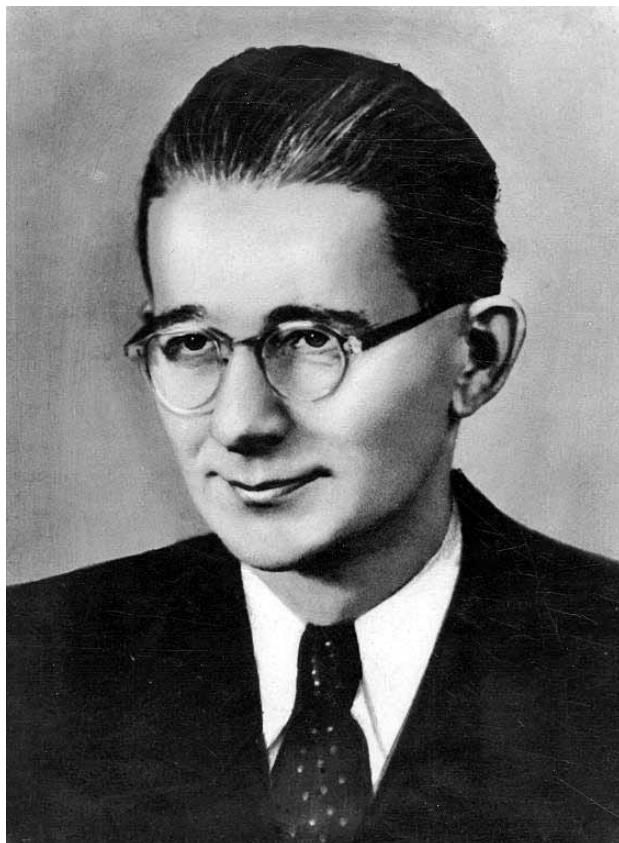


Image 32: Tibor Lutter.

11

THE HISTORY OF THE EÖTVÖS COLLEGIUM BETWEEN 1948 AND 1950

11.1.

Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1948 and 1950 by Region and Denomination

The regional breakdown of applicants shall be interpreted within the administrative categories used between the two world wars. Although on January 1 1950, the system of Hungarian administration underwent a complete change, no entrance exams were held in this final year of the Collegium's existence anyway. This subchapter therefore analyses the features of applicants admitted or rejected in 1948 and 1949.

Regarding the breakdown of birthplaces¹⁴⁰¹, the number of applicants from the Danube-Tisza Interfluve definitely excels. Unlike any previous periods, exactly half of all admitted

¹⁴⁰¹ Birthplaces of 1% of admitted applicants are unknown. For a comparison of birthplaces of both admitted and rejected applicants to the national data on Hungarian population, see Table 19. Records of birthplaces and native regions of all applicants admitted between 1945 and 1948 were available.

applicants came from this region, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county alone providing a little more than a third (39%) of all successful applicants. The other two counties of this region did not produce a high number of successful applicants (Heves: 5%, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok: 2%).¹⁴⁰² Regarding settlement types in this region, municipality towns excel with producing 40% of successful applicants, 70% of whom came from Budapest. Thus, approximately every third admitted applicant was born in Budapest, which was a considerable difference compared to any previous periods. Also in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, several students (36%) came from villages of the Budapest agglomeration area with a population of less than 5,000 inhabitants.

Transdaubia and the Transtisza Region both rank second with 22% and 21% of admitted applicants respectively. As for the Transdaubian Region, students from Baranya county and its county seat Pécs were the most numerous (6% of all admitted applicants). Successful county seats of the Transtisza Region included Debrecen and Szeged with 2 persons each, but small towns with a population of 5–10,000 people in this region (Tiszafüred, Polgár, Szarvas) tended to be more successful, despite producing only 8% of admitted applicants. 15% of successful applicants were born in county towns¹⁴⁰³, most of which were also located in these two regions: Békéscsaba, Hajdúnás, Kisújszállás, Nagybecskerek (Zrenjanin, Yugoslavia), Zalaegerszeg, and Esztergom.¹⁴⁰⁴

In this period, only six students came from Hungarian-inhabited areas of the neighbouring countries: three from Délvidék Region (one-time Southern Hungary, in the period under examination: Northern Yugoslavia), two from Transylvania, and one from Upper Hungary (Southern Czechoslovakia). This further decrease in the number of ethnic Hungarian students from neighbouring countries follows the tendencies that started right after World War I. Moreover, the increasingly repressive minority policies of neighbouring countries after World War II almost completely blocked any access to the Collegium from beyond the Hungarian state borders.

The analysis of rejected students¹⁴⁰⁵ further confirms the above tendencies. The order of regions is similar to that with the highest number of admitted applicants: 49% of rejected applicants (53% of whom were Budapest-born) came from the Danube-Tisza Interfluve, Transdanubia and the Transtisza Region produced 26% and 21% of rejected applicants respectively, with only one rejected applicant having come from a minority position in Transylvania beyond contemporary Hungarian state borders. Regarding the size and type of rejected applicants' birthplaces, municipality towns are in a relative majority of 44% (40% for admitted applicants). Out of this category, 60% of applicants were Budapest-born. County towns and villages produced 28% and 24% of rejected applicants respectively (15% and 36% for admitted applicants). Only 2% of rejected applicants were born in small towns (8% for

¹⁴⁰² According to the 1949 Census data, 24.75% of the Hungarian population lived in the capital city and the surrounding Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, while 3.43% lived in Heves, and 3.88% in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county (*Az 1949. évi népszámlálás [The 1949 Census]* 1952: 28–29).

¹⁴⁰³ 55% of admitted applicants in this period came from urban areas. Among all Hungarian university students in the academic year of 1950/1951, this ratio was 67.2% (Tolnai 1950: 367). For the first time in the history of the Collegium, its ratio of admitted students from urban areas was lower than that of all Hungarian university students.

¹⁴⁰⁴ For the breakdown of applicants admitted between 1948 and 1950 according to home county, see Figure 15 of the Appendix.

¹⁴⁰⁵ No data are available on the birthplaces of 2% of rejected applicants.

11.1. Breakdown of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1948 and 1950

admitted applicants). In contrast to corresponding data about admitted students, only one rejected applicant came from a small town located within the Budapest agglomeration area (Budafok). Yet, all small towns in question had access to railway stations within a distance of 5–8 km, which, similarly to the tendencies observed in previous periods, proved to be a key to both spatial and social mobility. Out of county towns, Nyíregyháza and Gyula excel in this category, each with 2 rejected applicants. Regarding rejected applicants' counties of origin, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county is on top of the list, with Békés county at second place and both of Baranya and Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok counties in third place.

| Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants by region (%) | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Admitted applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 39 | 24.7 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 2 | 0 | Baranya | 6 | 2.7 |
| Transdanubian Region | 22 | 27.9 | Heves | 5 | 3.4 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 39 | 47.8 | Vas | 5 | 2.5 |
| Transylvania | 3 | 0 | Veszprém | 4 | 2.8 |
| Upper Hungary | 1 | 0 | Békés | 4 | 3.6 |
| Transtisza Region | 21 | 22.5 | Csongrád | 4 | 1.6 |
| No data | 1 | 0 | Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok | 2 | 4.5 |
| Rejected applicants | | | | | |
| By region | | | By county | | |
| Name | Collegium | National | Name | Collegium | National |
| Dalmatia | 0 | 0 | Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun | 32 | 24.7 |
| Délvidék (Southern Hungary) | 0 | 0 | Békés | 9 | 3.6 |
| Transdanubian Region | 26 | 27.9 | Baranya | 7 | 2.7 |
| Danube-Tisza Interfluve | 49 | 47.8 | Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok | 7 | 4.5 |
| Transylvania | 2 | 0 | Csongrád | 5 | 1.6 |
| Upper Hungary | 0 | 0 | Somogy | 4 | 3.8 |
| Transtisza Region | 21 | 22.5 | Veszprém | 4 | 2.8 |
| No data | 2 | 0 | Zala | 4 | 3.9 |

Table 19: Breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to national population data.¹⁴⁰⁶

The most conspicuous fact about the regional breakdown of both admitted and rejected applicants between 1948 and 1950 was that two thirds of them were born either in Budapest

¹⁴⁰⁶ The regional breakdown of the Hungarian population in 1949 is published in: *Az 1949. évi népszámlálás [The 1949 Census]* 1952: 28–29.

or in surrounding villages and small towns. This might be explained by the country's disproportionate settlement system and also with the social status of applicants. Only 39% of admitted students graduated from secondary schools located in their birthplaces, while 56% graduated from secondary schools away from their homes. As for rejected applicants, the ratio is just the opposite: an absolute majority of 61% came from secondary schools located in their birthplaces, with only 37% having graduated from secondary schools not in their home towns. Following World War II, attending secondary school away from one's home was a privilege available only to children whose families either belonged to a social group strongly supported within the new social policies, or had considerable assets despite all their losses during the war.

Contemporary political changes also had a strong effect on applicants' denominational breakdown. Unlike any previous periods, only 13% of admitted applicants admitted belonging to any religious denomination, with 6% being Reformed, 5% Roman Catholic, 1% Greek Catholic, and another 1% Jewish. 87% of successful applicants indicated no religion whatsoever on their application forms.¹⁴⁰⁷ This can be explained with the considerable risk resulting from any explicit profession of faith in that period. By admitting participation in any religious activity, one risked the stigma of being a "class-alien element", which led to a consequent exclusion from any form of higher education. Two successful applicants of an openly religious background, László Kovács¹⁴⁰⁸ and Tibor Kövér¹⁴⁰⁹ were protected by their membership in the MDP (Magyar Dolgozók Pártja – Hungarian Working People's Party). Lajos Pócs also indicated his religion, but managed to avoid rejection by declaring that he wished to join the Collegium "*in order to escape the reactionary atmosphere of my home.*"¹⁴¹⁰ József Hajdú¹⁴¹¹ avoided rejection by emphasizing his active participation in the work of MEFESZ (Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Egységes Szövetsége – United Association of Hungarian University and College Students), and was also a people's college student to further support his chances.

| The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Denominations | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | National data |
| Roman Catholic | 5 | 32 | 67.8 |
| Greek Catholic | 1 | 0 | 2.7 |
| Greek Orthodox | 0 | 0 | 0.4 |

¹⁴⁰⁷ This exceeding lack of data makes all valid comparison impossible. Neither the studies on Hungarian higher education published in *Statisztikai Szemle* [Statistical Review], nor the data of the 1949 Census reveal information on the denominational breakdown of any university students (including students of humanities). After 1948, religious affiliation lost its sociological importance. Studies on the breakdown of university students in that period tended to concentrate on the remarkable change in the social structure of students' backgrounds instead. (see Tolnai 1950: 365–367). For the denominational breakdown of both admitted and rejected applicants compared the Hungarian population, see Table 20.

¹⁴⁰⁸ MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30.

¹⁴⁰⁹ MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 31.

¹⁴¹⁰ MDKL box 16, file 16, lot 46.

¹⁴¹¹ MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19.

| The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants (%) | | | |
|--|----|----|------|
| Reformed | 6 | 21 | 21.9 |
| Evangelical-Lutheran | 0 | 10 | 5.2 |
| Judaist | 1 | 2 | 1.5 |
| Unitarian | 0 | 0 | 0.1 |
| n/a | 87 | 35 | 0 |

Table 20: The denominational breakdown of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the national data¹⁴¹²

The proportion of rejected students entails similar conclusions. 35% did not provide any data on their religion. 32%, a little more than a third of them was admittedly Roman Catholic (5% among admitted applicants), 21% was Reformed (6% among admitted students), 10% was Evangelical-Lutheran (no data about admitted Evangelical-Lutherans), and 2% was Jewish (1% among admitted applicants). Due to applicants' extensive denial of information, no sound conclusions can be drawn from these data. Compared to their ratio among the Hungarian population, Evangelical-Lutheran and Jewish students were rather overrepresented among rejected applicants (cf. Romsics 2004: 319). Facing no more administrative obstacles after World War II, Jewish students were again able to access the Collegium as a channel of social mobility.

11.2. The Breakdown of the Secondary Schools of Applicants Admitted and Rejected and Fields of Study Between 1948 and 1950

This analysis concentrates on the secondary schools from which the applicants graduated, as the quality of the secondary school diploma had been a key factor of selection processes all throughout the history of the Collegium. The period in question saw all-embracing structural changes in Hungarian secondary education. Following the acknowledgement

¹⁴¹² Data regarding denominational distribution of Hungarian citizens in 1949 is published in: *Az 1949. évi népszámlálás [The 1949 Census]* 1950: 12.

of Act XXXIII of 1948 on 16 June 1948, all secondary schools in the country (including previously church-run institutions) were integrated into a single unified system of state-run schools. Having achieved its main goal in cultural politics (Gyarmati 2011: 126), the MDP basically nationalized the country's entire educational sector.

79%, about two thirds of successful applicants graduated from state-run schools, while 12% came from Reformed, 2% from Roman Catholic, and 1% from Jewish institutions.¹⁴¹³ The highest number of admitted applicants (4 persons) was produced by the Zsigmond Kemény Workers' Secondary School in Budapest, followed by the Affiliated Secondary School of the Secondary Teacher Training Institution in Budapest, the József Bajza Public Grammar School of Hatvan, and the Ferenc Faludi Public Grammar School of Szombathely (3 persons each). Lower ranks of the list include secondary schools that used to lead the list of institutions with the highest number of admitted applicants in previous periods. Such were the Lónyai Street Reformed Grammar School in Budapest, or the Imre Madách Public Grammar School of the 7th District, also in Budapest. Out of previously high-ranking secondary schools outside Budapest, the Reformed Grammar Schools of Csurgó, Debrecen, Mezőtúr, and Pápa still produced admitted applicants for the Collegium in this last period. On the contrary, no applicants from Roman Catholic or Evangelical-Lutheran secondary schools were admitted in the two final years. Examining the school types of rejected applicants, the tendency is exactly the opposite to that of schools with admitted students. State-run secondary schools produced only 48% of rejected applicants (79% for admitted students). This is quite characteristic of the period, when the great majority of secondary schools were overtaken by the state. Students from church-run institutions were more likely to fall out already during the preselection process on the basis of their school type. 26% of rejected applicants came from Roman Catholic secondary schools (2% among admitted applicants), while 19% came from Reformed (11% among admitted applicants), and 7% from Evangelical-Lutheran institutions.¹⁴¹⁴ As for the absolute number of rejected applicants, the Lajos Kossuth Evangelical-Lutheran Grammar School of Nyíregyháza, a traditionally high-ranking institution on the list of schools with rejected students, produced the highest number of unsuccessful applicants (3 persons). Second place on this list was taken jointly by the Reformed Grammar Schools of Mezőtúr, Pápa, and Sáropatak, each with 2 rejected applicants, along with the Miklós Révai Public Grammar School in Győr, the Public Grammar School of Zalaegerszeg, the Premonstratensian Grammar School of Gödöllő, and the Workers' Evening Secondary School of Budapest.

The distribution of majors and fields of study resemble that of admitted students. 68% of rejected applicants were philologists and 18% were natural science students.¹⁴¹⁵ Similarly to the case of admitted students, the most popular majors among rejected philologists were Hungarian-history (11 persons), though traditional majors like Hungarian-French (7 persons) or history-geography (3 persons) were also numerous. As for natural science students, mathematics-physics majors were rejected in the highest number (6 persons).

¹⁴¹³ For 6% of admitted applicants, no data are available regarding the type of their secondary schools.

¹⁴¹⁴ Data are available about the of all applicants rejected in 1948–1950.

¹⁴¹⁵ Regarding their field of study, no data are available about 14% of rejected applicants.

11.3.

Study of the Social Status of Applicants Admitted and Rejected Between 1948 and 1950, the Reasons for the Academic Failure and Rejection

During the period in question, the social status of admitted applicants perfectly conformed to contemporary political expectations. According to Tibor Lutter's reports, the social distribution of applicants admitted at the entrance exam held between 11 and 17 July 1949 was the following: workers – 37%; peasants with medium sized lands, smallholders and landless peasants – 36% altogether; employees and intellectuals – 11% each, owners of small businesses – 5%.¹⁴¹⁶ The comparison of data for the years 1948 and 1949 yield similar results. Combining the subcategories of smallholders, farmers, and farm-hands, 26% of students admitted in these two years came from an agricultural background.¹⁴¹⁷ The redistribution of lands in 1945 led to a significant increase in the number of smallholders and, by 1949, 39% of Hungarian landowning peasantry possessed at least 0.5 hectare of land (Romsics 2004: 318). As this meagre amount of land did not provide a steady income, smallholders, farmers and farm-hands were actually very close to each other regarding life standards. 33% of admitted applicants were children of fathers working in industry, mining, metallurgy, or transport.¹⁴¹⁸ This was somewhat higher than the ratio of such workers within the general Hungarian population (Romsics 2004: 318). The majority were factory workers or trained workers. These were rather decent positions at that time, as workers' salaries did not decrease as severely as that of other state-employed professionals (e.g. clerks or teachers) (ibid. 309). Formerly present only in small numbers, children of peasant and worker families suddenly reached an absolute majority position within admitted applicants. This change is essentially the result of contemporary tendencies in

¹⁴¹⁶ 340/1949. coll. sz. Tibor Lutter's report on the entrance exams for the academic year of 1949/1950. Budapest, 31 July 1949. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁴¹⁷ In the academic year of 1949/1950, 15.1% of all university students came from an agricultural background. Determination of an exact amount is however impossible, since contemporary lists contained children of stockholders and landowners (labelled as "kulaks" and put on blacklist for owning a larger property) in one unified category as "class enemies". 17.1% of all university students were children of such families (Tolnai 1950: 367). It is therefore rather conspicuous that for the first time in the *Collegium's* history, students with such a background were overrepresented among admitted applicants. According to the 1949 Census data, 49.1% of the Hungarian population worked in agriculture (*Az 1949. évi népszámlálás [The 1949 Census]* 1952: 32).

¹⁴¹⁸ According to György Tolnai's reports, 32% of all university students in the academic year of 1949/1950 were children of workers, craftsmen, and employees of the service sector (Tolnai 1950: 367). 1949 Census data show that 34.1% of Hungarian population belonged to this category (*Az 1949. évi népszámlálás [The 1949 Census]* 1952: 32). Students with this type of family background were therefore slightly underrepresented among *Collegium* members.

Hungarian social politics. The proportion of fathers working in banking and finance or trade and catering was 3% each.¹⁴¹⁹ Although this result seemed to conform to previous tendencies, the decrease could have been more severe, if surviving Jewish families did not make exceeding efforts to support the social mobility of their children by sending them to renowned institutions of higher education (cf. Gyáni 2006: 301–302). Combined with the subgroup of engineers and architects (3%) and with the main category of agricultural producers (26%), the total proportion of guardians working in the private sector added up to 35%. Most guardians of admitted applicants in this period, however, worked in the rapidly growing public sector, with an additional 16 % living on state benefits as pensioners, dependants of orphanages, or unemployed.¹⁴²⁰ The greatest loss was undeniably suffered by children of fathers employed in education and academic institutions. Previously a leading group among admitted applicants, only 4 students belonged to this category in this period.¹⁴²¹ This considerable change might have been related to the transformation of the Collegium's educational policies.

Selection policies also underwent a vital change. Compared to all previous periods, both the function and mechanism of selection policies changed considerably, in order to serve the new ideal of transforming the Collegium into a Marxist institute of elite education. Director Tibor Lutter himself addressed the issue of changes regarding exclusion policies in a memorandum submitted to the MRPE in August 1949. Lutter stated that during the 50 years of the Collegium's existence, all exclusions were due to either poor academic performance or behaviour problems. Disciplinary procedures never led to exclusion, as that would entail dismissal from the university. Lutter stated that not even after the Communist conspiracy of 1932 did disciplinary procedures end in exclusion.¹⁴²² The most severe disciplinary scandal of the “new Collegium” involved a campaign for a “reactionary” Student President against the Communist one. As a result, Lutter requested the exclusion of eight students, but his request was rejected by the MRPE. The Ministry did not consider the students' action as a severe transgression of rules, but having formally resigned from their Collegium membership, the eight students in question were practically excluded. Politically motivated exclusions occurred in two major waves: between June 1948 and May 1949, and in September–October 1949. During both exclusion waves, the students to be excluded

¹⁴¹⁹ In the academic year of 1949/1950, 3.1% of all university students came from families owning small businesses (Tolnai 1950: 367), while 4.3% of the entire Hungarian population worked in banking and finance (*Az 1949. évi népszámlálás* [The 1949 Census] 1952: 32). The ratio of Collegium members with such a background therefore reached that of Hungarian university students' but fell short of the all-Hungarian ratio.

¹⁴²⁰ No data are available about university students (see Tolnai 1950: 367). Census data show that 8.2% of the complete Hungarian population belonged to the combined category of pensioners and persons with unknown sources of income. (*Az 1949. évi népszámlálás* [The 1949 Census] 1952: 32).

¹⁴²¹ For the social distribution of applicants admitted between 1948 and 1950, see Graph 19 of the Appendix. Professions of 2% of guardians are unknown. For the comparison of employment data regarding the guardians of both admitted and rejected applicants, guardians of all university students in 1949/1950, and general Hungarian employment data, see Table 21.

¹⁴²² The director is mistaken, as disciplinary procedures and consequent exclusions did occur against Collegium members with a proven criminal record. The same applied to Communist activists whose membership was suspended on Pál Teleki's proposal until the end of legal procedures. Memberships were then either reactivated or permanently withdrawn.

or forced to resign “voluntarily” were selected by the Hungarian Working People’s Party Committee within the Collegium.¹⁴²³

Exclusions mostly occurred on the pretext of poor academic performance, but the MRPE required a detailed report on both academic results and political behaviour in each case and approved of exclusion only if reasons were found to be obvious enough.¹⁴²⁴ Lutter’s memorandum therefore reveals a selection criterion that had previously been unknown in the Collegium: the main reason for exclusions and “voluntary” resignations¹⁴²⁵ was not of academic but much rather of political nature. Students in this period were mostly forced to resign their membership for their political views or “class-alien” social background. By the last months of 1949, supporters of “political progress” took exclusion procedures to a next level. According to a decree issued by the Hungarian Working People’s Party Committee of the Collegium on 27 September 1949, director Tibor Lutter was responsible for “*removing the remaining reactionary and class-alien elements from the Collegium by listening to spontaneous testimonies of Collegium members*”.¹⁴²⁶ Interrogation of “suspicious elements” at the General assembly of the Collegium (attended by all members) greatly resembled contemporary show trials: charges were read by an appointed prosecutor, and all members could add their own details. Formerly the guarantee of the Collegium’s high-quality education, the selection policy based on academic performance, was replaced by selection based on social and political expectations.

The analysis of rejected applicants according to social background reveals a tendency completely opposite to that of admitted students. The pattern of rejected applicants almost completely resembled the ratios of students admitted between the two world wars: 18%, a relative majority of them were children of fathers employed in educational services and academic institutions (admitted: 4 persons), and 15% were officials at ministries or judicial authorities. The ratio of intellectual freelancers was also relatively high: 5% of rejected applicants had guardians working as engineers or physicians (admitted: 3%). The ratio of guardians working in agriculture and industry or transport was only 11% and 12% respectively (admitted: 26% and 33% respectively). These data distinctly suggest that, in contrast to previous tendencies, the Board of Directors of the Collegium conformed to contemporary political expectations by preferring lower-middle class applicants or financially disadvantaged students with an agrarian or urban worker background. Although the number of pensioners and recipients of various state benefits was higher among rejected applicants (rejected: 23%, admitted: 16%), this category included former state officials from the previous political era; several upper-middle class members of the interwar period were blacklisted or lost their jobs due to being labelled as “politically untrustworthy” after the political changes in 1948.¹⁴²⁷

¹⁴²³ 328/1949 Tibor Lutter’s letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning exclusion procedures. Budapest, 8 August 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1.

¹⁴²⁴ 1515-6 (2)/1949. V. 1. sz. Letter by Mihály Szabolcsi, MRPE counsellor to director Tibor Lutter regarding the resignation of certain Collegium members. Budapest, 30 July 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1.

¹⁴²⁵ Excluded members were: Iván Fenyő, Elemér Hankiss, Béla Zsolt Kiss, Béla Mohay, and György Boksay.

¹⁴²⁶ Decrees of the Eötvös Collegium’s Communist Party Committee. Budapest, 28 September 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1.

¹⁴²⁷ For the social distribution of applicants rejected between 1948 and 1950, see Graph 20 of the Appendix. No

11. The History of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1948 and 1950

| Occupation of guardians of applicants admitted and rejected between 1948 and 1950 (%) | Collegium | | University students (1949/1950) | National data (1949) |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Admitted applicants | Rejected applicants | | |
| I. Production | 26 | 11 | 15.1 | 49.1 |
| Smallholder (0–3 hectares) | 21 | | | |
| Farmer, Farm hand | 5 | | | |
| II. Industry, Mining, Metallurgy, Transport | 33 | 17 | 32 | 34.1 |
| Industry, Mining, Metallurgy, Transport | 27 | 12 | 24.6 | 24.7 |
| Trade and Catering | 3 | 5 | 3.1 | 4.3 |
| Money and credit services | 3 | 0 | 4.3 | n.a. |
| III. Civil Services | 19 | 36 | 32.7 | 6.1 |
| Ecclesiastical service | 1 | 0 | | |
| Educational services and academic institutions | 4 | 18 | | |
| Judicial Services | 5 | 2 | | |
| Healthcare management and services | 0 | 0 | | |
| Agricultural management and services | 0 | 0 | | |
| Financial Management | 2 | 0 | | |
| Technical/industrial and commercial management | 0 | 0 | | |
| Officials of other civil services or ministries | 5 | 12 | | |
| Railway and postal service | 2 | 4 | | |
| IV. Armed Forces | 0 | 0 | | |
| V. Intellectual liberal professions | 5 | 6 | | |
| Lawyer, notary | 0 | 0 | | |
| Physician, dentist | 0 | 4 | | |
| Pharmacist | 0 | 0 | | |
| Engineer, architect | 3 | 2 | | |
| Veterinarian | 0 | 0 | | |
| Literature, Art | 2 | 0 | | |
| VI. Pensioners, Landlords, Capitalists | 15 | 23 | n.a. | 8.2 |
| Pensioner | 5 | 12 | | |
| Unemployed, dependants of orphanages | 10 | 11 | | |
| No data | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 |

Table 21: The employment data of guardians of admitted and rejected applicants compared to the data of university students and national data.¹⁴²⁸

Most rejections (60%) occurred because applicants failed the oral entrance exam. In contrast to previous periods when applicants were assessed on a solely academic basis,

employment data are available for 5% of guardians. For the comparison of employment data regarding the guardians of both admitted and rejected applicants, guardians of all university students in 1949/1950, and general Hungarian employment data, see Table 21.

¹⁴²⁸ Employment data regarding guardians of Hungarian university students in the academic year of 1949/1950 are published in Tolnai 1950: 367. General Hungarian employment data as of 1949 are available in *Az 1949. évi népszámlálás* [*The 1949 Census*] 1952: 32.

the lack of a “proper ideological education” also resulted in rejection. Successful applicants therefore had to prove both their academic and political qualities. 7% of applicants were rejected immediately, while 11 % were put on a waiting list and eventually rejected due to a lack of places. All of the latter applied in 1948. In 1949, the selection mechanism turned highly political, therefore waiting lists became unnecessary. Moreover, additional entrance exams were introduced during the academic year to accept even more students. As a result, the total number of Collegium members rose to 130. These additionally admitted students were mostly former members of the people’s colleges belonging to the NÉKOSZ that was dissolved in July 1949 (cf. Pataki 2005: 288, Kucsman 2006: 186). 3% of applicants were explicitly rejected for “political untrustworthiness”, and another 3% were rejected for being overage or disabled. There was also an applicant who had formerly been legally detained.¹⁴²⁹ 3% were rejected for formal deficiencies in their application, and 5% withdrew their application during the selection process.

11.4.

Changes in the Teaching Faculty and Training System of the Eötvös Collegium Between 1948 and 1950

Dezső Keresztury’s resignation in July 1948, followed by Tibor Lutter’s appointment both foreshadowed significant changes in the Collegium’s teaching faculty and training system. Ever since 1 September 1937, many of the English and French language courses were taught by René Bonnerjea. (His French classes considerably eased Albert Szegő’s and later László Gáldi’s and Ernő Kenéz’s workload, while his English classes were a help to László Ország.) On 31 December 1942, the MRPE appointed him fulltime teacher of the Collegium under the 10th remuneration category.¹⁴³⁰ On 16 August 1948, however, Lutter suggested to the Minister of Religion and Public Education in a highly confidential letter that Bonnerjea should be moved to some other institution of higher education, and hinted at the newly founded University of Economics. Lutter argued that despite being proficient in both English and French, Bonnerjea’s academic performance failed to meet

¹⁴²⁹ Tibor Németh was sentenced to seven months of prison for having been a member of the extreme rightwing Hungarista Légión [Hungarist Legion] (MDKL box 29, file 40, lot 36).

¹⁴³⁰ 96470/1942. Letter from MRPE Department VI of Universities and Colleges to director Miklós Szabó concerning René Bonnerjea’s employment. Budapest, 31 December 1942. MDKL box 40, file 71/1.

the Collegium's standards.¹⁴³¹ Nevertheless, Lutter's attempt at Bonnerjea's removal apparently failed, as the Indian-born teacher resigned only a year later. In July 1949, the MRPE accepted Bonnerjea's notice.¹⁴³²

It might be therefore assumed that Lutter took his directorial position with a clear-cut plan for removing "untrustworthy" members from the Collegium's staff. Lajos Fülep was a rare exception. Having lived in one of the staff apartments of the Collegium since his appointment as a teacher in 1947, Fülep granted his extraordinarily valuable ethnographic collection to the Hungarian state in return for his teacher's position. The collection was temporarily deposited in the Collegium.¹⁴³³ His behaviour during the turmoil of 1919 and his voluntary withdrawal after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic saved him from political accusations, therefore he was able to keep his teacher's position. He lived in his teacher's apartment until the Collegium's dissolution in 1950 and taught elective courses on ethnography and art history (Tóth 2009: 111–113). Alumnus András Fodor wrote in his memoirs that during 1949 and 1950, Fülep's courses were the only remainders of the Collegium's traditional values. He also stated that even after its Communist-style transformation, the institute still maintained the necessity of critical thinking to some extent and often expressed his concern about ongoing political changes in the country (Fodor 1991: 207).

István Király was one of the newcomers under Lutter's directorship. Similarly to the new director, Király was also not completely alien to the Collegium, as he himself was a member as a Hungarian-German major between 1939 and 1944. Király's university studies had been mostly funded by the Reformed Collegium of Sárospatak. Though in his freshman year, director Miklós Szabó suggested that Király's Hungarian major should be changed to Italian, this would have resulted in the complete withdrawal of the Sárospatak scholarship, therefore the idea was finally abandoned.¹⁴³⁴ As a young literary historian and secondary teacher employed at the Hungarian National Museum, Király was appointed to his teaching position at the Collegium in order to fill Dezső Keresztury's vacated position.¹⁴³⁵ As for his political commitment, Király was a perfect choice for the new system, as in September 1945, he became secretary of the National Council for Public Education. He was later also elected secretary of the Communist Party Group of 7 or 8 persons at the MRPE and kept his position until he was transferred to the Hungarian National Museum. Apart from having been a devoted student of József Szigeti and György Lázár (Leó Lám), Király also professed to be one of the early disciples of György Lukács (Király *sine anno*: 42–49).¹⁴³⁶ When Király

¹⁴³¹ 343/1948. Tibor Lutter's confidential letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning René Bonnerjea's case. Budapest, 16 August 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴³² 327/1949. Tibor Lutter's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning René Bonnerjea's resignation. Budapest, 23 July 1949. The MRPE approved of this in decree 1510-B-2/1949, issued on 2 August 1949. (MDKL box 41, file 73/a).

¹⁴³³ 132.607/1947. Letter by György Alexits, Secretary of State at MRPE Department IV to Lajos Fülep concerning his employment at the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 12 September 1947. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴³⁴ Upon Pál Teleki's proposal, taking three majors at a time was forbidden, in order to prevent academic studies from becoming superficial in any of the fields (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 28).

¹⁴³⁵ 204204/1948. Letter with MRPE counsellor György Szántó's initials to director Tibor Lutter concerning István Király's employment. 22 October 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴³⁶ MTAKK Ms. 2233/22.

was transferred to another job by the MRPE in November 1949, Hungarian language and literature classes at the Collegium were taught by Pál Kardos (Pándi).¹⁴³⁷

A Collegium alumnus himself, Domokos Kosáry¹⁴³⁸ had been appointed as a fulltime teacher of history under Miklós Szabó's directorship. No available sources mention any attempt for his removal under the Lutter-era. This might be due to Kosáry's numerous international scholarships in all periods of the Collegium and also to his directorial position at the History Department of the newly founded Pál Teleki Scientific Institute after 1945. In November 1949, Kosáry requested a 6-week paid leave to work on his future monumental monograph *Introduction to the Sources of and Secondary Literature on Hungarian History*, for which he was commissioned by the Hungarian Council of Sciences as part of the 5-year-plan.¹⁴³⁹ Although his work on the monograph prevented him from playing an active part in teaching at the Collegium, Kosáry nevertheless kept his position as a fulltime teacher.

Alumnus Károly Mollay¹⁴⁴⁰ technically returned as a new teacher. In 1942, he had already been appointed fulltime teacher of the Collegium under the 8th remuneration category and was promoted to the 7th remuneration category in 1944.¹⁴⁴¹ In May 1944, however, he was drafted into the army and later fell prisoner of war during a military operation against the Soviet Union. In a letter dated 20 August 1946 in Moscow, Mollay informed the Collegium's Board of Directors that he was alive.¹⁴⁴² Keresztury even asked for the help of the Hungarian Communist Party to bring Mollay home,¹⁴⁴³ but this only happened on 24 December 1948. Lutter requested Mollay's reappointment as a Collegium teacher. After his return, Mollay taught Russian language courses besides his original German and French.¹⁴⁴⁴

Another new staff member was classical philology teacher Árpád Szabó who, similarly to Mollay, Kosáry and Király, had also been a student of the Collegium himself.¹⁴⁴⁵ Szabó

¹⁴³⁷ MDKL box 9, file 11, lot 26.

¹⁴³⁸ Latin-history major at the Collegium between 1931 and 1936. Due to his talent and his father-in-law József Huszti's support, his progress within academic hierarchy was rather quick. In 1938, he was appointed fulltime teacher of the Collegium. (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 30).

¹⁴³⁹ 474/1949. Domokos Kosáry's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education requesting a paid leave. Budapest, 15 November 1949. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁴⁰ German-French major at the Collegium in 1932–37, with excellent academic results all through his studies. MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 39.

¹⁴⁴¹ 59390/1944. Letter with Secretary of State Miklós Mester's initials from MRPE Department VI of Universities and Colleges concerning Károly Mollay's promotion to the 7th remuneration category. Budapest, 1 August 1944. MDKL box 40, file 71/4.

¹⁴⁴² Károly Mollay's letter to Dezső Keresztury. Moscow, 20 April 1946. Mollay informed Keresztury that he had already written to his wife three times and asked her to tell the Collegium that her husband was alive. Having not received an answer so far, Mollay now used an official Red Cross postcard for better results. He told that he had been learning Russian and was currently compiling a Russian grammar book. Lately he had been able to access the newspaper *Igaz szó* [True Word] issued by local Hungarian prisoners of war and had also been granted access to Russian books to satisfy his intellectual hunger. Mollay wrote he was glad that his war injuries were slowly healing and sent his kindest regards to all of the Collegium. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁴³ B/12/1948. Letter from the central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party to Dezső Keresztury to inform him that all necessary action had been taken to return Mollay from the Soviet Union. Budapest, 30 April 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁴⁴ 4/1949. Tibor Lutter's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education requesting Mollay's reappointment to his former teaching position. Budapest, 5 January 1949. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Árpád Szabó had himself previously been a student of the Collegium as a Latin-Greek major. Resigned from

taught classical Greek¹⁴⁴⁶. He was possibly quite well-informed about the future of the Collegium, as shortly before the dissolution of the institution, he was redirected to the Classical Philology Department of the University of Budapest without any notice to the Collegium's Board of Directors.¹⁴⁴⁷

Concerning his administrative position, Jenő Tomasz stayed deputy director of the Collegium until the very end. An alumnus himself, Tomasz played a vital role in saving the Collegium during the siege of Budapest, and his extensive knowledge of the institution's economic matters made him practically indispensable. Over this last period, however, Tomasz refrained from taking an active role in the life of the Collegium in order to avoid an open confrontation with the new Board of Directors, as he did not support the Communist-style transformation at all. Over this last period, Tomasz mainly occupied himself with teaching Latin majors. After the dissolution of the Collegium, he was appointed director of the Eötvös Library that was then placed under the control of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. On 23 December 1950, Tomasz passed away during a heart surgery in Debrecen (Dörnyei 2004: 9; Markó 2011b: 230).

Despite having been banned from teaching at the Collegium between 1939 and 1945 because of his origins, Albert Szegő regained his position under Dezső Keresztury's directorship. In an appeal submitted on 21 August 1948, Szegő requested a promotion from the 6th to the 5th remuneration category. He argued that between 1926 and 1939, he only received free boarding in return for his work, and his humiliatingly low salary was only compensated by his students' sincere love. As a reparation for this, the MRPE reappointed Szegő to his previous position in 1945, but did not offer an automatic promotion in the spring of 1948.¹⁴⁴⁸ This was, however, quite understandable, as the highest remuneration category available to secondary teachers was the 6th, and even that was reserved to directors of secondary educational institutions. Although for university teachers a separate pay grade was created in 1923 to guarantee their distinction from other teachers, the Collegium was an institution of college character and, in 1946, it was declared a college. Therefore, the highest attainable remuneration category for Collegium teachers was the 6th category (Gyáni 2006: 282). Yet Szegő, possibly due to Lutter's intensive support,¹⁴⁴⁹ was promoted to the 5th remuneration category by President Árpád Szakasits on 24 December 1948.¹⁴⁵⁰ This provided a rank level with that of the director (Kende–Kovács 2011b: 173–174).

Collegium membership on 30 September 1935. Between 1935 and 1938, he stayed in Frankfurt, Germany to write his habilitation thesis. Working at the Frankfurt Institute for Cultural Morphology, he encouraged the foundation of a Hungarian lectorate in Frankfurt. In 1940, Szabó was appointed to be a teacher at the University of Debrecen. MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 55.

¹⁴⁴⁶ 346/1948. Tibor Lutter's memorandum to the MRPE concerning Árpád Szabó's placement at the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 16 August 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁴⁷ This quick transfer was probably facilitated by Szabó's wife, herself a ministerial secretary. Having been a member of the Communist Party since 1945, Szabó also had excellent political connections himself. MDKL box 43, files 76–78.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Albert Szegő's (Gyergyai) letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education. 21 August 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁴⁹ 352/1948. Tibor Lutter's letter to the MRPE regarding the support of Albert Szegő (Gyergyai)'s request. Budapest, 21 August 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁵⁰ 211.792/1948. Letter by Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning Albert Szegő (Gyergyai)'s employment. Budapest, 24 December 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

Also a Collegium alumnus, József Szigeti¹⁴⁵¹ became a fulltime teacher of the institution upon Tibor Lutter's request. An assistant lecturer to György Lukács, Szigeti held courses on philosophy along with introductory classes to Marxist-Leninist thinking. The latter was made compulsory for all Collegium students.¹⁴⁵² According to the reports of staff meetings, Szigeti took a leading role in transforming the Collegium into a Marxist educational institution. His activity, however, did not last long, as Szigeti left the Collegium in the beginning of the academic year of 1949/1950. The reasons of his departure are unknown. Perhaps, Szigeti viewed his position at the Collegium as a springboard for his academic and political career or had been informed about the institution's impending dissolution.¹⁴⁵³

The above thorough changes in the Collegium's teaching staff foreshadowed a comprehensive transformation into a Marxist institute of higher education. Yet, some former teachers managed to stay. In the first half of the academic year of 1948/1949, László Deme remained an external lecturer teaching Hungarian linguistics. János Harmatta still taught Latin in order to lift some of Jenő Tomasz's workload, and also held courses in classical Greek. Előd Halász and József Kiss were responsible for teaching German Language and literature, while English language and literature was taught by Tibor Lutter and Doris Hatvany (née Elrick).¹⁴⁵⁴ Guy Turbet-Delof and Ernő Kenéz held classes in French language and literature. Following Turbet-Delof's departure in 1949,¹⁴⁵⁵ his vacated position was taken by Collegium alumnus László Göbl (Gáldi).¹⁴⁵⁶ Russian language and literature was taught by József Szauder and László Hadrovics, but in the second half of 1949, both were replaced by the returning Mollay. Mathematics and natural sciences were taught by György Hajós and Géza Szamosi, and philosophy and pedagogy by József Szigeti and Jenő Krammer respectively. In the first half of the academic year of 1948/1949, a weekly amount of 77 classes was available at the Collegium.¹⁴⁵⁷ This was a slight decrease compared to the period under Dezső Keresztury who reported a weekly amount of 82 classes to the MRPE in April 1947.¹⁴⁵⁸ By November 1949, a weekly amount of only 35 classes was permitted by MRPE

¹⁴⁵¹ Hungarian–English major at the Collegium in 1939–44, later also took Philosophy. Displayed outstanding academic results all through his studies. Teachers' reports listed him as the best student of his class both among Hungarian and English majors. MDKL box 20, file 19, lot 59.

¹⁴⁵² 528/1948. Tibor Lutter's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning József Szigeti's appointment. Budapest, 17 December 1948. Szigeti moved in to a vacant second-floor room with his wife Éva Révész (Imre Lakatos' ex-wife. Lakatos also lived in the *Collegium* at that time). MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁵³ 409/1949. Tibor Lutter's documentation of József Szigeti's work as a teacher at the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 10 October 1949. Szigeti received a payment of 400 Forints for his work as an external lecturer MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁵⁴ She came into contact with the Collegium in the second half of 1948. Her husband József Hatvany was a journalist and university teacher. Mrs. Hatvany had been a member of both the English Communist Party and the Hungarian Working People's Party. MDKL box 43, files 76–78.

¹⁴⁵⁵ His departure from the Collegium was possibly facilitated by an offer of a cultural counsellor's position at the French Embassy. Later he became the director of the Institut Français de Budapest.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Hungarian–French–Romanian major at the Collegium in 1929–33. Graduated with excellent results MDKL box 6, file 7, lot 16.

¹⁴⁵⁷ 430/1948. Tibor Lutter's memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning external lecturers in the first semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 22 October 1948. MDKL box 41, file 73/a.

¹⁴⁵⁸ 122/1947. Dezső Keresztury's memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education concerning

Department VI of Universities and Colleges.¹⁴⁵⁹ This in turn led to a gradual decline in the institution's academic quality.

Upon the dissolution of the Collegium in August 1950, the MRPE needed to manage the placement of the dismissed staff. Personnel not performing academic duties and holding no academic rank that belonged to the Collegium's auxiliary staff (kitchen personnel, valets, cleaners, beadles) were transferred to the *Tanfolyamellátó Nemzeti Vállalat* (National Company of Training Supplies, hereinafter referred to as TNV) with their former positions and wages until 1 December 1950.¹⁴⁶⁰ The following year, the TNV had to find them a position within the newly developing system of public dormitories and cafeterias.¹⁴⁶¹ Part of the academic staff was transferred to the newly formed Eötvös Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the 2nd floor of the former Collegium building. Jenő Tomasz was appointed director of the library, and Ernő Kenéz, librarian György Dodek, clerk Miklós Németh, office assistant János Krencz, and porter Ferenc Kovács were also placed there.¹⁴⁶²

Tibor Lutter left his director's apartment in the second half of 1950 and went on to teach at the English Department of the University of Budapest for the rest of his life. Possibly due to her foreign origin, Doris Hatvany (née Elrick) was not granted an academic position, therefore she was put in the TNV's passive personnel along with Albert Szegő.¹⁴⁶³ László Gáldi was transferred to the Margit Girls' Grammar School of the 11th District, (later Margit Kaffka Grammar School, now Saint Margaret Grammar School) and Károly Mollay to the Mester Street Girls' Grammar School.¹⁴⁶⁴

Ankeria Santieri was attacked by Lutter in a manner similar to his dealings with René Bonnerjea. Unlike in the case of the French lector, Lutter succeeded in dismissing Santieri. *"Neither Ankeria Santieri's academic achievements, nor his pedagogical talent or attitude meet our standards. He definitely has a bad influence on the Collegium's students."*¹⁴⁶⁵ The MRPE did not respect Santieri's heroic conduct at the Collegium during the siege of Budapest, although he possibly saved several lives. Lutter explicitly demanded that, for the academic year of 1948/1949, the MRPE should cease to provide boarding to Santieri at the Colle-

external lecturers. Budapest, 24 April 1947. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. box 112, item 90–3. (1946–47).

¹⁴⁵⁹ 1515–25/1949. V. 1. sz. MRPE Department V supervisor Sándor Antal's letter of approval to Tibor Lutter concerning the class schedule for the upcoming semester. Budapest, 28 November 1949. MDKL box 41, file 73/a. The letter of approval did not name a teacher for Hungarian classes. These were eventually taught by Pál Kardos.

¹⁴⁶⁰ 1515–11/1950. VII. sz. Settling the issue of the Eötvös József Collegium. Budapest, 8 August 1950. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁴⁶¹ Persons concerned: porter Károly Gupka; office assistants András Lukácsi, Ferenc Molnár, Mrs. Ferenc Molnár, István Szalay, János Kákonyi, and Júlia Szabó; housekeeper Ilona Vágner; kitchen aides Mrs. Ferenc Gróman, Erzsébet Kiss, Anna Fehér, Ilona Káldi; and mechanic Lajos Mráz. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁴⁶² 1515–12/1950. VI. sz. Letter from MRPE Department VI to the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences concerning the Collegium's library. Budapest, 9 August 1950. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁴⁶³ Transfer to passive personnel or to other institutions was regulated by MRPE decree 1515–13/1950. VII. 1, issued in Budapest, 12 August, 1950. MDKL box 43, files 76–78.

¹⁴⁶⁴ MDKL box 43, files 76–78.

¹⁴⁶⁵ 343/1948. Tibor Lutter's highly confidential memorandum to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education. Budapest, 16 August 1948. MDKL box 46, file 84/4.

gium building. Ankeria Santieri therefore had to leave the Collegium in September 1948. One of the reasons for his dismissal might have been his open resentment of Communism, which he often expressed quite explicitly on the Collegium's hallways (Hajdú 2004: 55–56).

As for native French language lecturers, Guy Turbet-Delof certainly stayed at the Collegium until June 1949, as he is mentioned in reports of staff meetings until then.¹⁴⁶⁶ Following his departure, Lutter invited André Kaminski to fill the vacated lector's position.¹⁴⁶⁷ Kaminski wished to move to Hungary with his wife and Lutter managed to gain the MRPE's approval for this. Kaminski was entitled to salary of 1,600 forints a year.¹⁴⁶⁸ Despite Lutter's request that, for the sake of a smooth start of the academic year, Kaminski should arrive at the Collegium on 1 August 1949 at the latest, he is not recorded in either of the course lists¹⁴⁶⁹ or timetables¹⁴⁷⁰ for the academic year of 1949/1950. It can be concluded that Lutter's policy regarding native language lecturers greatly resembled his general policy towards Hungarian teaching staff: he removed persons whom he regarded "politically inadequate" and tried to recruit ones who supported Communism. Owing to Hungary's extensive international isolation in that period, this was a highly difficult task.

The transformation of the Collegium's education system is rather visible both from records of staff meetings and teachers' reports, as well as from alumni's memoirs. Tibor Lutter must have had extensive plans in his mind upon taking the director's seat at the Collegium. In the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949, a thorough transformation of the institution's education system began.

During a meeting held on 22 January 1949, teachers of practical courses resolved to strengthen political education in their courses by a regular collective reading of certain articles from the Communist journal *Tartós Békéért, Népi Demokráciáért* [*For Lasting Peace and People's Democracy*]. Political material was the same for all courses; the list of compulsory articles was posted on the Collegium's notice board every week. Having started with the monograph titled *A Szovjetunió Kommunista Pártjának története* [*History of the Soviet Union's Communist Party*], students of all courses were gradually introduced to a wider range of Leninist-Stalinist literature, specifically adapted to their field of study.¹⁴⁷¹ Marxist classes were taught from February 1948 by Dániel Csatári and Tamás Nagy (Kucsman 2006: 162). In the following academic year, former teachers were replaced by József Szigeti and Árpád Szabó. Alumnus András Fodor notes in his memoirs that Szigeti's classes were usually unstructured, and that the lecturer hardly paid any attention to his students' needs (Fodor 1991: 166). The growing dominance of political education during classes led to a considerable decrease in academic standards and students' motivation. Absences became

¹⁴⁶⁶ Record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 6 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Tibor Lutter's letter to György Szántó about inviting André Kaminski. Budapest, 21 March 1949. MDKL box 46, file 84/6.

¹⁴⁶⁸ 226/1949. Tibor Lutter's letter to André Kaminski. Budapest, 18 May 1949. MDKL box 46, file 84/6.

¹⁴⁶⁹ 65/1950. Jenő Tomasz's memorandum to the MRPE regarding the class schedule for the academic year of 1949/1950. Budapest, 18 February 1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹⁴⁷⁰ 484/1949. Tibor Lutter's memorandum to the MRPE regarding the class schedule for the first semester of the academic year of 1949/1950. Budapest, 25 November 1949. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/7.

¹⁴⁷¹ Statement by teachers of practical classes on 22 January 1949. Budapest, 30 January 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

more frequent. In order to address the issue of absences, the director made each student submit an exact record of their schedule and class attendance (*ibid.* 181–182).

The management attempted to harmonise the aspects of political and academic performance with the introduction of a work competition. For good classwork, communal activity, or participation in university labour movement activities, students could acquire points.¹⁴⁷² Points were added up at the end of each semester and the sum served as a basis of prolongation or withdrawal of Collegium membership. The senior and junior students admitted in the Keresztury-era who managed to avoid political purges in 1949, tried to increase the number of their points by leading study circles at their universities, study circles having become increasingly significant units of university education. Ideological and political commitment was, however, not equally important at all classes. Teachers who had also been working at the Collegium during the previous eras (Péter Faragó,¹⁴⁷³ László Gáldi,¹⁴⁷⁴ János Harmatta,¹⁴⁷⁵ Albert Szegő,¹⁴⁷⁶ Károly Mollay¹⁴⁷⁷, and József Szauder¹⁴⁷⁸) occasionally reported some cases of “ideological unpreparedness”, but these issues never affected their assessment of students’ academic performance. Unfortunately, reports by Tibor Lutter’s new teaching staff were not preserved. Although nothing certain can be known of their assessment system, some guesses can certainly be made. From among the new teachers, József Szigeti reportedly based his assessment on political factors just as much as on academic achievement. This is proven by a proposal he made during a staff meeting on 5 May 1949. Regarding selection policies, Szigeti argued that applicants should primarily be assessed on the basis of their social standing and “political reliability”.¹⁴⁷⁹ The above differences between teachers’ assessment criteria show that the complete political and ideological transformation of the Collegium’s educational system was not entirely successful. As the flaws of the new system were rather conspicuous, the Collegium’s Party Committee appointed instructors in November 1949 in order to restore some of the academic quality of classes as well as to increase student motivation. Academic failure of the previous political transformation is aptly illustrated by the fact that several of these instructors were persons who had previously been labelled “politically unreliable” or “ideologically underdeveloped”.¹⁴⁸⁰

¹⁴⁷² According to study reports, excellent classwork was worth a maximum of 3 points. See János Harmatta’s study report on Latin language classes in the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 7 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷³ Péter Faragó’s report on physics classes in the second semester of the academic year 1948/1949. Budapest, May 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷⁴ László Gáldi’ report on Romance Philology classes in the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 7 June 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷⁵ János Harmatta’ report on Latin language classes in the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 7 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Albert Szegő’ report on French language classes in the first semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, January 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Károly Mollay’ report on German language classes in the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 7 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷⁸ József Szauder’ report on Hungarian and Italian classes in the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949. Budapest, 7 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 101/10/b.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Record of the teachers’ meeting at the Eötvös Collegium on 5 May 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Statements agreed on the meeting of the Eötvös József Collegium’s MDP Hungarian Working People’s Party Committee on 14 November. Budapest, 14 November 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

Similarly to natural science students, philology students also had to resort to spending much of their time leading study circles at the university instead of studying at the Collegium. The Board of Directors viewed this change as a means of restoring the deteriorated relationship between the Collegium and the university. In the light of imminent university reforms, Lutter hoped to preserve the Collegium by the gradual dissolution of its teacher training system and transforming it into an institute for Marxist doctoral aspirants.¹⁴⁸¹

11.5. Relationship Between the Eötvös Collegium and the MRPE as Supervisory Authority Between 1948 and 1950 and the Issue of Dissolution

Authorized by MRPE decree 201.331/1948. VI. 1, Tibor Lutter took over the Collegium's directorial position from Dezső Keresztury on 1 August 1948.¹⁴⁸² Lutter's appointment was probably facilitated by alumnus Imre Lakatos who's position as secretary of the Scholarship Council granted him considerable authority within the MRPE (Lutter was the president of the Scholarship Council at that time). Another candidate for the directorial position was Árpád Szabó who, just like Lakatos, was a devout disciple of György Lukács at that time. Lutter was eventually chosen for being more impressionable, as transformation processes within the Collegium were intended to be kept strictly under the MRPE's control (Mihály 2012: 179). Lutter's past made him highly prone to the MRPE's blackmails: despite having taken part in the resistance movements, he taught at the Reichsdeutsche Schule (School of the German Empire) until the very end of World War II and, being a lecturer at the University of Szeged in 1946–47, he maintained a close relationship with English language lecturer Michael Halstedt who was suspected of being a spy and was therefore closely observed by state security services (Pál 2010).¹⁴⁸³

¹⁴⁸¹ During the second semester of the academic year of 1948/1949, more than 40 Collegium students were leaders of different study circles at the Faculty of Arts. Record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting on 6 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹⁴⁸² 329/1948. ref. no.: MRPE 201.331/1948. VI.1. Tibor Lutter's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education about assuming the directorial seat of the Collegium. Budapest, 1 August 1948. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

¹⁴⁸³ Lutter's services were used on political fields also. Between 11 and 16 February 1950, he worked as an English interpreter at the Communist show trial targeted at the forced nationalization of the Standard factory (Bándy

During the first part of his directorship, Lutter had to fight against the Secondary Teacher Training Institution for maintaining some of the Collegium's educational autonomy. The scope of his struggle was similar to Géza Bartoniek's between 1924 and 1926. In a letter written by the National Secondary School Teaching Examination Committee in December 1948, the Collegium was notified that according to MRPE decree 209.002/1948. VI. 1, Collegium members were no longer exempt from attending compulsory lectures during the year of their teaching practice, and were therefore required to attend all relevant theoretical courses at the university in the second semester of their practice year.¹⁴⁸⁴ The Collegium found this claim unacceptable for two reasons. Firstly, because it appeared to be only the first step in the gradual infringement of the Collegium's educational independence and would lead to the elimination of all courses taught separately at the institution. Secondly, because attending all the classes at the Secondary Teacher Training Institution would take up a considerable part of students' time and energy, consequently hindering academic work within the Collegium. In order to prevent this, Lutter submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education. He referred to MRPE decree 203.952/1948. VI. 1, permitting Collegium seniors to complete all of their practice year studies within the Collegium, since it also offered theoretical courses in pedagogy.¹⁴⁸⁵ Eventually, the MRPE resorted to a solution similar to the one already implemented in 1926. In order to prevent further arguments between the Collegium and the Secondary Teacher Training Institution, the MRPE exempted Collegium members from attending classes at the Secondary Teacher Training Institution, if a similar class was available at the Collegium. The list of these courses was assembled by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the head of the Student Administration Office, and the director of the Collegium. The course list had to be submitted to the MRPE along with general university class schedules. In end-of-semester students reports, these courses were to be marked with a stamp saying "completed at the Eötvös Collegium" and grades were to be written in a stamped-in box saying "grade obtained at the Eötvös Collegium:..." At end of each semester, a detailed report about the Collegium's teacher training classes was to be sent to the Dean, along with the list of grades obtained by students.¹⁴⁸⁶ Thus, the MRPE resorted to maintaining the *status quo* established in 1926. The political transformations of 1948, however, soon brought about changes in the Collegium's relationship to the MRPE, leading to another period of ambiguity regarding its status within the system of Hungarian higher education.

This sense of ambiguity resulting from its innovative nature within the education system was not unknown to the Collegium, as, in its earliest years, the status of the institution was similarly unstable. The first period of instability ended in 1889 with the abolition of the double teacher training system at the university. Act XXVII of 1924 eventually stabilized the Collegium's position within the Hungarian teacher training system, although curbed its

2003).

¹⁴⁸⁴ Letter from the National Secondary School Teaching Examination Committee of Budapest to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 10 December 1948. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

¹⁴⁸⁵ 526/1948. Director Tibor Lutter's letter to the Minister of Religion and Public Education regarding senior students' class exemption. Budapest, 17 December 1948. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

¹⁴⁸⁶ 212.116/1949. VI. 1. sz. MRPE counselor György Szántó's letter to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 3 February 1949. MDKL box 51, file 97/6.

independence to some extent. During the following years, the institute began its struggle for its college status to be accepted in order to further secure its position (cf. Papp 2004: 57).

Having become an educational institute of college status in February 1946, the Collegium hoped to have avoided the effects of post-war social and political transformations in Hungary. But the political pendulum later moved towards the extreme left and this Communist-style transformation brought about inevitable changes in higher education. The first university reform of 1948–49 had three main objectives: subordinating the entire Hungarian education system to the needs of the newfound people's democracy and its emerging system of command economy; radical modifications in the social composition of university students; and transforming teaching material in service of ideological purposes (cf. Ladányi 1986:11). This required a thorough transformation of the interwar teacher training system. Paragraph 9 of the Ministerial Council's decree 260/1949 ordered the immediate dissolution of all secondary teacher training institutions and secondary school teaching examination committees. Placement of the staff was arranged by the MRPE.¹⁴⁸⁷ The introduction of unified compulsory schedules, the dissolution of affiliated grammar schools, the increased number of lectures on pedagogy and psychology, as well as the nationalization of independent study groups brought about an extreme increase in students' course load and made the system of teacher training completely chaotic (ibid. 13–19).¹⁴⁸⁸

Having completely abolished the previous structure in which the Collegium operated, the decree had a decisive impact on the institution's life in all aspects. Having operated as a secondary teacher training institution, the Collegium now faced the possibility of complete dissolution. According to his journal records, András Fodor was first informed about the plans for the Collegium's dissolution by Mátyás Domokos. Later he was also informed directly by László Illés that the university Party Committee plans to dissolve the institution in September 1949, or in the summer of 1950 at the latest (Fodor 1991: 328; 357). The MDP Secretariat accepted a plan against excessive university course loads on 21 December 1949. The chaotic state of higher education was blamed on politician László Rajk, a former high-ranking party official who was then the main target of an ongoing show trial. According to charges, Rajk deliberately worked on the extreme increase of course loads in order to prevent students of worker and peasant origin from being able to join this intellectually challenging education system. According to a report, "enemies" had infiltrated into the MRPE. As a result, Minister Gyula Ortutay was dismissed on 24 February 1950, and replaced by writer József Darvas (Ladányi 1986: 23). Simultaneously, a plan for university reforms emerged. In order to comply with the directives of the 5-year plan, the teacher training process was to be accelerated. Originally lasting for 5 years, the length of teacher training was cut to 4 years. In the academic year of 1949/1950, 5th year senior students were allowed to graduate within the "old system", but 4th year seniors were

¹⁴⁸⁷ 260/1949. (I. 12.) *Minisztertanácsi rendelet az egyetemi bölcsészeti és természettudományi képzés újjászervezéséről tárgyában.* [Ministerial Council Decree Regarding the Reorganization of Natural Sciences and Arts Education at Hungarian Universities]

¹⁴⁸⁸ The meeting of the Agitprop Committee of the MDP KV (Hungarian Working People's Party, Central Command) on 29 September 1949 marked the elimination of anarchy and excessive workload as top priorities. In order to achieve this goal, the Committee suggested that participation in study circles should be made optional (MNL OL M-KS box 276, file 86, preservation unit 34).

to finish their studies in the 8th semester in order to obtain a degree by June 1950 (so the number of teacher's degrees determined in the 5-year-plan could be achieved). Due to lack of time, this "extra class of 1950" was only to submit a shorter written study instead of a complete thesis and was graded accordingly.¹⁴⁸⁹ In order to meet the requirements of the economy, students of worker and peasant origin were admitted to teacher training programs in increasing numbers. To avoid excessive dropout rates, teaching material was drastically curbed. University cafeterias and dormitories were forcibly nationalized. For managing this new and rather extensive student catering network, the National Company of Training Supplies (TNV) was created on 1 January 1950. During the summer of 1950, all university dormitories were taken over by the TNV (Ladányi 1986: 51).¹⁴⁹⁰ According to a report on student welfare benefits written by the Agitprop Committee of the Central Command of the Hungarian Working People's Party, there was a considerable shortage of dormitory spaces compared to the potential number of applicants in the academic year of 1950/1951. New places were to be provided by the forcible nationalization of further buildings, especially in Budapest. The report indicated the necessity of extra funding for the interior reconstruction of buildings after nationalization.¹⁴⁹¹ During an Agitprop Committee meeting on 4 January 1949, the idea of university reforms surfaced again: the draft legislation of reforms was basically accepted along with the assumption that dormitories of secondary and higher education were to primarily accept students of worker and peasant origin.¹⁴⁹²

Accepted in January 1949, the draft legislation made the status of the Collegium ambiguous again. The dangers of this ambiguity were soon recognized by director Tibor Lutter. On a staff meeting in May 1949, he tried to forestall the danger of dissolution by suggesting the gradual termination of teacher training within the institution in favour of post-graduate academic education. On this meeting, however, no detailed plan was presented yet.¹⁴⁹³ During another staff meeting the following month, Lutter came up with a lengthy analysis of the Collegium's current situation. He stated that during the first semester of the current academic year, the atmosphere in the Collegium was profoundly affected by its tense relationship with the university. In Lutter's opinion, this tension was primarily due to the Collegium's isolation and consequent posing as a sort of "counter-university". Tension was later eased to some extent by Collegium students' participation in university labour movement activities. Wide-ranging reforms of the system of Hungarian higher education, nevertheless, presented new challenges: the new requirement of accepting masses of poorly educated students from disadvantaged backgrounds had to be harmonized with

¹⁴⁸⁹ 1400-52-5/1950. IV. sz. Order by MRPE Department VI of Universities and Colleges on the acceleration of teacher training processes. Budapest, 19 January 1950. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1400-52/1950. (box 249).

¹⁴⁹⁰ See in detail: 1011-0-1/1949. VKM Eln. o. sz. Memorandum by the MRPE's Presidential Department to the Ministerial Council about closing the Országos Diákjóléti és Kollégiumi Hivatal (Student Welfare and Dormitory Office). Budapest, 18 October 1949. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1400-52/1950. (box 249).

¹⁴⁹¹ Social funding of university students in the academic year of 1950/1951. MNL OL M-KS f. 276, preservation unit 302, lot 89.

¹⁴⁹² Record of the meeting of Agitprop Committee of the MDP KV (Hungarian Working People's Party, Central Command) on 4 January 1949. MNL OL M-KS f. 276, preservation unit 12, lot 86.

¹⁴⁹³ Record of a teachers' meeting at the Eötvös Collegium on 5 May 1949. Budapest, 5 May 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

the old criteria of high academic quality. In Lutter's opinion, the Collegium had always aimed to educate persons who, apart from displaying an adequate ideological background, were seriously devoted to high-quality academic work. Under the new circumstances, the Collegium had failed to achieve this goal, but, said Lutter, so had the university. Lutter argued that the Collegium's failure was caused by both teachers and students. He blamed teachers for being overly reserved and hardly contacting their students outside class. On the other hand, Lutter also noted that students tended to adhere to some of the Collegium's previous "feudal" traditions like still calling members of the service staff "valets" and being called "sir" by them. Lutter saw these as signs of an inorganic development, which hence could not be entirely successful. Regarding future perspectives, Lutter suggested that the Collegium should be transformed into an institution for doctoral aspirants.¹⁴⁹⁴

The introduction of a Soviet-style system of doctoral aspirancy was first suggested in a memorandum by the MRPE's Presidential Department on 8 November 1949. As part of the preparatory process, the Hungarian Council of Sciences was to set up a Doctoral Aspirant Committee that was in turn responsible for assembling the list of institutions qualified for educating of doctoral aspirants.¹⁴⁹⁵ The exact contents of the draft legislation were discussed by the Agitprop Committee on 9 July 1950. The draft legislation eventually stated that for the time being, suggestions resort to the introduction of doctoral aspirancy, while the issue of revising and substituting present academic degrees with new ones is yet undecided. The Committee argued that while the system of doctoral aspirancy was to be launched quickly in the next academic year, the revision and substitution of academic degrees was less urgent.¹⁴⁹⁶ Following an order issued by the Secretariat of the Hungarian Working People's Party on 23 August 1950, the Presidential Council issued legislative decree XLIV of 1950, introducing the system of doctoral aspirancy. The revision of academic degrees was ordered later by legislative decree XXVI of 1951 (Ladányi 1986: 65–66).

Having recognized the grave uncertainty of the Collegium's future, Tibor Lutter attempted to outline possible perspectives to the MRPE in two drafts. The first one was sent within a letter of apology for a protocol error. In any of the Collegium's previous periods, it would have been unimaginable that the Minister of Religion and Public Education was unable to attend the institution's annual cabaret night, because of a belated invitation.¹⁴⁹⁷ In his draft enclosed with the letter of apology, Lutter stated (mistakenly) that the Collegium was founded in 1890 and gave a brief outline of its achievements. During its fifty years of existence, Lutter stated, the Collegium had excelled in the education of both teachers and scholars. He also presented a list of alumni who had become renowned artists and scientists: Gyula Szekfű, Zoltán Kodály, János Horváth, Géza Zemplén, Károly Novobátzky, Zoltán Bay, Béla Balázs, Zoltán Gombocz, and Árpád Szabó. Lutter also argued that the perspectives of the Eötvös Collegium were perfectly in line with ongoing educational reforms.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Record of the end-of-year teachers' meeting at the Eötvös Collegium on 6 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/d.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Memorandum by the MRPE's Presidential Department about the establishment of specific institutions for candidates and doctoral aspirants. Budapest, 8 November 1949. MNL OL XIX-I-1-s 1011/1949. (box 213).

¹⁴⁹⁶ Meeting of the Agitprop Committee of the MDP KV (Hungarian Working People's Party, Central Command) on 9 July 1950. MNL OL M-KS f.276, preservation unit 50, lot 86.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Tibor Lutter's letter of apology to Gyula Ortutay, Minister of Religion and Public Education about a belated invitation to the Collegium's annual cabaret night. Budapest, 7 June 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

Formerly, the members of the institution had all been educated to be teachers, thus had taken up jobs in education and science. Their career perspectives were, however, limited, as their jobs highly depended on contemporary economic circumstances. Consequently, several talented youths were unable to develop their intellectual potential to its possible maximum. Lutter infers from the above arguments that instead of being a teacher training institution, the Collegium had instead been an educational institution to prospective scholars, though it definitely lacked a systematic strategy. This, Lutter argued, needed to be changed in a way that, in addition to future teachers, the Collegium would also accept other talented students from the Faculty of Arts. This internal reform would then comply with the principles of the general educational reform: the Eötvös Collegium would ease the shortage of scientists by educating a new generation. This would involve the extension of Collegium membership until the end of doctoral studies, along with accepting doctoral aspirants. This transformation was to take place when comprehensive social changes within the university yielded enough future scholars of worker and peasant origin.¹⁴⁹⁸

Written in November 1949, the second outline described the possible transition into a doctoral aspirants' institution in more detail. Lutter argued that the introduction of doctoral aspirancy would bring about a necessity for aspirant dormitories. The Eötvös Collegium, in his opinion, could easily be transformed into a home for doctoral aspirants. "*...its equipment and interior are especially suitable for hosting doctoral aspirants from the faculty of Arts and, to a lesser extent, from the Faculty of Natural Sciences. As the Collegium's status is yet undefined within the new system of Hungarian education, I kindly ask the Minister of Religion and Public Education to address the issue of its transformation into a doctoral aspirants' institute in a ministerial proposal.*"¹⁴⁹⁹ Lutter's outline was based on four arguments: the Eötvös Collegium had always been a separate entry in the MRPE's budget as a teacher training institute. This would not change in any way, except for inserting the phrase "doctoral aspirant" into the Collegium's name. The new structure would be introduced gradually, filling up spaces step-by-step, until scientific institutions delegated enough doctoral aspirants to the Collegium. This gradual transition would guarantee that the high quality of education is retained in both the old and new systems. Having the adequate academic equipment and a staff of highly trained professors, the institution was fit to educate both teachers and doctoral aspirants. The building itself was perfectly suitable for hosting doctoral aspirants, who could even run their own personal households in their apartments. To support his argument, Lutter emphasized that the institution had been in the service of Hungarian public education for 50 years and argued for the necessity of clarifying the Collegium's function within the new education system. He also noted that regarding its structure and the social composition of its students, the Collegium had entirely conformed to the current system of public dormitories, and therefore had become an institute of Socialist education. Concerning the Collegium's contemporaneous social composition as well as recent personal and structural changes,

¹⁴⁹⁸ Tibor Lutter: Handwritten draft about the future of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, December 1948–April 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

¹⁴⁹⁹ 459/1949. Tibor Lutter's tentative outline about transforming the Eötvös Collegium into an institute for doctoral aspirants. Budapest, 7 November 1949. MDKL box 88, file 185/5. Also published in: Kósa 1995: 229–230.

Lutter's statement could be considered valid. As for the tension between the Collegium and the university, Lutter wrote that "...official university representatives, along with the University Party Unit, and students who are not members of the Collegium have often complained about the privileged position of our institute. They argue that by providing extra classes to our members, our Collegium provides unfair advantages and therefore practically educates an aristocracy. These groups also argue that university students should conduct their studies solely at the university and are not entitled to any other form of institutional education elsewhere. This assumption has already made education within the Collegium rather difficult. Our students tend to visit the Collegium's library considerably less frequently. Our library is practically visited exclusively on weekends and on days off from university."¹⁵⁰⁰ Having accepted the university's arguments, Lutter suggested that since students were not allowed to attend teacher training courses at the Collegium any more, the institution should rather concentrate on postgraduate education. Turning the Collegium into a simple dormitory without any educational potential would, in Lutter's opinion, be the total destruction of a tried and true academic unit. Lutter also noted that since July 1948, the Collegium had submitted several proposals for the clarification of its status, but to no avail. Due to a thaw in the Collegium's relationship to the University Party Unit after May 1949, the Unit had submitted a proposal about the Collegium's future to the Party Committee of Budapest but received no answer. Perhaps due to this reason, Lutter's proposal was never sent (Kósa 1995: 230). This in turn led to the Collegium's inevitable dissolution during the double university reform. The issue of transformation into an institute for doctoral aspirants was addressed in the sense that Lutter, encouraged by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, recommended some former Collegium members for this new type of doctoral studies.¹⁵⁰¹

During the last semester of the Collegium's existence, the weekly number of classes offered by the Collegium was 36, again half of the amount available in the Keresztury-era.¹⁵⁰² The formation of the TNV (National Company of Training Supplies) in January, Minister Ortutay's dismissal in February, the reform-related reorganization of the MRPE Department of Universities and Colleges, and the formation of the Council for Higher Education all proved to be bad omens for the Collegium. Its specific legal status within the otherwise quite chaotic system of Hungarian higher education was to be certainly modified. This goal was implied in the record of a meeting by the Agitprop Committee of the Central Command of the Hungarian Working People's Party on 11 November 1949.¹⁵⁰³ Along with stating the necessity of making the system of Hungarian higher education more transpar-

¹⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

¹⁵⁰¹ Persons recommended by Lutter: András Békéssy, MSc Physics; 3rd year archivist László Benczédi, 4th year mathematics-physics major Ottó Blum, 4th year mathematics-physics major Erik Dux, 3rd year mathematics-physics major Imre Izsák; 5th year Hungarian-English major Pál Kardos; Árpád Kucsman, MSc Chemistry; 5th year Hungarian-Italian major Géza Sallai, 3rd year Hungarian-Latin-classical Greek major János Sarkadi, 5th year history-Latin major Zsolt Trócsányi. 5394/1949–1950. Letter by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts to director Tibor Lutter. Budapest, 28 February 1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/b.

¹⁵⁰² 65/1950. Jenő Tomasz's memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education about the class schedule of the academic year of 1949/1950. Budapest, 18 February 1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹⁵⁰³ Record of the meeting by the Agitprop Committee of the Central Command of the Hungarian Working People's Party on 11 November 1949. MNL OL M-KS f.276. preservation unit 37, lot 86.

ent, the record also lists the tasks and proposals regarding the reorganization of MRPE Department of Universities. An Agitprop Committee meeting held on 15 August 1950 already featured a detailed plan for launching the system of doctoral aspirancy, along with plans for the formation of new university units with new functions, as well as a definite plan for creating the Council for Higher Education. In the course of the meeting, the Agitprop Committee discussed a document titled *Javaslat az egyetemek új szervezeti átépítésére* [*Proposal for the Structural Reorganization of Universities*]. The document maintained that the structure and operational rules of Hungarian universities were principally still based on decrees dating back to the Bach-era.¹⁵⁰⁴ This, the proposal argued, had not changed significantly even after World War II. Although the democratization of the MRPE gave rise to the establishment of new units (student administration offices, HR departments) within universities, these units remained alien in the system. As no clear set of tasks and responsibilities was outlined for these new elements, universities practically began to have a double leadership of both old and new organizational units. The proposal argued that structural changes were inevitable because the success or failure of Communist educational reforms was solely determined by the quality of the resulting education system. The prerequisites of success, the document argued, were an elaborate controlling system and a transparent institutional structure.¹⁵⁰⁵

The author of this paper assumes that the Collegium eventually fell victim of the second university reform of 1950 featuring comprehensive changes in the social composition of university students along with the severe degradation of course requirements, in order to prevent excessive dropout, and the structural rationalization of the Hungarian higher education system (cf. Ladányi 1986: 63–64). The dissolution of the Collegium began in the first half of 1950. Originally created as a means of protection against possible attacks in public life, the Eötvös Collegium Former Members' Association was dissolved upon an initiative made by the Ministry of Interior. Previously, the Ministry sent a transcript to the Ministry of Popular Culture to enquire whether it regarded the existence of the Former Members' Association necessary.¹⁵⁰⁶ In May 1950, the Ministry of Popular Culture answered that the existence of the Association was not regarded necessary, therefore the Eötvös Collegium Former Members' Association was dissolved on 22 May 1950.¹⁵⁰⁷

¹⁵⁰⁴ Baron Alexander von Bach, Minister of the Interior of the Austrian Empire between 1849 and 1859. His most notable achievement was instituting a system of centralized control at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria. The period of his ministership in the history of the Austrian Empire would become known as the era of “neo-absolutism”, or Bach’s absolutism.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *Javaslat az egyetemek új szervezeti átépítésére* [*Proposal for the Structural Reorganization of Universities*] 1–2. Record of the meeting by the Agitprop Committee of the Central Command of the Hungarian Working People’s Party on 15 August 1950. MNL OL M-KS f. 276. preservation unit 54, lot 86.

¹⁵⁰⁶ I/784/4. IV/3. B.M. Transcript from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Popular Culture regarding the Eötvös Collegium Former Members’ Association. Budapest, 28 April 1950. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁵⁰⁷ 5632-1075/2/1950. IV/3. B.M. The Ministry of Interior’s decree on the dissolution of the Eötvös Collegium Former Members’ Association. Budapest, 22 May 1950. At the time of its dissolution, the Association had 6,253.32 forints on account no. 33800 of the Postatakarékpénztár (Postal Savings Bank). The MRPE ruled that the money should go for funding the Eötvös Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences located on the 2nd floor of the former Collegium building. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

Apart from the 2nd floor of the building, the Collegium was taken over by the TNV according to an MRPE decree dated on 19 August 1950. The TNV documented the receipt of fixtures worth 160,000 forints. From that time on, the building was called Dormitory 20.¹⁵⁰⁸ In fact, it had functioned as a dormitory since July 1950, as applicants to the Faculty of Arts were hosted there during their entrance exams.¹⁵⁰⁹ The legal dissolution of the Collegium took place in 1951, with the MRPE's revisions of laws that, despite being legally valid, were not applied any more. Ministerial Council's decree 260/1949 was regarded as such, along with MRPE decree 95001/1923 containing the MRPE's approval of the Eötvös József Collegium's Operational Rules outlined by Pál Teleki.¹⁵¹⁰ The revision and consequent repealing of laws put an end to the 55-year-long history of the Eötvös József Collegium.

11.6.

Other Assumptions About the Collegium's Dissolution

The Collegium's dissolution is a returning subject of reminiscences featuring the period between 1948 and 1950. This can be regarded rather obvious, as former Collegium members reckoned that a personal interpretation of their unlawful dismissal may cast light upon the real motifs behind the dissolution process. A common feature of these reminiscences is the opinion that the dissolution process started simultaneously with the beginning of Tibor Lutter's directorship. Most alumni in question also assumed that Lutter had taken the directorial seat with definite plans for closing up the institution (Keveléz 2007h: 141).¹⁵¹¹ Although the initial version of Imre Szász's novel *Ménesi út* [*Ménesi Road* (where the Collegium was located)] featured this opinion (Szász 1985:182–183), he later modified it to some extent after reading Róbert Frankl's salutation on the establishment of the new Collegium.

Róbert Frankl introduced the “new” Collegium in an article published in *Fiatal Magyarság* [*Hungarian Youth*]. Starting from the Communist conspiracy of 1932, Frankl

¹⁵⁰⁸ 337/1950. Record of transfer of the Collegium building to the National Company of Training Supplies. Budapest, 22 August 1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

¹⁵⁰⁹ On the Collegium's relationship to the Student Administration Office of the Faculty of Art, 1949–1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/b.

¹⁵¹⁰ 1011-46/1951. Statement by the MRPE's Law Preparation Department on obsolete laws and decrees. Budapest, 24 January 1951. MNL OL XIX-I-1-s 1011/1950–1951.

¹⁵¹¹ In a memoir collection edited by Ágnes Keveléz, János Benyhe (Keveléz 2007a: 203–204), József Vekerdy (Ruttkay 2007d: 229) and György Bodnár (Keveléz 2007b: 209) all support this opinion. Published in the journal *Holmi*, the same idea is suggested in Mátyás Domokos's letter of response to Imre Szász. (Domokos 2006).

depicted the history of the Collegium as a struggle between “progressive” and “destructive” elements, much resembling the Communist historic narratives of class struggle. He argued that after 1945, this struggle surfaced again: the “progressives” wished to support the emerging people’s democracy, while the “destructives”, with right-wing political views, opted for isolation. Since the Collegium was not able to keep up with the quick changes following World War II, it was left behind in the process of academic transformation. The essence of transformation, in his words, was the following: “*Changes have eventually happened: students unable to embrace the ideals of people’s democracy voluntarily resigned. The Collegium’s directorial seat was finally taken by a person who is both willing and capable of taking action*” (Frankl 1948: 353). Frankl gave an incorrect description of this process by presenting it as a result of organic internal changes. He withheld information on the show trial-like nature of exclusion processes and did not mention that, in his outlines regarding the Collegium’s future, even the director admitted some of his previous mistakes. Yet Frankl expressed his hope that through a thorough study and understanding of Marxism, the Collegium would be able to keep its previous high-ranking position in Hungarian academic life (ibid. 356–357).

In his novel, Imre Szász eventually interpreted Frankl’s conclusion in a way that despite any opposite opinions by members of the “old” Collegium, the author of the article possibly believed, and so did Tibor Lutter, that the institute could be permanently saved by means of an adequate ideological transformation process (Szász 1985: 189–190). This assumption is significantly different from any previous ideas about Lutter’s motives. Established in 1895, the traditional education system of the Collegium was definitely changed after 1948. Members admitted before 1948 were made to resign in the course of two waves of politically motivated procedures. Others were expelled in procedures resembling contemporary show trials. By the second half of the academic year of 1948/1949, the Collegium had lost its traditional structure. It ceased to educate highly qualified scholars and secondary teachers who were appropriate for educating a middle-class society. Instead of being part of a plan for systematic dissolution, however, these changes were rather motivated by a wish to modify the Collegium in a way that it could survive in the new political system. This assumption is duly supported by archival documents presented in subchapter 11.5. The failure of this attempt was possibly the result of political changes induced by the double university reform. The structure of teacher training was altered, and the significance of qualitative requirements were surpassed by the quantitative requirements of the 5-year plan.

Another person being a subject of extensive debate is Imre Lakatos. Both reminiscences and reference literature¹⁵¹² feature all kinds of different perspectives on the role he played in the structural changes and eventual dissolution of the Collegium (Bándy 2003; Congdon 1998). In addition to his rather ambivalent personality, he was generally disliked for being the author of the first hostile article against the Collegium (Lakatos: 1947), launching the press debate of 1947–1948. In this article, the possible dissolution of the Collegium was mentioned for the first time. Lakatos argued that if director Dezső Keresztury resisted “progress” by not admitting students of worker and peasant background in high numbers,

¹⁵¹² For opinions on the two extremes, see Keveléz 2007f: 25–26, and Mihályi 2012: 178–183.

and refused to take part in political transformations, then he might have put the whole future of the Collegium at considerable risk (cf. Paksa 2004: 125). Furthermore, for reasons listed in the previous chapter, Lakatos might have played an active role in getting Tibor Lutter appointed as director of the institution. At the end of the academic year of 1947/1948, following Lakatos's defence of his doctoral thesis and Lutter's appointment as director, Lakatos's connection to the Collegium temporarily ceased (Mihályi 2012: 181), because of winning a scholarship to Moscow in January 1949. During his stay in the Soviet capital, Lakatos spent his free time studying György Lukács's and József Révai's works written in emigration, so as to try to gain ground for a possible political attack on them (Bándy 2003). In August 1949, however, Lakatos was forced to leave Moscow because of accusations raised by the Romanian Communist Party. The Romanian Communist Party filed a complaint against Lakatos at the Hungarian Party Committee informing the Committee of possible charges regarding the death of young illegal Communist Éva Izsák in 1944 (Congdon 1998).¹⁵¹³

Following his return, Lakatos lived in Tibor Lutter's directorial apartment at the Collegium until 20 April 1950. During that time, he taught at the Mihály Fazekas Grammar School, but possibly devoted much of his attention to the Collegium also. By that time, the first wave of transformation was finished, so Lakatos might have possibly taken part only in staging the exclusion procedures of October 1949. Similarly to his previous conduct, he might have acted as a catalyst of changes again, instead of being an agent commissioned for destroying the institution.¹⁵¹⁴ Even though no sources mention his actual participation in the second wave of personal changes, his physical presence at the Collegium, coupled with his relationship to Lutter imply that he might have at least given some advice to the director on how to proceed with the changes. On 20 April 1950, Lakatos was summoned before the Central Inspection Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party where he was held responsible for the Izsák-case and consequently excluded from the Party. The following night, he was arrested by the ÁVH (*Államvédelmi Hatóság* – State Protection Authority) at Lutter's apartment at the Eötvös Collegium. Lakatos was first taken to the dreaded ÁVH Headquarters at 60 Andrásy Avenue¹⁵¹⁵ and was later sent to forced labour camps in Kistarcsa and Recsk (Bándy 2003).

¹⁵¹³ Éva Izsák arrived in Nagyvárad (Oradea, RO) in 1944 with forged documents. She took part in illegal communist seminars organized by Lakatos. The young Jewish girl was hidden by fellow seminar member Ödön Wetter. Wetter's father being a member of the Volksbund, Izsák was in severe danger of being discovered. As this would pose a considerable threat on all members of the illegal communist seminar, Lakatos suggested that they hold a vote on Izsák's suicide in Debrecen, which they did. Izsák's suicide was decided, and Lakatos gave her the poison. The idea possibly came from Soviet writer Alexander Tarasov-Rodionov's (1885–1938) novel *Chocolate*. (Congdon 1998; Mihályi 2012: 178–179).

¹⁵¹⁴ During his university years in Debrecen in 1944–1945, Lakatos played a similar role. On 25 January 1945, students of the University of Debrecen held a meeting in the ceremonial hall of the Reformed Collegium Debrecen. On Lakatos's proposal, participants of the meeting had agreed to a fusion with the MADISZ Magyar Demokratikus Ifjúsági Szövetség [Hungarian Democratic Youth Alliance]. As a representative of the MKP, he was later elected a temporary member of the leadership of the Debreceni Egyetemi Kör (Debrecen University Circle) and was appointed a permanent member on 24 March 1945 (Gaál 1981: 7–9). Lakatos was apparently keen on associating different advocacy groups with Party organizations.

¹⁵¹⁵ The building is now a museum called *The House of Terror*, commemorating the victims of both the Nazi and communist political systems. Formerly it served as headquarters and prison for both extreme right and extreme left parties. In the late 1930's, it became the head office of the Arrow Cross Party, which named

Back in his time as a member of the Collegium, Lakatos had persuaded several fellow students to join the institution's new Communist Party Group. With more respected party member students, he held regular consultations on the ongoing issues of the Collegium (Mihályi 2012: 179). Former teacher Dániel Csatári admitted to alumnus András Fodor that Lakatos also regularly consulted matters of the institution with József Révai (Fodor 1991:112). From the above information it can be concluded that Lakatos definitely facilitated changes within the Collegium and, by supporting Lutter's appointment, he also contributed to the acceleration of the process. Yet he might have hardly had any influence on the issue of dissolution. By the time it was decided, Lakatos was out of favour within the MDP. The dissolution was decided at much higher levels anyway, between November 1949 and April 1950. Having taken an active part in transforming the Collegium into an institution of Marxist education, putting an end to its existence might not have been among Lakatos's main interests.

11.7. Changes in the Collegium's Internal Life Between 1948 and 1950

The traditional Student President election on 5 May 1948 had a decisive impact on the future of the Collegium. The result was 32:20 to József Vekerdy against hardline Communist candidate András Nagy.¹⁵¹⁶ The election was followed by the traditional initiation process (Fodor 1991: 110), but the next day, all members of the Collegium's Communist Party Group resigned from their positions in the Student Government and threatened their peers with political isolation (Kucsman 2006: 167). Upon Keresztury's advice, Vekerdy resigned from his position immediately and new elections were held the next day, featuring András Nagy as the only candidate. Nagy was obviously elected (Vekerdy 1984: 129). Members of the Communist Party Group were nevertheless appalled by the fact that beside the 39 votes in his favour, 7 voters still abstained (Fodor 1991: 114).

In order to settle the conflict, József Révai summoned the newly elected Communist Student President along with director Dezső Keresztury and former Collegium members

it the "House of Loyalty". In 1945, it was turned into an ÁVH (Államvédelmi Hatóság - State Protection Authority) headquarters. Created in 1944, the prison cells and interrogation rooms of the house were places of constant atrocities against persons who were deemed "politically unreliable" by any of the two systems.

¹⁵¹⁶ Latin-Greek-Russian major at the Collegium between 1945 and October 1949. Since his Russian major made him politically irreproachable, Vekerdy appeared to be an ideal candidate against Nagy. Vekerdy took over candidacy from Árpád Brusznay whose explicit Christianity and membership at the Smallholders' Party implied a risk of political confrontation. (Szász 1985: 72–77; Vekerdy 2007: 228) MDKL box 22, file 22, lot 66.

who had entered the extreme left-wing party (Mihályi 2012: 173). During this discussion, Révay presented a list of students whom he labelled “reactionary” and wished them to be excluded from the Collegium for their attitude at the Student President’s election.¹⁵¹⁷ Director Keresztury openly refused to do so and consequently resigned from his directorial position on 31 July 1948.

As it has been made quite conspicuous in previous chapters, new director Tibor Lutter arrived at the institution with rather definite plans. His keenness at structural and personal changes is proven by the numerous proposals he submitted to the MRPE. Upon Lutter’s arrival, several students voluntarily resigned their membership and there is also evidence proving that, at least in one case, “voluntary” resignation was forced externally. Himself being keen on taking revenge for the initial failure of the Student President elections, Lutter suggested the exclusion of 8 students in a memorandum submitted to the MRPE in 1949, but the MRPE eventually denied this request.¹⁵¹⁸

Subsequently, Lutter focused his attention on the Collegium’s selection policy. Regarding the application process itself, two minor changes occurred: upon Keresztury’s request, the MRPE had abolished the 10-forint equipment administration fee due to collection difficulties and applicants were to attach a photograph to their application form as proof of identity.¹⁵¹⁹ Call for applications, as always, was published by the *Magyar Távirati Iroda* (literally “Hungarian Telegraphic Office”, the main Hungarian news agency), the *Magyar Közlöny* (*Hungarian Official Gazette*), and the journal *Köznevelés* (*Public Education*). The MRPE notified the Board of Directors that students from outside Budapest and especially from rural areas were to be favoured during the selection process.¹⁵²⁰ This was not the first time that the MRPE as an authority expressed expectations regarding the social composition of admitted applicants.

Following the entrance exams in June 1948, the Collegium organized a “summer academy” between 1 and 20 August and a freshers’ camp between 21 and 28 in Visegrád. These programmes were, however, supervised by the Collegium’s Communist Party Group. Former traditions of initiation rites and new member’s challenges were abolished completely. There

¹⁵¹⁷ The list is unknown, yet József Vekerdy and Árpád Brusznai were most possibly on it, as symbolic leaders of the cooperation against the Collegium’s Communist Party Group. MDKL box 3, file 2, lot 7). Possible other students on the list were the ones who resigned from their membership on a more or less voluntary basis after Keresztury’s dismissal: István Cseh (MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 9), Ákos Garay (MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 15), Endre Garay (MDKL box 5, file 7, lot 15), Gábor Gyapay (MDKL box 6, file 7, lot 18), Endre Házi (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19), Imre Hajnal (MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19), Lajos Keszthelyi (MDKL box 10, file 11, lot 28.) (In his memoirs, Keszthelyi notes that he resigned under pressure of the MRPE’s: Ruttkay 2007c: 246), András Kubinyi (MDKL box 11, file 11, lot 32), Jenő Major (MDKL box 12, file 13, lot 36), Mihály Moravcsik (MDKL box 13, file 13, lot 39), Endre Száva-Kováts (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 56), Tibor Rusvay (MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 50), Tibor Szepessy (MDKL box 19, file 19, lot 57). This list is the same as the one provided by Árpád Kucsman in his memoirs (Kucsman 2006: 168).

¹⁵¹⁸ Lutter noted in his memorandum that although 8 persons resigned voluntarily, he as director proposed their subsequent exclusion. This was rejected by the MRPE at that time, though Lutter later assumed that he had been right. He tried to support his argument by mentioning Mihály Moravcsik’s emigration. 328/1949. Tibor Lutter’s memorandum about resigned Collegium members. Budapest, 23 July 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1.

¹⁵¹⁹ 225/1948. Dezső Keresztury’s memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education regarding entrance exams in 1948. Budapest, 19 May 1948. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/4.

¹⁵²⁰ 197.704/1948. VI. 1. sz. Department supervisor György Szántó’s letter to the Board of Directors of the Collegium regarding the entrance exams. Budapest, 24 June 1948. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/4.

were also changes regarding the method of announcing entrance exam results. While in former periods, directors sent letters to notify applicants whether their application had been accepted or rejected by the MRPE, the list of successful applicants in 1948 was read personally by the director right away on the last day of the entrance exam period (Kelevéz 2007c: 328–329). Morning classes of the summer academy mainly consisted of politically themed lectures by József Szigeti and Árpád Szabó, while afternoons featured a discussion of morning lectures with a minimal chance for debate with lecturers. András Fodor explained this with “progressive” members’ excessive intolerance for any kind of criticism or debate (Fodor 1991: 143–145). The Visegrád camp also saw the emergence of a completely new phenomenon that would later become an essential part of Wednesday Evenings throughout the following academic year. The phenomenon in question was the practice of Marxist “criticism and self-criticism”. During this process, students were to stand in front of their peers one at a time, report on the obstacles of their ideological development and tell them which elements of middle-class and lower middle-class attitude they needed to shed in order to become a loyal and unconditional follower of the Party. After each instance of self-criticism, fellow students were to express their opinion about their peer. Speaking spontaneously or following previous agreements, these speakers usually intensified the humiliation of their self-critical fellow (Kelevéz 2007e: 289). Continued in the following academic year of 1948/1949 (Kelevéz 2007b: 269), Marxist criticism and self-criticism started to have grave effects: due to the extensive psychological pressure exerted on them on these occasions, several self-critical Collegium members resigned, while others were asked to resign by the Communist Party Group or by director Lutter himself.

In the first semester of the academic year of 1948/1949, some personal changes occurred in the leadership of the Collegium’s Communist Party Group: Dániel Csátári and András Nagy resigned from their membership and left the institution. Csátári’s reasons are unknown,¹⁵²¹ while Nagy might have resigned because of having been offered a secretary’s position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁵²² The third leader, Gábor Mihályi, whose position had already weakened due to the failure of András Nagy’s election, left for Paris on a scholarship (Mihályi 2012: 174). The new leaders of the Communist Party Group were Róbert Frankl (Falus) and Pál Kardos (Pándi). Apart from supervising political changes within the Collegium, both had extensive academic ambitions: in 1950, Frankl signed up for a comprehensive doctoral exam within the old system of doctoral education,¹⁵²³ while Kardos led some of the Collegium’s Hungarian courses and became a doctoral aspirant within the new Soviet-style system of doctoral education in 1950.

In October 1948, the MRPE ordered Hungarian institutions of higher education to remove all portraits of politicians associated with the interwar Horthy-era from their walls.¹⁵²⁴

¹⁵²¹ MDKL box 3, file 3, lot 9.

¹⁵²² MDKL box 14, file 14, lot 41.

¹⁵²³ Curiously enough, Tibor Lutter and Árpád Szabó only recommended Frankl for the old-system comprehensive doctoral exam in the second place. Instead of Frankl, they wished to support József Vekerdy who, despite his exclusion in October 1949, was a considerably better educated classical philologist than his Communist fellow. Tibor Lutter’s report on József Vekerdy, addressed to Ferenc Füredi, head of the Student Administration Office at the Faculty of Arts, regarding a permission for taking the old-system comprehensive doctoral exam. Budapest, 25 March 1950. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h 1416-65/1949–1950 (box 336).

¹⁵²⁴ 205.850/1948. VI. 1. sz. Letter by Gábor Tolnai, head of MRPE Department regarding the removal of portraits

This order also applied to the Collegium. On their visits to the institution the following month, József Révai, György Lukács, Gábor Tolnai, and Nándor Szávai were greeted by portraits of MDP politicians from the new political era. Pictures of other persons playing a significant role in the history of the Collegium (Géza Bartoniek, Loránd Eötvös, and Zoltán Gombocz) were also removed from the walls. Communist cultural politicians were no more to be contradicted; their speeches were always greeted with a loud and rhythmic ovation (Fodor 1991: 177–178). The removal of old pictures can be viewed as a final symbolic step in the dissolution of the old Collegium's traditions. Freshers' initiation rituals disappeared completely and the date of annual cabaret nights was no longer related to the director's name-day,¹⁵²⁵ but much rather to the end of the academic year. Wednesday Evenings transformed into Marxist procedures of "criticism and self-criticism". Unlike the first similar occasions at the Visegrád summer camp, "improper" political utterances could result in the withdrawal of one's Collegium membership. "Progressive" students attempted to disperse groups of close friends and isolate Collegium members from each other. Consequently, this period saw the emergence of so-called "conspirational meetings", when the few students left from the "old" Collegium met on Ménesi Road or on the neighbouring Gellért-hill to relieve some of the built-up stress by means of a sincere and informal discussion (Szász 1985: 194–195).

In January 1949, Pál Kardos (Pándi) was elected student president instead of Róbert Frankl (Falus) with 41 votes in his favour and 4 abstentions. András Fodor's memoirs note that Kardos was infuriated by the abstentions and promised to "launch a fierce attack on reactionary elements". According to the Collegium's new traditions, students were to commemorate Lenin's death in late January (Fodor 1991: 210–214). Between 3 and 5 February the same year, all Collegium members were obliged to listen to the Hungarian Radio's broadcast on Cardinal Mindszenty's¹⁵²⁶ show trial (Kucsman 2006: 180–181). At the end of the academic year, several Collegium members were forced to resign, including students from 1948 who were accused of being "against progress". The students in question were István Fenyő, Elemér Hankiss, Béla Zsolt Kiss, Béla Mohay, and György Boksay.¹⁵²⁷ However, the MRPE did not accept resignations unless Lutter submitted a detailed list of reasons. Assembled, in turn, these lists contained a wide range of reasons with some common elements worthy of note: almost all excluded students were accused of political opportunism or even with an open opposition to the MPD's policies. Another common element was the "class alien" origin of these students: their family background of intellectuals counted as a

connected to the Horthy-era. Budapest, 8 October 1948. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/4.

¹⁵²⁵ A name day is a tradition in Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox countries in general. It consists of celebrating a day of the year that is associated with one's patron saint. The celebration is similar to a birthday.

¹⁵²⁶ József Mindszenty (1892–1975) was the Prince Primate, Archbishop of Esztergom, cardinal. After WWII, he opposed communism and communist persecution in his country. As a result, he was tortured and given a life sentence in a 1949 show trial that generated worldwide disapproval. After eight years in prison, he was freed in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and granted political asylum by the United States embassy in Budapest where he lived for the next fifteen years. He was finally allowed to leave the country in 1971 and died in exile in 1975 in Vienna, Austria.

¹⁵²⁷ 328/1949. Tibor Lutter's memorandum to the Minister of Religion and Public Education about resigned Collegium members. Budapest, July 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

strong argument against them. Hankiss, Kiss, and Mohay were forced to leave on a solely political basis. Fenyő and Boksay, however, displayed academic shortcomings that would have possibly led to exclusion in any other periods of the Collegium too.¹⁵²⁸

Following the July period of entrance exams for the next academic year in 1949, the MRPE suggested that the Collegium should join other Budapest-based dormitories to host the participants of the General Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in August 1949. Participating institutions would primarily host international students.¹⁵²⁹ This would have caused a considerable inconvenience for the Collegium by taking the places from the institution's summer academy. Therefore, the MRPE finally withdrew this suggestion.¹⁵³⁰ Entrance exams were not finished in the summer anyway, since a supplementary entrance examination was scheduled for September on several applicants' request. Due to illnesses or being away in summer camps, not all applicants could be present at entrance exams in the summer. Most of the newly admitted students came from member collegiums of the NÉKOSZ (National Association of People's Colleges). Based on their "political and ideological maturity", both the Board of Directors and the Collegium's Communist Party Unit regarded their acceptance "especially desirable".¹⁵³¹

The academic year of 1949/1950 in the Collegium was highly influenced by current events and changes of political life. An MRPE decree ordered universities and colleges to increase their vigilance, as the "enemy" was constantly attempting to "slither into" these institutions. Official authorities were required to identify themselves on entering the building and were only to contact the Board of Directors during official procedures, in order to prevent information leakage.¹⁵³² These extensive precautions were most probably related to the Rajk-trial going on in September 1949. Listening to the radio broadcast of the trial was also compulsory for Collegium members (Fodor 1991: 329).

Following the verdict on 24 September, an extraordinary General Assembly was held on 26 September. The only item on the agenda was the Rajk-trial and its closure two days earlier, but the issue of withdrawing some students' membership also touched upon. Initially, Pál Miklós gave a brief summary of the "Rajk-gang's" main objectives and called students' attention to the fact that under Mátyás Rákosi's command, the Party had won another glorious victory against the enemies of people's democracy. From this, Pál argued, two conclusions could be drawn: vigilance and ideological warfare need to be maintained and the Collegium needed to launch its own warfare in these areas in order to set a good example for the working class. Subsequent comments noted that remnants of the bourgeoisie were

¹⁵²⁸ 328/1949. Tibor Lutter's memorandum on resigned Collegium members, with a detailed list of reasons for resignation enclosed. Budapest, 8 August 1949. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁵²⁹ 1280-H-2/1949.IV.1. sz. Letter from János Gyalmos, head of MRPE Department to the Board of Directors of the Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 22 July 1949. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/6.

¹⁵³⁰ The Collegium building was left out of the list in order 10.831/1948–1949 issued by Head of Budapest school districts on 27 July 1949. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/6.

¹⁵³¹ Tibor Lutter recommended the admission of the following students: Andor Ladányi, Károly Kis, László Antal, Csaba Kis and Némethy Gyula. 392/1949. Tibor Lutter's report on the supplementary entrance examination. Budapest, 19 September 1949. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁵³² 1400-29/1949. V. 1. MRPE counsellor Árpád Buday's circular order to all universities and colleges regarding the intensification of vigilance. Budapest, 1 September 1949. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/6.

still present at the Collegium. Géza Sallai remarked that expressing indifference towards the Rajk-case was a downright assault on people's democracy. Partly as a response to this comment, Lutter stated that the Collegium had never benefited from its policy of isolation and reorganization needed to involve workers and peasants. As a closing element of this staged meeting, Pál Kardos accused Frigyes Károlyházi, László Lator, and József Lipták of being indifferent and destructive. Based on these charges, Miklós proposed that these three should be excluded. Students voted for their exclusion in unison.¹⁵³³

Similarly to the above General Assembly in late September 1949, the schedule of all further Assemblies was determined by the Collegium's MDP Committee.¹⁵³⁴ In fact, the Committee had gradually taken over the function of the Board of Directors: Committee members assembled the list of students to be excluded and they also appointed "people's prosecutors" who were to list the reasons for students' exclusion in front of their fellow Collegium members. The Committee also had the authority to accept students without any formal academic examination, merely on the basis of information obtained from the university's Party Unit. On the 4 October 1949 MDP Party Unit meeting, the exclusion of Collegium members István Kanócz, Mátyás Domokos, Géza Németh, Mátyás Horányi, János Bruckner, and Tamás Kővári was proposed. In order to make results more spectacular, the Committee resolved to organize extensive agitations for the next day and also summoned the Collegium's General Assembly in the afternoon. Personal issues were to be presented by György Bodnár, Pál Miklós, Pál Kardos, Andor Ladányi, Pál Laksits, and the director.¹⁵³⁵ Additionally, admittance of students István Diószegi and Ferenc Pusztai to the Collegium were recommended.¹⁵³⁶

The first item on the agenda of the next day's General Assembly was Tibor Lutter's summary of Mátyás Rákosi's speech delivered on 30 September 1949 at the Great Assembly of MDP Activists in Budapest. The second item on the agenda was the accusation and judgement of students who opposed the Collegium's "new attitude". Repeating some elements of his previous speech in September, Lutter again emphasized the importance of vigilance and ideological warfare and repeatedly referred to Rákosi's victory over Rajk and his companions. This speech was most probably intended to be a prelude to the subsequent discussion of exclusions. Lutter's success in creating a duly hostile atmosphere is well supported by the fact that his speech was followed by 23 comments, several of which called for the exposure of "malignant elements" lurking within the Collegium. Yielding to this "explicit pressure", Lutter announced that he had received numerous notices of resignation.

¹⁵³³ Record of the Collegium's General Assembly on 26 September 1949. Budapest, 30 September 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

¹⁵³⁴ This statement is supported by the order issued on a Party Committee meeting on 20 September 1949. The order features a decision about the forthcoming General Assembly on 26 September and also mentions possible changes in the status of students who were later excluded. Order by the Eötvös Collegium's Party Committee meeting on 20 September 1949. Budapest, 21 September 1949. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

¹⁵³⁵ Order by the Eötvös Collegium's MDP Party Committee meeting on 4 October 1949. Budapest, 1949. October 4. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

¹⁵³⁶ Both were admitted, but Pusztai, possibly due to the extensive psychological stress of the Collegium's overly politicized atmosphere, was admitted to the Neurological Clinic in 1950, with a suspicion for neurasthenia. MDKL box 16, file 16, lot 47.

He withheld the information that these resignations were all coerced by him or by the Collegium's Party Committee. Since the Board of Directors had always regarded resignations as public issues, Lutter insincerely argued, the matter was to be decided by a public vote. Each of the "voluntarily" resigning students were then assessed publicly; speeches of appointed prosecutors were followed by "spontaneous" comments. All charges were of a political nature: "opportunistic behaviour", "participation in fascist conspiracies", "befriending reactionaries despite one's peasant origins", or "a clerical disposition". All students in question were found guilty and the withdrawal of their membership was decided in unison.¹⁵³⁷

Having gone beyond previously agreed punishments, Róbert Falus attacked two additional students: János Benyhe and József Vekerdy. Benyhe was accused of having switched the radio channel to an opera broadcast during the Rajk-trial. Benyhe was nevertheless innocently accused, as Árpád Kucsman's memoirs mention Imre Izsák as the real "perpetrator of this offence" (Kucsman 2006: 188–189). The issue of Vekerdy's dismissal had appeared repeatedly ever since his brief victory over András Nagy at the Student President elections. After pronouncing both of them guilty, Benyhe and Vekerdy were excluded. Next, Lutter mentioned Tamás Kőváry, an applicant previously recommended by the Party Unit of Natural Sciences. Kőváry, in his opinion, "assisted reaction" and failed to express a constructive attitude toward workers. These faults were further intensified by the fact that Kőváry had been a candidate to MDP membership. Lutter also recommended his exclusion, because Kőváry was not in a financial need for dormitory boarding.¹⁵³⁸

Apart from Róbert Frankl and Pál Kardos, contemporary reminiscences all refer to József Hrabecz¹⁵³⁹ as a most uncompromising prosecutor (Kucsman 2006: 186; Kelevéz 2007a: 203–204). András Fodor related that, on a General Assembly, Hrabecz went as far as to call for Géza Németh's execution for having betrayed working people, despite his own origins (Fodor 1991: 341). Yet, Németh was simply the target of a freshers' prank: he got invited to János Guller's popular Dance and Etiquette School. The Collegium's Party Committee nevertheless perceived this invitation as a clear-cut expression of lower-middle class mentality. Early in each academic year, senior students visited dance teacher János Guller and told him that freshers coming from outside of Budapest felt awkward in the capital and wished to attend dance and etiquette classes to fit in better. Guller then sent personal invitations to each fresher and seniors pinned these papers on the Collegium's noticeboard, much to students' amusement (Szász 1985: 218). By 1949, this innocent prank had become a "mortal sin".

In his memorandum addressed to the MRPE on 7 October 1949, Lutter presented a new list of students to be excluded, along with reasons for their exclusion: Pál Réz,¹⁵⁴⁰ András

¹⁵³⁷ Record of the Collegium's General Assembly on 5 October 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/e.

¹⁵³⁸ See the Record of the Collegium's General Assembly on 5 October 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/e.

¹⁵³⁹ Hrabecz was admitted to the Collegium in September 1949 as a history-political economy major. Profound changes in the Collegium's selection policy are aptly illustrated by the fact that in his application, Hrabecz admitted finishing only his 8 years of primary school and studying 4 years in a vocational training school. He was admitted to both the university and the Collegium on a state scholarship (MDKL box 8, file 8, lot 22). An interview with László Lator in April 2012 suggests that Hrabecz might have been an agent of the State Protection Authority (Lator: 2012).

¹⁵⁴⁰ Pál Réz was admitted to the Collegium as a French-Romanian major in 1948. In 1944, he and his family

Fodor, and Sándor Somogyi were to leave the institution. Previously, Réz had most possibly supported the initial transformation processes within the Collegium, because a note dated in September 1949 mentions that Lutter appointed him one of the judges of the future people's tribunal.¹⁵⁴¹ Having perceived exclusions on all sorts of incredible bases, Réz later changed his mind. Although his exclusion was decided by the Collegium's Party Unit, Lutter asked him to resign "voluntarily", because Réz was a Party member and Party members were not supposed to be excluded. According to the memorandum, Réz was guilty of the following charges: "*On his oral entrance exam, he dishonoured László Rudas's article and attempted to persuade the Collegium's leadership to admit elements of a middle-class background.*"¹⁵⁴² Fodor had to resign for academic reasons: having failed his combined basic level examination on Hungarian-philosophy-social studies twice, he had to leave the Collegium.¹⁵⁴³ Sándor Somogyi resigned for financial reasons.

In the last semester of the Collegium's existence, students' access to the library was limited. In November 1949, the library was opened to all university students, putting an abrupt end to Collegium members' privilege of access to this exceptionally rich collection (Markó 2011b: 228). From 20 February 1950, access was granted only to students recommended by university departmental committees. These students were then given a visitor's pass.¹⁵⁴⁴ This restriction might have resulted from a concern that unlimited activity of masses of university students would pose a threat to the security of personal properties in both the library and in the entire Collegium building. The appearance of "external Philologists" in high numbers was probably another means of dispersing the Collegium's characteristic atmosphere. The old structural framework disappeared entirely: rooms were transformed into cooperative

escaped from the Nagyvárad (Oradea, RO) ghetto to Romania. After WWII, they returned to Budapest, where Réz soon came into contact with the Communist Party. MDKL box 17, file 17, lot 49.

¹⁵⁴¹ Outline of Tibor Lutter's speech at a General Assembly in the first semester of the academic year of 1949/1950. MDKL box 51, file 98/b/1/2.

¹⁵⁴² 407/1949. Director Tibor Lutter's letter to Gyula Ortutay Minister of Religion and Public Education regarding the withdrawal of Collegium memberships. Budapest, 7 October 1949. MNL OL XIX-I-1-h. 1515/1949–1950 (box 358).

¹⁵⁴³ Fodor's basic level examination had been an issue of extensive debate already in July 1949. Fodor failed the examination for the first time, but Lutter suggested that he could keep his membership and try again in the autumn. József Szigeti, however, opposed to this view and argued for Fodor's immediate exclusion. He argued that professor Béla Fogarasi and several students present at the examination had informed him about the proceedings at Fodor's exam on social studies. Szigeti's sources all stated that Fodor's knowledge fell short of all standards. Youth delegate Imre Szász defended András Fodor by saying that as far as he was informed, the conditions of the exam were rather disadvantageous. Witnesses mentioned by József Szigeti did not follow the process all through, but rather entered later on Sándor Szalai's request. Lutter still viewed Fodor's failure as a grave error, which could not be completely justified by disadvantageous examination conditions. Fodor's membership was eventually withdrawn after his second failure (Record of a teachers' meeting at the Eötvös Collegium on 6 July 1949. MDKL box 54, file 102/d. Lutter later admitted to Fodor that his failure was in fact the result of an argument between the university and the Collegium. In addition to his Hungarian major, Fodor had wished to keep his other major of social studies, but was only allowed to do so if he also took philosophy. Basic level examinations in all three fields of study were to be taken at the same time (Fodor 1991: 335). Having successfully passed his triple basic level examination in January 1950, Fodor was readmitted to the Collegium in February (ibid. 384–387).

¹⁵⁴⁴ Announcement to university students about the accessibility of the Collegium's library. Budapest, 12 February 1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

societies, and General Assemblies into co-op meetings (Fodor 1991: 349) where articles from the daily paper *Szabad Nép* [*Free People*] were read out aloud and everyone was required to comment. Wednesday Evenings were degraded to political report nights (ibid. 390–392).

Unlike previous traditions, national holidays were to be commemorated at the university instead of the Collegium. In 1950, the March 15 celebrations were organized by the MEFESZ (Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Egységes Szövetsége, United Association of Hungarian University and College Students) at the university, and all Collegium members were commanded to take part in it and also to march along with university students during 1 May processions. The proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on 21 March and the Soviet “liberation” of the country on 4 April also had to be commemorated. According to an MRPE decree, ceremonial speeches had to associate the latter with the revolution of 1848. The order stated that the Red Army extended the political heritage of 15 March 1848 and the Soviet Union guaranteed the success of the 3-year plan, along with providing a firm economic basis for the development potentials of the 5-year plan.¹⁵⁴⁵ Unconditional political interpretation of turning points in Hungarian history had so far been completely alien to the Collegium’s traditions.

Having excluded all members left from the old system by October 1949, the Collegium’s transformation was practically completed. Even the memory of its traditional structure was abolished by the new leadership. Yet, this new system was rather short-lived: with the beginning of reconstruction works on 27 June 1950, everyone had to move out of the building.¹⁵⁴⁶ Students returning for the academic year of 1950/1951 found a completely different institution: formerly a hub for future great scholars, the building on Ménesi Road went on to function as a simple Soviet-style dormitory.

¹⁵⁴⁵ 1400-65-15/1950. VI. 1. sz. Circular order by István Evellei, head of MRPE Department to all universities and colleges regarding the 15 March celebrations. Budapest, 6 March 1950. MDKL box 50, file 96/a/8.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Tibor Lutter’s announcement to departing Collegium members. Budapest, 27 June 1950. MDKL box 51, file 97/a.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This monograph aimed to give a summary of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium's history between 1895 and 1950 along five main analytical aspects. Located on Csillag, later on Ménesi Road (renamed Nagyboldogasszony for a time after 1920), the Collegium had been founded during a secularization period¹⁵⁴⁷ between 1894 and 95. Based on the French example, the foundation of the Collegium was both inspired and aided by similar institutions in France. Since the system of secular teacher training had already thrived in France for decades at that time, the École Normale Supérieure and other similar institutions could convey extensive experience on secular teacher training to the newly formed Hungarian institution.

Until 1948, the Collegium fulfilled the function that had originally been determined by its founders: it produced highly qualified secondary school teachers for a secular state. In addition to the education provided by the university and the Secondary Teacher Training Institution, students at the Collegium also had access to special courses, classes held by native language lecturers, and a well-equipped library in the building. This all provided them with a more enhanced knowledge compared to their peers at university. Its academic infrastructure, its capability of offering full boarding to all of its students, the personal tuition system and the gradual institutionalization of seminars after 1911 all made the Collegium an institute of elite education already in its earliest period. In the collective memory of later members, the exceptional career of early Collegium students further intensified the image of an elite educational institution. Following their 13–15 years of teaching at the Collegium, alumni Sándor Eckhardt, Zoltán Gombocz, János Horváth and József Huszti were all appointed full university professors in the early 1920's. A similar career was Gyula Szekfű's who, despite not

¹⁵⁴⁷ This period of secularization also yielded laws on the introduction of civil marriage (Act XXXI of 1894 on Marital Rights), on family issues (Act XXXII of 1894 on the Religion of Future Children) and on the compulsory introduction of public birth records (Act XXXIII of 1894 on Public Birth Records). An increased openness towards Jews (Act XLII of 1895 on Jewish Religion) is also often viewed as part of this secularisation process.

having taught at the Collegium, had also been an alumnus and was appointed full university professor by 1925 (Dénes 2015: 267). Apart from their undeniably remarkable academic qualities, success of these alumni was also fostered by the fact that after World War I, the structure of university positions underwent a considerable change for both financial and political reasons and several professor's positions were left vacant. Universities were glad to fill these vacancies with highly successful alumni of the Eötvös Collegium.

Partly inspired by the soaring academic career of early alumni, the Collegium's education system was partly modified in 1928, in order to concentrate more on producing new generations of highly trained scholars. The system operated in the way that, based on the example of earlier alumni, a group of selected members were appointed teachers of the Collegium after their graduation. Having served about a decade as Collegium teachers, these highly qualified scholars were in turn appointed full university professors. This "royal road" was, however, available to only a few. As opposed to traditions in their French sister institutions, the Collegium did not have the system of the *agrégation* to support the academic career of its most excellent alumni. In France, the *agrégation* was a competitive examination for civil service in the French public education system. Most successful *agrégés* were usually placed with high schools (*lycées*) in Paris or as university lecturers (Karády 2005: 190–191). Since no similar system was operating in Hungary, graduates of the Eötvös Collegium mostly applied for jobs in secondary education. Their work was, however, just as vital to Hungarian public education as the work of their luckier peers at universities. Fulfilling the goal originally set by the Collegium's founders, alumni of the institution enhanced intellectual life around rural high schools and, after 1920, in and around Budapest also (Cf. Paksa 2009: 128–132; Sziklay 2003: 371–379) and facilitated the application and admission of their most gifted students to the Collegium (Szigeti 1993: 68–70).

The presence of native language lecturers further improved the quality of education in the Collegium. Owing to Loránd Eötvös's efforts, native French language lecturers were present at the institution ever since the second semester of the academic year of 1895/1896. The École Normale Supérieure had maintained a close relationship as a sending institution with the Collegium throughout the first 55 years of its existence. As a proof of its full support and cooperation, the École usually sent its most excellent students who later became notable figures of cultural life. Despite having ended up on different sides after both World War I and World War II, the École was quick to resume contact with its partner institution in Budapest after both world wars. As an attempt to improve the political relationship between the two countries, the École and the Collegium mutually wished to raise the number of native language lecturers to two. Besides French lecturers, two native German language teacher's positions were created in 1912 and in 1922, an Italian lecturer was also invited. As a result of Zoltán Gombocz's and Pál Teleki's extensive networking, native English, Estonian and Finnish language teachers arrived at the institution in 1928. Despite the gradual deterioration of both financial and international conditions, Miklós Szabó tried to maintain and cultivate the Collegium's network of international relations. However, due to Hungary's considerable loss of geopolitical importance after 1920, the Collegium practically ceased to have an influence on choosing native language lecturers whose appointment was always determined by contemporary political interests.

Since the Collegium was founded and operated with a considerable financial contribution from the Hungarian state, it was directly supervised by the MRPE until 1950. Therefore, a good relationship with the MRPE was a necessity for the Collegium's survival. The key to this relationship was always the curator of the Collegium. A longer vacancy in this position meant the temporary disappearance of the political shield that protected the Collegium. This was highly dangerous, as both the period of revolutions in 1918–1919 and the changes of 1920–1921 proved that new political systems always tried to exert some influence on the Collegium's internal issues. Géza Bartonek's dismissal was only prevented by Pál Teleki's intervention as a highly influential politician. As a newly appointed curator, Pál Teleki also managed to put an end to the lengthy debate over the legal interpretation of Act XXVII of 1924. The resulting compromise solution eventually determined the Collegium's position within Hungarian higher education, rendering it part of the newly formed Hungarian secondary teacher training system. Regarding the Collegium's recurring request for the director's reinstatement to the 5th remuneration category, the partial or full restoration of the institution's economic autonomy, and the recognition of the Collegium as an institute of college character, Teleki was less successful. The last of the requests was eventually fulfilled under Dezső Keresztury's ministership in 1946, putting an end to two decades of struggle partly initiated by the Reorganisation Decree of 1924.

Paragraph 9 of Ministerial Council decree 260/1949 posed a severe challenge to the Collegium again. The decree ordered the immediate dissolution of all secondary teacher training institutions that were formerly established by Act XXVII of 1924. The transformation of higher education policies was coupled with an internal transformation process within the institution. Tibor Lutter and his group wished to adjust the social composition of Collegium members to current political expectations. Since the political system turned into a totalitarian dictatorship, the management and objectives of Hungarian higher education went through a substantial change, putting an end to any chances of an organic transformation process within the Collegium. The failure of initial changes and the drastic nature of later ones led several Collegium members to assume that the Communist Party Group's only goal was to dissolve the institution. A close study of contemporary sources, however, indicates otherwise. Threatened by the possibility of complete dissolution, the Board of Directors had worked out several plans for the Collegium's survival as an institute for doctoral aspirants, but the swift changes in educational policies swept these ideas away.

The internal life of the Collegium had always been closely connected to contemporary political and social atmosphere. Having been formed in the earliest period, the family system significantly facilitated the fulfilment of educational objectives, as family members supervised one another's studies. The fathers' meeting and the General Assembly practically served as supervisory boards and also took upon vital roles in managing different issues of student life. Through fathers and mothers, the Board of Directors was able to supervise the studies and behaviour of younger students outside the classroom. The transformation of the Collegium's educational objectives in 1928 also brought about changes in student life. From that time on, the Collegium's students spent most of their time in the library, which was considered to be the "sanctuary" of the institution. Apart from natural science students, Collegium members attended university classes only occasionally during a semester. Since

students spent practically all of their time studying together, some outlets were needed for releasing built-up tension resulting from this intensive “collective isolation”. Along with a set of initiation rites for freshers, student traditions were a perfect means of releasing tension and creating a cohesive community (cf. Németh 2010: 99). Not speaking Hungarian, international students were mostly unable to take part in these communal activities and were therefore in a peripheral position. Their Hungarian peers and the Board of Directors often found it rather difficult to integrate international students into the Collegium’s student life.

The building itself was gravely affected by the siege of Budapest in World War II. Until the end of reconstruction works, the family system had to be suspended due to a shortage of space. Apart from profound changes in contemporary Hungarian public life, the temporary suspension of the family system might have also contributed to a closer cooperation with people’s college students, which, in turn, resulted in the formation of the Collegium’s Communist Party Group in the second half of 1946. Aiming for the transformation of the Collegium’s internal life, the Communist Party Group was highly supported by several influential characters of contemporary Hungarian public life. This intensive support was well articulated during the infamous “press debate” about special colleges. From July 1948, older Collegium members of the Keresztury-era were gradually removed in procedures resembling the ongoing show trials. The dismissal of “old Collegium” students led to a subsequent disappearance of student traditions. Several alumni assumed that the disappearance of these traditions was the final step leading to the total dissolution of the “old Collegium”.

A statistical analysis of admitted and rejected applicants suggests that the institution mainly admitted students of middle-class origin and served as a recruitment basis for future secondary and university teachers. Founders in the earliest period aimed to reproduce the denominational structure of the Hungarian population among their students. Yet, the proportion of Roman Catholics usually fell short of the ratio of Catholics among both the general Hungarian population and the ratio of Catholic students at the Faculty of Arts at the Budapest University. Protestants, especially Evangelical-Lutherans, until 1918, and Reformists, in the interwar period, were rather overrepresented among the Collegium’s students. Especially after 1920, a considerable number of accepted applicants came from state-run secondary schools. Many of them had been encouraged by Collegium alumni who had started working in the widening network of state-run secondary schools after their graduation from the Collegium. Regarding the regional breakdown of successful applicants, it can be noted that they mostly came from the more urbanized areas of the country: Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and the Transdanubian Region before 1918 and from the capital city and its immediate surroundings afterwards.

Although the social composition of Collegium students involved basically all layers of Hungarian society, some groups (sons of agricultural producers, industrial workers, and intellectual freelancers) were underrepresented for various reasons, while others (fathers working in educational services or academic institutions) were significantly overrepresented in comparison to both their proportion among university students and in the general Hungarian population. The latter had good chances of admittance even if they belonged to a lower layer of society at the time of their application, but were able to prove that their fathers were teachers. Social position was used as a selection criterion mainly under the Bartoniek-era.

The director selected future students on the basis of preliminary information obtained from application forms, school district reports and personal opinions of school directors.

After 1928, the importance of the social background decreased within the selection criteria. Oral entrance exams concentrated on applicants' educational background. Children of teachers and scholars also excelled within these criteria. After 1936, possibly as a result of the dispute of the school of the excellent, the Collegium started to accept more applicants whose fathers were agricultural producers, craftsmen, or factory workers. Yet, the increasing number of Collegium members with lower-class origins started to concern the Board of Directors. The director therefore asked the MRPE to introduce an incentive system for applicants of middle-class origin in order to keep up the prestige of the profession secondary teachers' and make it a desirable option for middle-class students again. Introduced in July 1941, the scholarship system (300 pengos for students paying a full tuition fee, and 150 pengos for students paying a half tuition fee) was a completely new way of funding in contemporary Hungarian education, although it only helped children of wealthier families. During the two years following the political changes of 1948, the social composition of Collegium members underwent a thorough change. Members of previously overrepresented social groups disappeared completely and, in order to comply with the Party's ideologies, were replaced with students of worker and peasant origins in a proportion even surpassing the proportion of lower-class students at universities.

This monograph aimed to provide a history of the Collegium as an institution. This inevitably leaves several questions open in connection with the life and impact of the institution between 1895 and 1950. The most significant of these is the scope of contribution made by Collegium alumni to the development of Hungarian public education and Hungarian academic life in general. This might only be revealed through a thorough analysis of alumni's collective career. Studies would have to concentrate on the career perspectives made possible for them throughout the changes in 20th century Hungarian history. As it would exceed the limits of this work, such a comprehensive analysis necessitates a separate set of research.

Further research could be conducted on the extent to which alumni facilitated the development of various fields of study throughout their career. Histories of collegiums based on fields of study are available in the topics of classical philology, history, geography, English, Hungarian and French philology. Research, however, would need to be extended to other fields of study that were available at the Collegium. Further research would be necessary on the life of alumni whose career was less extraordinary. These analyses would provide an insight on the extent to which Collegium years had an impact on alumni's life.

Another remarkable aspect and topic of frequent debates about the institution is the type of continuity, if any, between the Bárány Eötvös József Collegium and the Eötvös József Kollégium re-established after 1956. A valid answer for this question would necessitate the comparison of the Collegium's history described in this monograph to a similarly detailed monograph written about the post-1956 institution. Nevertheless, it might be generally supposed that the founders of the new Kollégium wished to realize the original founders' intentions to the greatest extent that was possible among contemporary political conditions. In this sense, an intellectual sort of continuity definitely exists between the two institutions (cf. Pál 2013: 138).

Written in 1942, Miklós Szabó's words about Loránd Eötvös's original objectives are still valid: "[Loránd Eötvös] *neither thought of any magic potions, nor did he wish to create a privileged caste. He did not even think of educating scientists, though many have misunderstood his original intentions that way. Eötvös simply wanted to provide this country with a new generation of highly educated teachers. As a scholar of natural sciences himself, Eötvös was well aware of the fact that organic development takes time and no magic potion can speed it up*" (Szabó 1942:9).¹⁵⁴⁸ Paragraph 103 of Act CCIV of 2011 (*A nemzeti felsőoktatásról – On National Higher Education*) transformed the institutional background of teacher training by creating Secondary Teacher Training Centres within universities. These new centres are now responsible for all issues related to teacher training. By extending practice time to one year again and restoring the significance of affiliated grammar schools, the new law revived some of the objectives set by Act XXVII of 1924 (cf. Pukánszky 2013: 73–74).

Based on Government Decree 24/2013 (II. 3.) *A nemzeti felsőoktatási kiválóságról [On the excellence of National Higher Education]* the ELTE Eötvös József Kollégium received the status of "special college". Right after its foundation in 1895, the Collegium helped to settle debates in educational politics about the institutional background of teacher training. By 1899, a new institutional structure of teacher training was established at the university of Budapest. Act XXVII of 1924 was practically an extension of this structure to all universities in the country. Until the publication of Ministerial Council Decree 260/1949, the Collegium operated as an institution of college character, remaining a significant centre of secondary teacher training.

Established after the educational transformation of 2011, Secondary Teacher Training Centres adopted the objectives of the neohumanist philosophy of science in educating scholarly teachers. In this sense these new institutions follow the tradition set by their 20th century predecessors (Pukánszky 2013: 76–79). Provided it can come into a closer contact with these new Secondary Teacher Training Centres, the ELTE Eötvös József Kollégium would possibly be able to aid this development through its extensive experience and former great achievements. Similarly to the changes between 1895 and 1899, the result would again be a new, exemplary model of teacher training institutions that could later be extended to more universities throughout the country.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Szabó, Miklós (1 November 1942). *Köd az iskola körül [Mist around the School]*. *Híd [Bridge]* 3(31), 7–11. MDKL box 89, file185/a.

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14.3.

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- box 1, file 1, lot 1. – box 23, file 25, lot 70. Az Eötvös Collegiumba 1895–1950 között felvett hallgatók személyi anyagai.
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- box 36, file 54/b. A tiszántúli református egyházkerület ösztöndíjasai, 1898–1907.
- box 36, file 54/c. Naszódvidéki ösztöndíjasok, 1902–1913.
- box, 36, file 54/d. A Gozsdu-alapítvány ösztöndíjasai, 1902–1918.
- box 36, file 54/e. A nagyszebeni érsekség ösztöndíjasai, 1902–1918.
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- box 40, file 67. Szabó Miklós igazgatóra vonatkozó iratok.
- box 40, file 69. Teleki Pál curátor személyére vonatkozó iratanyagok.
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- box 43, file 76–78. Tanárok és alkalmazottak személyi lapjai 1949–1950 között.
- box 46, file 84/1–2. Az Eötvös Collegium angol, illetve amerikai állampolgárságú angol nyelvi lektorai, 1895–1949.
- box 46, file 84/3. Az Eötvös Collegium észt nyelvi lektorai, 1935–1941.
- box 46, file 84/4. Az Eötvös Collegium finn nyelvi lektorai, 1934–1948.
- box 46, file 84/a/1–7. Az Eötvös Collegium francia nyelvi lektorainak iratai, 1895–1945.
- box 46, file 84/5–6. Bonnerjea Renére és Kaminski Andrera vonatkozó iratok, 1939–1949.
- box 47, file 84/b/1–3. Az Eötvös Collegium osztrák és német állampolgárságú német nyelvi lektorainak anyagai 1912–1948.
- box 47, file 84/b/4. Az Eötvös Collegium olasz nyelvi lektorainak anyagai, 1922–1944.
- box 47, file 85. Az Eötvös Collegium seniori helyeinek adományozására vonatkozó iratok, 1936–1947.
- box 50, file 95/1–4. A Vezetés és oktatásra vonatkozó iratanyagok 1895–1945.
- box 50, file 95/a. A Báró Eötvös József Collegium szervezeti szabályzata. Házi tanulmányi és könyvtári rendje. 1895; 1923.
- box 50, file 96/1–6. VKM miniszterhez felterjesztések és miniszteri rendeletek, 1895–1945.
- box 50, file 96/a/1–8. VKM miniszterhez felterjesztések és miniszteri rendeletek, 1945–1950.
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APPENDIX

15.1. Organisational Rules of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium. House study and library order. (1895)

“On the basis of the supreme resolutions passed by his Imperial and Apostolic Royal Majesty on 18 August 1895 in Yschl, I establish the following rules for the temporary organisation of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium founded in Budapest for secondary school teacher candidates:

I. The Collegium's Objective

- 1. The Báró Eötvös József Collegium provides, in decent co-habitation, all necessary assistance for the worthier students of the Budapest colleges who are preparing for a teaching career during their university studies in order to help them thoroughly prepare for their professional career both theoretically and practically.*

II. The Collegium's Administration

2. *The Collegium is directly subordinated to the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. The position of the curator, as a special agent of the minister, is the top level official of the institute who exercises supervision in all respects.*
3. *The Collegium's academic, disciplinary and, for the time being, economic affairs shall be managed by the director. The director's scope shall include:*
 - a.) *Representing the institute before the authorities and others.*
 - b.)

Preparing proposals for submission to the Minister of Religion and Public Education in all the affairs of the institute. His submissions are endorsed by the curator.

c.)

Directing and supervising university studies of the collegium students with the assistance of college teachers concerned and of the institute's staff and heads of departments. To this end, at the beginning of each semester, the director gives each student, on the basis of a personal discussion, information and advice on the expedient arrangement of his study order, as well as guidance on successful utilisation of university lectures in relation to the organisation of their private studies and, from time to time, takes note of the progress of their studies, if necessary, based on their notes.

d.)

Organising and monitoring studies pursued within the Collegium and exercises that are used to successfully utilise, possibly supplement, university lectures and which serve to provide individual preparedness needed in a teaching career.

e.)

Providing constant care in relation to the moral and social education required in the professional development of collegium members, taking care of institutional discipline.

f.)

The Director ensures that the Collegium building and equipment are properly maintained, takes care of the proper provision, oversees the house order and, for the time being, keeps the Institute's accounts.

g.)

The director develops a policy on the management of the Collegium and the regulations, which are approved by the Minister of Religion and Public Education upon the proposal submitted by the curator.

III. Heads of Departments and Collegium Studies.

4. *For the professional management of the studies pursued by the collegium students, based on the curator's proposal, the minister shall appoint at least four heads of departments to serve for a period of three years, each from the list of teachers employed as state officials who will*

be exempt for this period from any of their other official duties. It is the responsibility of the heads of departments to be present in the institute during the time intended for private studies, to support candidates individually, or in groups, in their studies and, if necessary, to hold professional meetings or give presentations.

- 5. Study meetings and exercises held at the Collegium shall be organised mainly in such a way that students learn to understand the basic concepts and conditions of their academic fields related to their teacher qualification in their regular context, gain skills in their exact application and acquire academic material for secondary school teaching, as well as meet the requirements of teacher examination in due time.*
- 6. At the beginning of each semester, following a brief examination of the students, the general order and scope of the studies shall be determined under the chairmanship of the curator by the director and the meeting of the heads of departments.*
- 7. In addition to the departmental meetings and exercises, proper development of the students' literary erudition shall be provided in the framework of the Collegium, especially ensuring opportunities for students for both oral and written practice in modern languages, especially in German and French.*
- 8. The Collegium shall also pay special attention to the healthcare of the students, to improving their physical skills and also shall provide the opportunity to develop drawing, music and singing skills and to have physical training.*
- 9. At the end of each academic year, the director and the heads of departments hold a meeting under the chairmanship of the curator in which, taking into account the results of the college studies, the qualifications of individual students are determined and it is decided on whether or not, on the basis of their diligence and performance, they can remain members of the Collegium. However, no one can enjoy the hospitality of the Collegium for more than four years.*
- 10. At the end of each year, the director submits an exhaustive report through the curator to the Minister of Religion and Public Education on the studies pursued at the Collegium and the results.*

IV. Members of the Collegium

11. Members (students) of the Collegium are:

Receivers of remuneration from the state (receivers of full and half remuneration), students supported by foundations of other school maintainers and students who apply on their own accord and who pay for the tuition, admitted by the Minister of Religion and Public Education upon the proposal of the curator.

12. The Minister of Public Education grants state-funded places partly through public application and partly by way of direct recommendation of the respective collegium teachers made with their personal responsibility, at all times based on the submission of the institute's curator.

13. The number of other residents of the boarding school by ensuring that due attention is given to the activities and exercises of each of them are determined by the Minister of Religion and Public Education upon the curator's proposal.

*14. In addition to boarding members, based on the availability of rooms and training aids, a limited attendance of the Collegium's exercises and meetings can be allowed for non-resident members as well, subject to the Director's permission.
No fees are paid for meetings and practices.*

Budapest, 31 August 1895. Gyula Wlassics"

MDKL box 50, file 95/a.

15.2. Disciplinary Rules and Regulations of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium

"When joining the Collegium, a junior shall commit himself to:

- 1. Decent behaviour that is expected of a university student.*
- 2. Regularly attending university lectures and diligently performing tasks set for him by the Collegium.*
- 3. Observing with punctuality the Collegium's work and time schedule.
Deviation from the work and time schedule and especially leaving the institute after dinner is allowed only with the director's permission.*
- 4. Nurturing a brotherly relationship towards his peers and living in peaceful agreement.*
- 5. Following the instructions of the Collegium's director.*

Anyone who violates this oath shall receive admonishment, rebuke or disapproval in accordance with the degree of the offence committed. Expulsion from the institute is applied as a final step. A rebuke shall be recorded in the "Collegium Diary", while a disapproval, during which the Curator is present, shall downgrade the student to a junior classification. Expulsion is declared by the Minister of Religion and Public Education.

Budapest, September 1895.

Loránd Eötvös

Géza Bartoniek"

MDKL box 50, file 95/a.

15.3.

Time and Work Order, House Rules

“The study time in the Collegium is set by the schedule published at the beginning of the semester. Otherwise, the generally compulsory study time is from 5 pm to 7 pm. At this time, all members of the Collegium, if they are not at university, spend their time working in the Collegium, either in their rooms or in the library premises. On Sundays and holidays, study time is optional.

Meal times: breakfast is from 6:45 am till 7:45 am, lunch is at 1:20 pm and dinner at 8 pm. Deviation may be accepted only on the basis of a specific permission given by the director. Members of the Collegium are required to appear for meals on time.

Playing music, singing, playing board games and smoking are only allowed in the lounge room. Any kind of gambling is strictly prohibited. Silentium is mandatory during Collegium lessons and study hours.

Practising music can be pursued in the music room, in the dining room or, if necessary, in the lounge.

Guests may be received only in designated rooms. Strangers may be invited beyond the ground floor of the building only with the express permission of the director.

Budapest, September 1913.

Géza Bartoniek”

MDKL box 50, file 95/a.

15.4.

Organisational Rules of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium. Official Gazette. 01 September 1923.

“Based on the supreme decision made in Budapest on 14 July 1923 by the Governor of Hungary, His High Excellency, I establish the following Regulations for the final organisation of Baró Eötvös József Collegium, founded in Budapest for secondary school teacher candidates.

I. The Collegium's Objective

1.

The Báró Eötvös József Collegium provides, in decent co-habitation, all necessary assistance for the worthier students of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Budapest who are preparing for a teaching career in order to help them gain a more thorough professional qualification during their university studies.

II. Managing the Collegium

2.

The Collegium is directly subordinated to the Minister of Religion and Public Education. The head of the institute is the Curator, appointed by the head of state to fill the position on a permanent basis who, as the minister's special agent, exercises supervision and control in all respects. He is also entitled to submit proposals to the Institute in all matters related to study and those of personal interest.

3.

The Collegium's academic, disciplinary and economic affairs are managed by the director. The director's scope includes:

a)

Representing the institute before the authorities and individuals.

b.)

Preparing proposals for submission to the Minister of Religion and Public Education in all the affairs of the institute, which are endorsed by the Curator.

c.)

Directing and monitoring Collegium studies with the help of the Institute's teaching staff. To this end, the director gives each student, on the basis of a personal discussion, information and advice on the expedient arrangement of their study order, as well as guidance on successful utilisation of university lectures in relation to organising their private studies and, from time to time, takes note of the progress of their studies, if necessary, based on their notes.

d.)

From the point of view of moral and social erudition, constantly caring about the development of the collegium students' national vocation.

e.) Taking care of the institutional discipline.

f.)

Providing for the proper maintenance of the Collegium building and equipment, arranging for proper provision and overseeing the general policy. Sharing academic supervision with the deputy director who is subordinate to him and is appointed from the Collegium's teaching staff. According to their qualifications, one of them shall be in charge of the language and history department, and the other of the mathematics and natural sciences department.

The director shall be supported by permanent assistants in the management of the library and of the economic affairs of the institute.

III. Heads of Departments and Collegium Studies.

4. *Studies pursued by Collegium students shall be led by a teaching staff appointed by the minister upon request submitted by the Curator, involving temporary teachers as needed.*
5. *Collegium studies shall be organised in such a way that, along the individual guidance and control of their teachers, the students shall process the material of their disciplines as much as possible and thus shall acquire not only theoretical knowledge in their whole field, but also practical skills and critical sense, which, in practising their profession, will make them independent and, in their teaching, sufficiently comfortable and adaptable to the requirements of the school.*
6. *The general order and scope of the studies shall be determined by the staff meeting at the beginning of each semester.*
7. *In addition to the disciplines, proper development of the students' erudition shall be provided in the framework of the Collegium, especially ensuring opportunities for students for both oral and written practice in modern languages, namely in German, French, English and Italian.*
8. *The Collegium shall also pay special attention to the healthcare of students, to improving their physical skills and also shall provide opportunities to develop drawing, music and singing skills and have physical training.*
9. *At the end of each academic year, the staff meeting held under the Curator's chairmanship shall determine the qualifications of the individual students by taking into account the results of their studies and shall decide whether or not, on the basis of their diligence and advancement, they can remain members of the Collegium.*
10. *On important issues affecting the life of the institute, the Curator shall convene an extraordinary meeting, possibly at the initiative of the staff.*
11. *At the end of each year, the director shall submit an exhaustive report to the Minister of Religion and Public Education through the Curator on the studies pursued at the Collegium and the results.*

IV. Members of the Collegium.

12. *Members of the Collegium:*
 - a.) *the state's beneficiaries, namely: those who do not pay tuition fee, those who pay half, or full fee.*
 - b.) *Foundation students of other school maintainers.*
13. *State financed places shall be granted by the Minister of Public Education by way of a public application, always on the basis of the Curator's proposal. Granting a place at the Collegium is intended for the time needed to complete university studies, during which time members are required to pass the required teacher examinations in due time.*

Candidates for school maintainers shall be recruited by the Minister of Religion and Public Education upon the proposal of the competent authorities, if they have adequate qualification and on the basis of the Curator's proposal.

14.

In addition to boarding members, based on the availability of rooms and training aids, a limited attendance of the Collegium's studies can be allowed for non-resident members as well, subject to the permission of the Director.

Budapest, August 1923

Count Kunó Klebelsberg"

MDKL box 50, file 95/a.

15.5. 8769/1906. Letter from György Lukács, MRPE Minister to Loránd Eötvös Curator on the appointment of Sándor Mika, Frigyes Hoffmann and Gyomlay Gyula as ordinary, regular teachers. Budapest, 21 February 1906.

"With respect to your highly esteemed proposal No 4 of 27 January of the current year, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I accept the proposal of Your Excellency, according to which, starting from the next academic year of 1906/1907, Sándor Mika, Frigyes Hofmann and Gyula Gyomaly shall be assigned to the Eötvös József Collegium on a regular basis.

However, when I provide the Collegium, for the reasons provided by Your Excellency with three other permanent teachers in addition to the already existing teachers, Némethy and Gombocz, I at the same time consider it desirable to develop the Eötvös Collegium as an institution, therefore, I ask Your Excellency to inform me at your earliest convenience of your highly esteemed position with respect to ensuring the institutional operation of the Collegium and the reversion and expansion of its regulations."

MDKL box 40, file 71/3.

15.6.

Letter Cur. No 115/1920-1 from Pál Teleki to the MRPE Minister. Budapest, 23 October 1920.

"I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have taken over the supervision of the Bárá Eötvös József Collegium entrusted to my care in the capacity of its Curator.

I am open and willing to undertake the honourable task because I consider the Eötvös József Collegium to be a very important institution of our public education and, generally, of our national culture and because I know the operation of the Collegium. I will be happy to deal with the issues of the Collegium and to ensure that its successful work, which is by now supported by 25 years of experience, continues without interruption.

At the same time, I have the honour to report that for the time being I wish to endorse only the most important personal or organisational submissions. Proposals for minor cases will be submitted shortly to Your Excellence by the director."

MNL OL K 592. file 143, lot 18 (1920).

15.7.

Miklós Szabó's attesting report on his conduct during the Hungarian Soviet Republic (prole- tarian dictatorship). Budapest, 05 August 1920.

"On 7 April 1919, giving in to the duress of the general situation, with the agreement of the faculty, I joined the Hungarian Teacher's Union, but I did not play any role in it. After the proclamation of the proletarian dictatorship, I represented our institute on behalf of the faculty as a "trusted man" in the trusted body of the state (later all) secondary schools in Budapest; I never took the floor there and did not get involved in any kind of operation. Later the Eötvös Collegium received representation in the trusted body of colleges, in which I never took part.

In May 1919, I was forced to appear for conscription where I was qualified as "suitable" and was mobilised. After reporting to the Red Army, I immediately reported myself sick, underwent a

medical surgery and, without taking note of any other formal notices, I stayed in the countryside until the fall of the dictatorship.”

MDKL box 40, file 67.

15.8. 92/1925. Proposal by Géza Bartoniek, director, on the limitation of Article 4 of Act XXVII of 1924, Budapest, 19 August 1925.

“The departments of the Eötvös József Collegium, established on 18 August 1895 by the highest decision, started their operation by establishing the procedure to be followed when applying sections III. 5, 6 and 7 of the Organisational Rules issued by the MRPE for the Collegium in Decree No 43.039/1895 regulating the studies to be carried out at the Collegium. In addition to Géza Bartoniek who was made responsible for the organization, the following teachers were members of the staff: Sándor Mika, Frigyes Riedl, József Suták and Móricz Szilasi. The meetings were led by Curator Baron Loránd Eötvös. Its basis was the Order issued by the Teacher Training Institute to its members, which established the scope and volume of the “studies and exercises” to be conducted in each department. The detailed draft prepared by the Teacher Training Institute based on the over twenty years of experience made the work of the Collegium much easier. It should be noted, however, that the material to be processed as set out in the Order was considered to be minimal by the Collegium already at the outset, as long as its students were mostly well-trained, talented young men without financial problems who could be charged with a greater task could than students of the Teacher Training Institute who could spend much less time and effort on their studies, mostly due to financial reasons. All this is in line with the Collegium’s goal if, according to paragraph 1 of the Organisational Rules, the Collegium [...] “provides, in decent co-habitation, all necessary assistance for the worthier students of the Budapest colleges who are preparing for a teaching career during their university studies in order to help them thoroughly prepare for their professional career both theoretically and practically.”

The Collegium’s operation was supported from the outset by the necessary collection of books, which was constantly expanded meeting the needs. An additional advantage is in that the course of the studies can be controlled from hour to hour, therefore, success can be easily ensured.

Naturally, the tools used for the studies were constantly improving as experience was gained, especially when the more prominent former students of the Collegium were also involved in the work of the departments who – as not long before they had been students themselves – were able to contribute with new aspects to the development of the studies.

It is easy to see that the focal point of the studies always was language and history disciplines, that is, in the humanities. And not only because approximately 70% of the students fall in this category, but because of the nature of the subjects. These require carefully prepared introductory lectures that are beyond the scope of the university's task. All the subjects of the department of mathematics and natural sciences begin with such an introductory lecture covering the whole subject, which, along with the excellent equipment and organisation of the university's natural sciences institutes leads to very good results. In natural sciences studies, the Collegium concentrates mainly on checking that its students take advantage of the excellent learning opportunity. I must also note, as a matter of fact that students in these subjects are almost overburdened, because the exercises and laboratory tasks in the four subjects are at the limit of the students' performance ability.

That is how I wished to state that the Báró Eötvös József Collegium is able to give its students what the Teacher Training Institute requires from its members and at the same time is able to ensure that the students perform the tasks they are expected. Additionally, it also takes care that its students learn at least one foreign language.

Referring to the above, I would like to request Your Excellency with all due respect that, in accordance with paragraph 2 of Section 4 of Act XXVII of 1924, the students of the B. Eötvös József Collegium be exempted from the obligation to be members of the Teacher Training Institute for four years.

I dare ask this even more so as Collegium students are so much engaged in their studies that it completely excludes the possibility for them to attend the classes of the Teacher Training Institute. And if this was made obligatory for them, the work of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium would have to be shrunk to such an extent that it would deprive the institution of its legitimacy.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Your Excellency for your appreciation of the Collegium's work noted in your referred official letter. The Collegium will do its best to remain worthy of this recognition."

MDKL box 50, file 95/4.

15.9.

Letter from Prime Minister István Bethlen to Zoltán Gombocz. Budapest, 25 January 1927.

"I am constantly thinking about the issue of the political education of the nation, because the inevitable generality of participation in public affairs due to the spirit of the era poses serious dangers precisely because of lack of this education. Dreams that inspire for the inaccessible or even the harmful and disappointment that makes us indifferent event towards the necessary often alternate in the

souls of the masses that have awakened to self-consciousness, but have not been properly educated. Both can be a ground for demagoguery that threatens the real interests of the nation. Therefore, there is a need to increase the knowledge about reality and opportunities, to be armed against danger and to ensure the purposeful, gradual progress in the nation itself and not only in the changing leaders of the nation.

Among the tools that serve to achieve this goal I am also thinking of a magazine published once a month, which would introduce readers to the tasks and events of foreign policy, social policy, legal, cultural and economic policy, and through this knowledge to instil into the souls our historical development, our geographical location and a picture of reality based on the state of our society, as well as the dangers of theories and improvisations. By nature, such a survey would be distant from party politics and, using the tools of scientific journalism, would highlight objectively, but from all angles, the issues to be discussed and would have to rigidly adhere only to the basic idea I have outlined.

The widespread distribution of the journal would certainly be greatly facilitated by its very low price, but it could be ensured only by its content. That is why I turn to Your Excellency with the request to be involved, together with myself, in the editing of the journal."

MDKL box 39, file 66/a.

15.10. Oath

"I, the undersigned, as a member of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium, commit myself to the following.

I will observe the Collegium's 'Study and House Rules'.

I will observe the 'Library Rules' most accurately, and will make sure that others observe them too.

I will report to the Director of the Collegium all my social and association related activities, with the exception of those of strictly religious nature, as well as any and all of my paid activities, including any case-by-case changes. I will also report it, if I receive a scholarship or aid from any source, or any other financial donation. For this reason, I will submit my applications to public or municipal authorities and social associations through the Board of Directors of the Collegium.

I declare that if I knowingly violate any section of the application, I will voluntarily resign from my membership in the Collegium.

Budapest,"

MDKL box 7, file 8, lot 19.

15.11.

Letter of Miklós Szabó to Tibor Gerevich, Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Budapest, 03 May 1941.

"Dear Tibor

As, to our greatest delight, Minister Bálint Hóman has given his prior consent to accepting the honour of the position of the Collegium's Curator, I am sending attached for your information the current "Organisational Rules" which establish the competence of the Curator.

Since Pál Teleki, our former Curator, has served as a minister and prime minister, his work at the Collegium has practically been put on hold and, on his behalf, the director has replaced him in his official activities.

It is natural, however, that he never gave up his spiritual relationship with the Collegium, which is most important and, for instance, I always turned to him with important personal issues also during this time. Such an "intermittence" would probably be possible in the case of the planned change as well, which would not render the Curator's main intellectual influence impossible, for example, if in some cases he could still receive the director for a short time. As far as administration is concerned, there is no difficulty here at all, just as there was no difficulty during the last three years under Pál Teleki when in fact he no longer operated in his position.

However, if it seems more expedient to have a permanent supervision in the Collegium performed by the Curator, then Minister Hóman should be asked to assign someone to perform the tasks of the curator for the duration of the "intermittence", for which many of the old members of the Collegium would be suitable in all respects.

However, it would be important to have final measures as soon as possible.

With love: M.Sz."

MDKL box 88, file 185/6.

15.12.

**Speech delivered by Miklós Szabó, director,
at the visit of József Szinyei Merse,
Minister of the MRPE. 08 October 1943.**

"I welcome Your Excellency with deep respect among the teaching staff and youth of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium.

In two years' time, it will be 50 years that the Eötvös Collegium was formed by the spirit of Loránd Eötvös clearly recognising the needs of our national culture and established by the generosity of the Hungarian state. The fundamental idea was filled with life, heart and warmth by Géza Bartoniek, our first director, and talented Hungarian youth happily entered the modest, but in those times still paradise-resembling boarding school.

Over the 50 years, the Eötvös Collegium has undergone great development. In 1910, it moved from the simple tenement building in Csillag Street into this noble palace, enormously expanding its library and other academic equipment as its financial means grew. It made great progress also in its internal structure: During the 21 years of his career as curator, Pál Teleki developed and fine-tuned his method of selecting members and the rich intellect of Zoltán Gombocz, the second director of the Collegium, expanded academic training as well.

But in spite of these great changes, nothing is so striking in the Collegium's history as the great constancy in the goals, methods, and especially the undiminished persistence in the spirit of the youth. The Collegium did not have to take the risks of major reforms, what was created 50 years ago has remained in place and we still believe that the Eötvös Collegium can survive only if it stays on this path. Our objective: to educate scholarly teachers, our method: academic leadership in the most direct contact and leadership with the youth, almost like in a working community; and as regards the spirit of our youth: freedom in thought, discipline at work, and truth and honour in all aspects of moral life.

The main proof of the existence of this spirit for 50 years was that the Eötvös Collegium has always enjoyed the greatest deal of freedom from the main authorities of the state in every aspect of its operation. There are very few points in Hungarian public life where independence and freedom are not influenced and are undisturbed as in our institute.. We express our deep gratitude to Your Excellency for this also at this solemn event, and, on our part, we solemnly undertake the endeavour to remain worthy of this honourable trust through the most rigorous responsibility and with the service of the laws of honour.

This obligation is put on us not only by the interest of Hungarian public opinion, which has been monitoring the operation of the Eötvös Collegium more and more vigorously, but also by the pleasing sympathy for us coming from distinguished foreign individuals even during the war and also what obliges us is the sacrifice of noble Hungarian men – just to mention András Semsei and Baron Dénes Mednyánszky who enriched our library with precious treasures.

I request Your Excellency to please strictly examine, with a sharp eye, our institution, its work, our goals, spirit and aspirations, and accept the deep respect of our youth and the hearty Hungarian greeting from the Eötvös Collegium's old members who are with us in heart and spirit."

MDKL box 88, file 185/5.

15.13.

József Simon, MRPE officer's notification No 62.606-1944./IV on reserving premises of the József Eötvös Collegium. Budapest, 05 December 1944.

"I inform the Board of Directors that I shall book and occupy the third floor premises, the consultation room and auditorium of the Collegium for the Ministry of Religion and Public Education as part of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education is transferred to Buda. From the Minister's Decree: Signed by Tibor Baráth, retired university teacher, Head of the Department of Universities."

MNL OL K 636. box 1024, item 44-1 (1942-1944-1).

15.14.

Report on the Eötvös Collegium's Assembly held on 5 October 1949.

„Agenda of the meeting:

Account on the report prepared by comrade Mátyás Rákosi and subsequent discussion

Personal matters.

In his report, comrade Lutter highlighted the important details of comrade Rákosi's speech, pointing out the national significance of the lessons and at the same time concretised them. He emphasised the need to strengthen the ideological front, to increase vigilance and, in this context, the importance of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Lutter also pointed out the importance of unveiling the Rajk band, and then pointed out the tasks that Comrade Rákosi had set out in his speech. The large number of comments (23 speakers took the floor) deepened and expanded the report. Many also pointed to the specific tasks of the Collegium in this regard.

Comrade Lutter announced that several collegium students had indicated their intention to resign, namely: István Kanócz, János Bruckner, Géza Németh, Mátyás Domokos and Mátyás Horányi. Their resignation was not accepted by the management of the Collegium, but it was

proposed to exclude them after the meeting. Then the collegium students justified the need for exclusion.

In the case of Kanócz, comrades Bondár, Wilhelm and László pointed out his opportunistic and class-alien behaviour, as well as behavioural immaturity.

In relation to the case of Mátyás Domokos, comrade Miklós made a substantial comment emphasizing his former involvement in a fascist organisation and his hostile ideological attitude and reactionary circle of friends.

Comrades Kardos, Hrabecz and László also made comments in relation to the case of Géza Németh. It was emphasized that, despite his middle-peasant origin, he was affected by hostile influences, and that often with his unprincipled attitude he appeared to be the enemy of the people's democracy. His circle of friends consisted of reactionaries.

The case of János Bruckner was presented by collegium students Ladányi, Benczédi and Hajdú, as well as by comrade Bodnár, pointing out Bruckner's reactionary, opportunistic and aristocratic behaviour.

Mátyás Horányi: collegium student Lakits, and comrades Sallai and Falus identified his opportunistic, in fact, Mindszenty-follower attitude.

Comrade Falus also raised the issue of two collegium students: János Benyhe and József Vekerdy. He outlined their well-known bad relationship with the new membership of the Collegium and their reactionary, fluctuating political stance.

Collegium students Lorán Cosztola, Lajos Németh, Ferenc Bakos and László Dezső and comrade Tibor Tóth commented on the case of János Benyhe.

Comrades Gábor Mihályi and László Imre, and collegium student Ferenc Papp commented on the case of József Vekerdy. The Collegium unanimously agreed to expel the two members.

Subsequently, on the basis of the preliminary opinion of the Natural Sciences Party Organisation, comrade Lutter raised the issue of Tamás Kőváry, a candidate who, with his inappropriate behaviour, helped reactionary forces and had a bad attitude towards the working class cadres. These mistakes were further aggravated by the circumstance that he was a candidate for the party. Because financially he was not dependent on the Collegium, Lutter suggested his removal. Several people commented on this case: comrades Blum, Békéssy and Dux, and collegium student Osváth. Collegium members supported this proposal as well.

After that, comrade Lutter closed the Collegium's assembly."

MDKL box 54, file 102/e.

15.15.

337/1950. Protocol on the handover of the Eötvös József Collegium's building to the National Company of Training Supplies. Budapest, 22 August 1950.

"The protocol was prepared in Budapest on 22 August 1950 in the office of the József Eötvös State College Collegium, located in the 9th dist. Nagyboldogasszony Road 11-13, in the subject of the handover of the Collegium from the management of the MRPE to the management of the National Company of Training Supplies.

With the attendance of the undersigned:

Pursuant to the decree of the MRPE's 5th department of 19 August of the current year No 1071-106-4/1950, the signatory Commission implemented the transfer and receipt of the Collegium's inventory as follows:

The Committee examined all inventory items in the boarding school based on the inventories and the inventory log, with the exception of items that existed in higher numbers, which were examined only by random sampling, considering that about 4,200 pieces of inventory items were to be taken over, for which no time and preparation was available to complete.

The Committee handed over and received 4,179 items of inventory items as an inventory log closure worth of HUF 479,713.72.

The handover and receipt were acknowledged by the deliverer and receiver in the clause of the inventory log.

The committee took stock of the items in the Collegium's statement, checking the smaller ones only by random sampling. The statement consists of eight booklets, therefore, due to the shortness of time it was not possible to sum up and record all the details in the protocol, however, the committee closed individual special groups of the statement and provided them with a date and signature. In this way, the amounts in the statement can be summed up later. Thus, the number and value of the objects included in the statement and delivered or received are provided in the sum of the results of the specialist groups.

The delegates of the recipient National Company acknowledge that, on the basis of its talks with the Academy of Sciences, the MRPE plans to hand over the library to the Academy of Sciences in the future. Of these, the library and its equipment and furniture, which are currently listed in the Collegium's inventory, would be handed over to the Collegium in the event that the MRPE's planned measure as specified above is implemented.

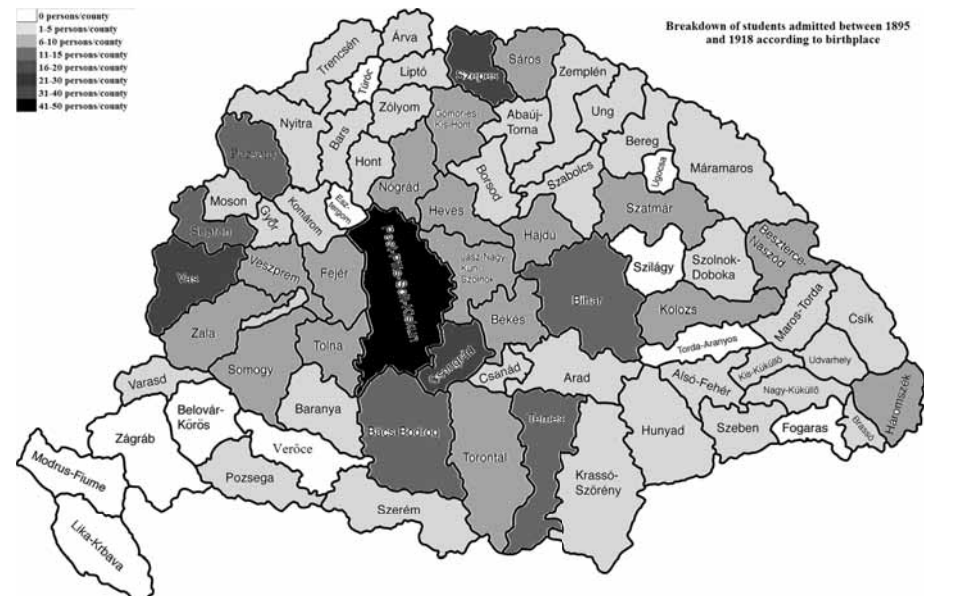
The Committee notes that the closing results of the inventory log shown above and related to the value currently do not correspond to the actual status, as the value of the 120 cabinets listed under item number 6, of the 145 iron beds listed under item number 7, of the 144 bed risers listed under item 8 and the received 51 desks listed under item 9 are currently not listed in the inventory log. These items have already been received in the given number, but their value must be added and

In connection with the transfer and receipt, the delegates of the National Company of Training Supplies note and declare that, since the transfer, as stated above, did not take place for each inventory item, they reserves the right to have Director Károly Békéssy, who is in charge of the acceptance of the inventory, to clarify at a later stage the number and value of the received items listed in the inventory and in the statement. This statement will constitute a supplement to this protocol.

date as stated above

Tibor Lutter on behalf of the delivering director

Károly Békéssy receiving director"



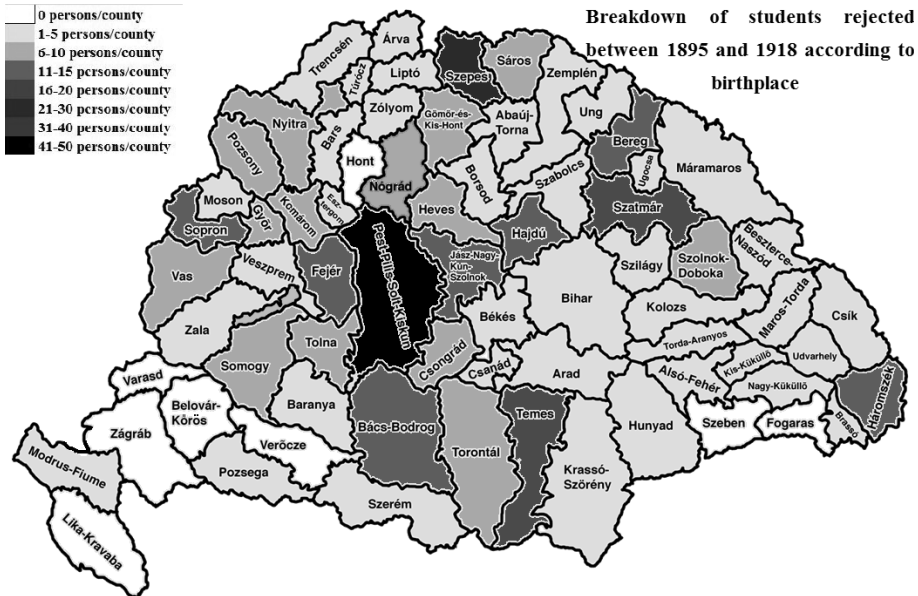


Figure 2 Regional breakdown of the place of birth of students rejected between 1895 and 1918

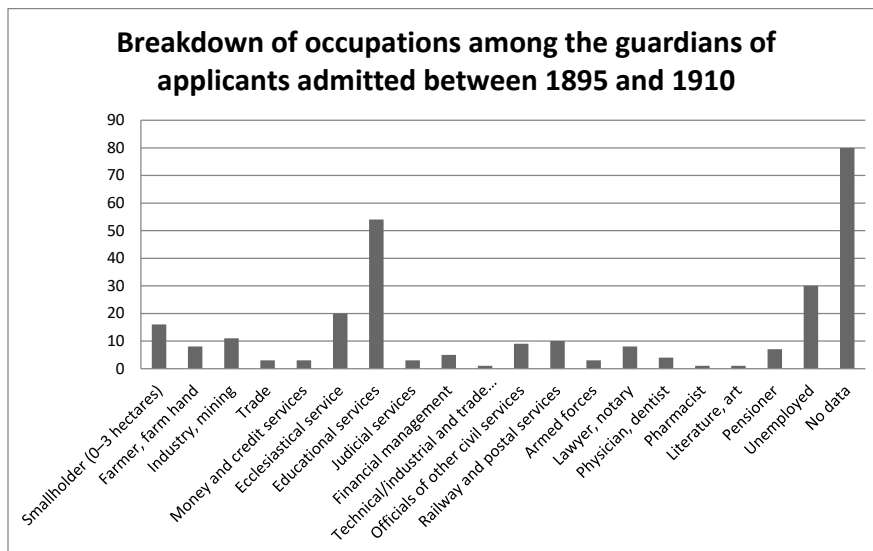


Figure 3 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants admitted between 1895 and 1910

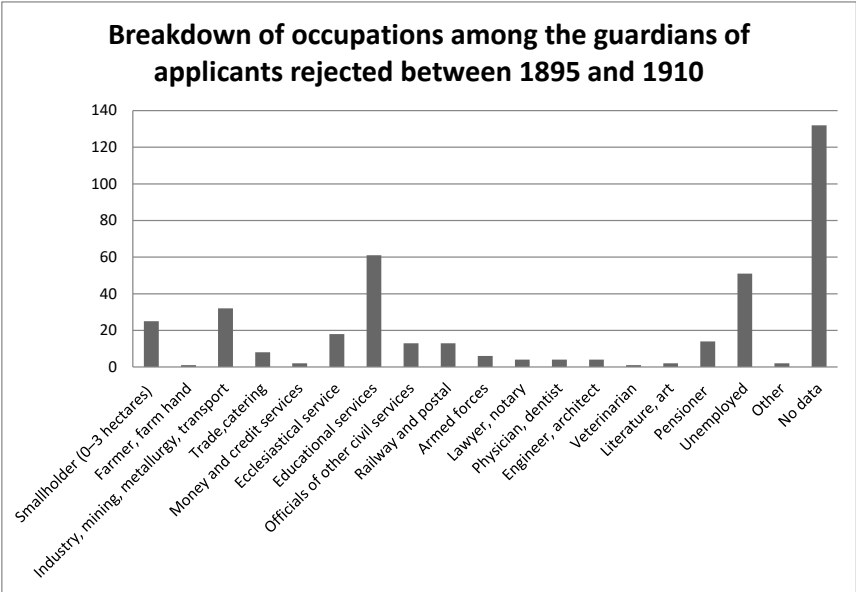


Figure 4 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1895 and 1910

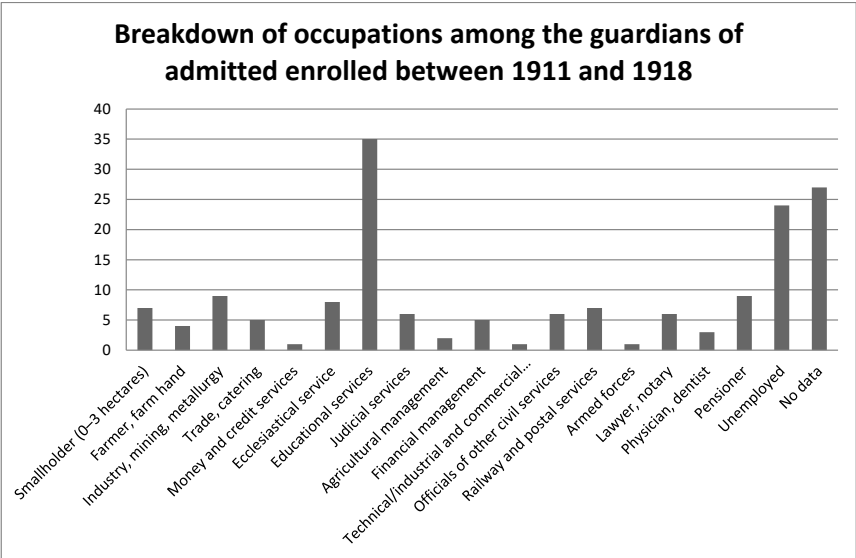


Figure 5 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of admitted enrolled between 1911 and 1918

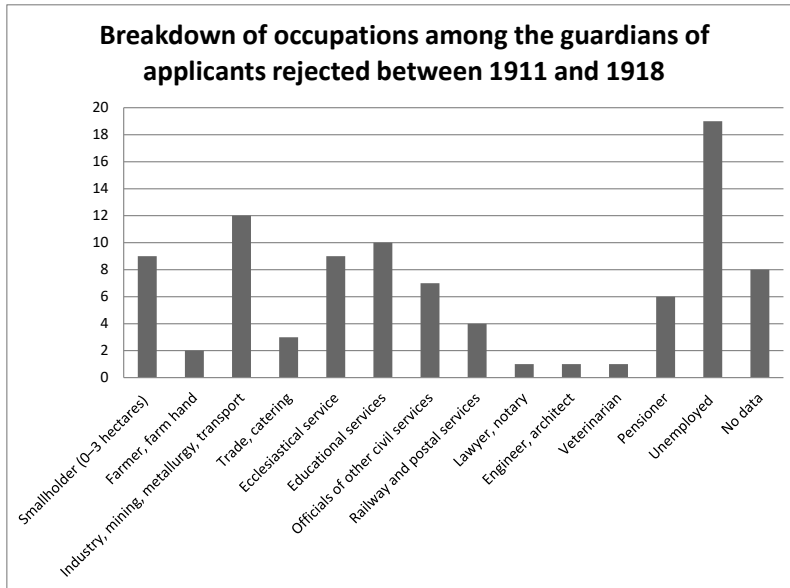


Figure 6 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1911 and 1918

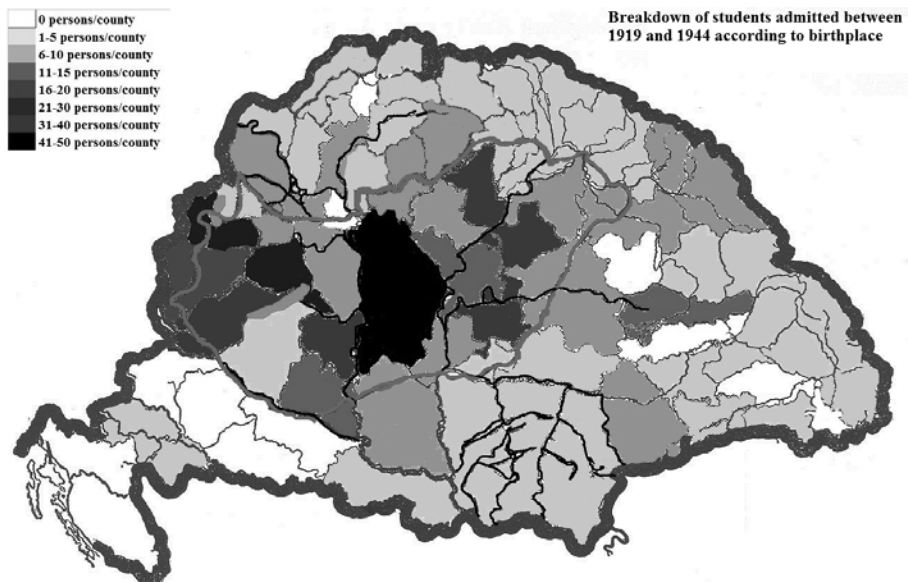


Figure 7 Regional breakdown of the place of birth of students admitted between 1919 and 1944

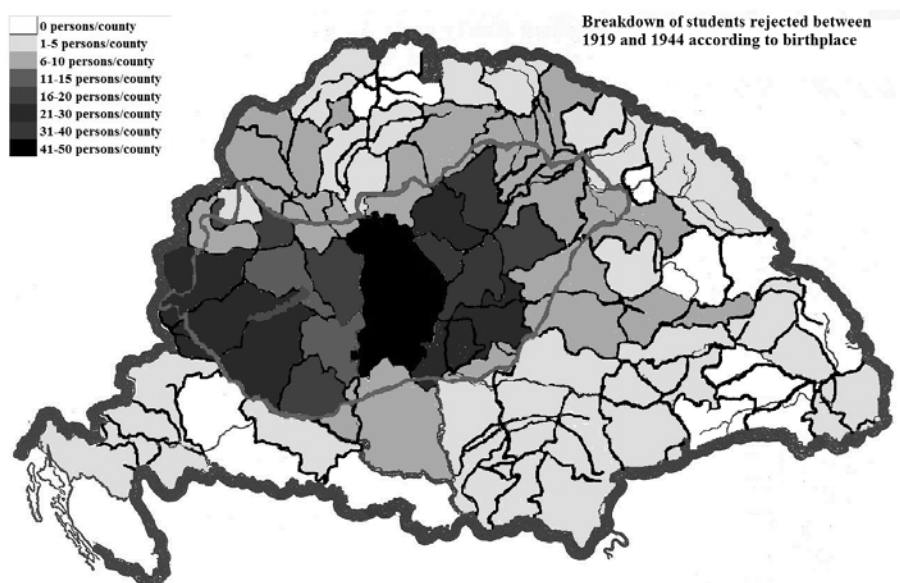


Figure 8 Regional breakdown of the place of birth of students rejected between 1919 and 1944

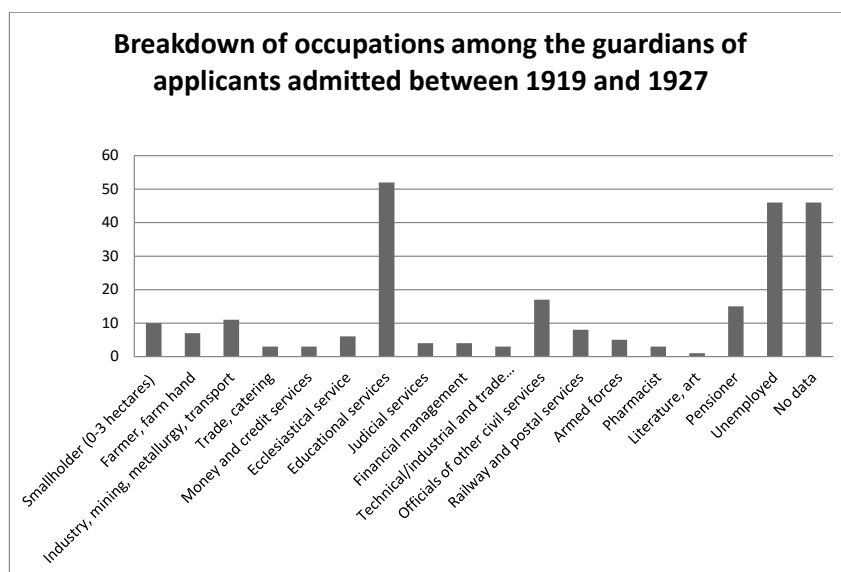


Figure 9 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants admitted between 1919 and 1927

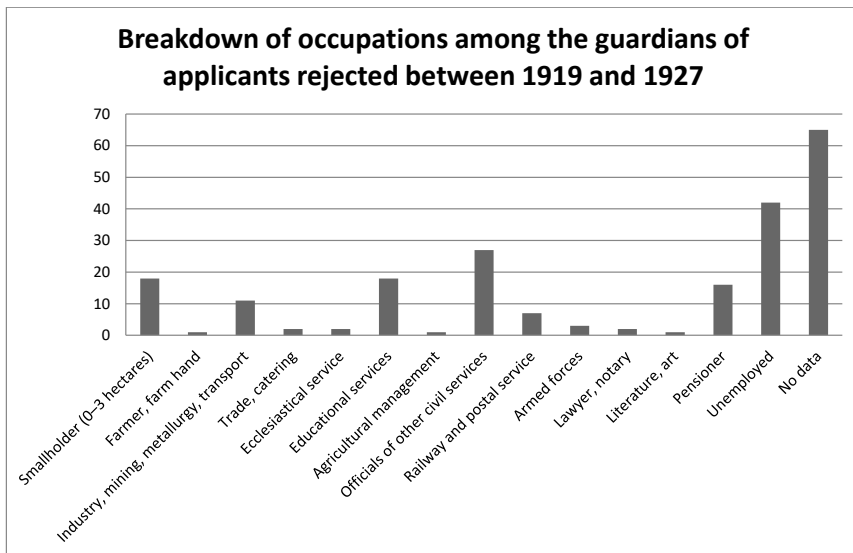


Figure 10 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1919 and 1927

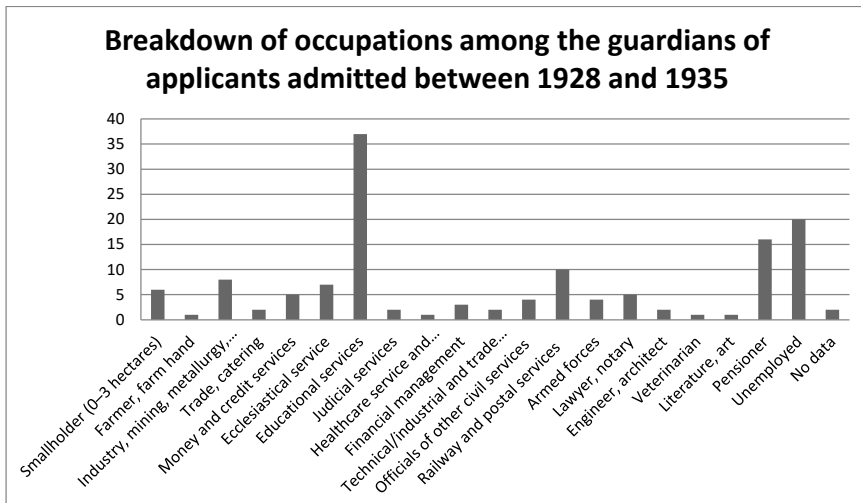


Figure 11 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants admitted between 1928 and 1935

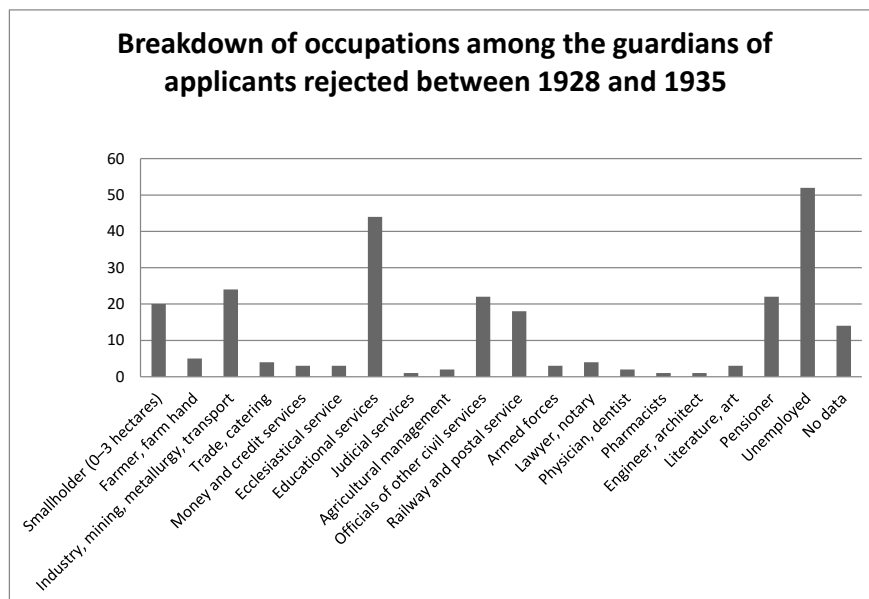


Figure 12 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1928 and 1935

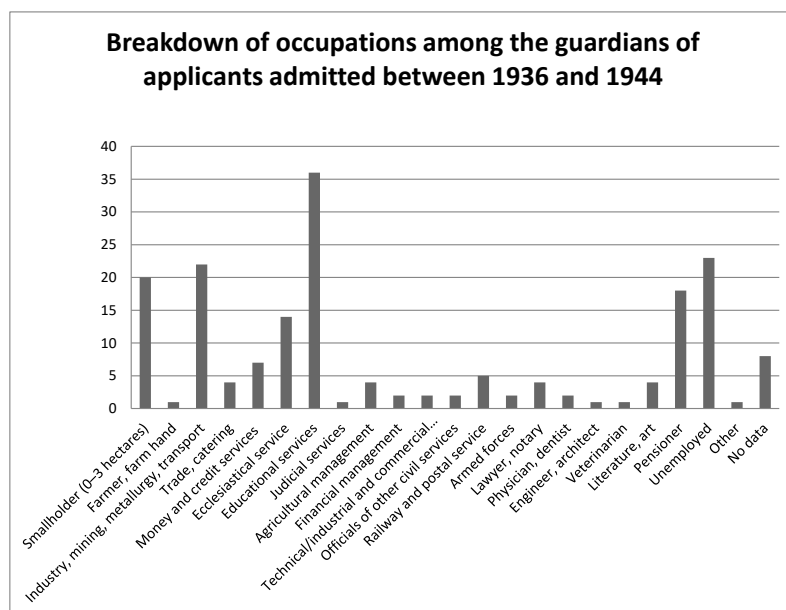


Figure 13 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants admitted between 1936 and 1944

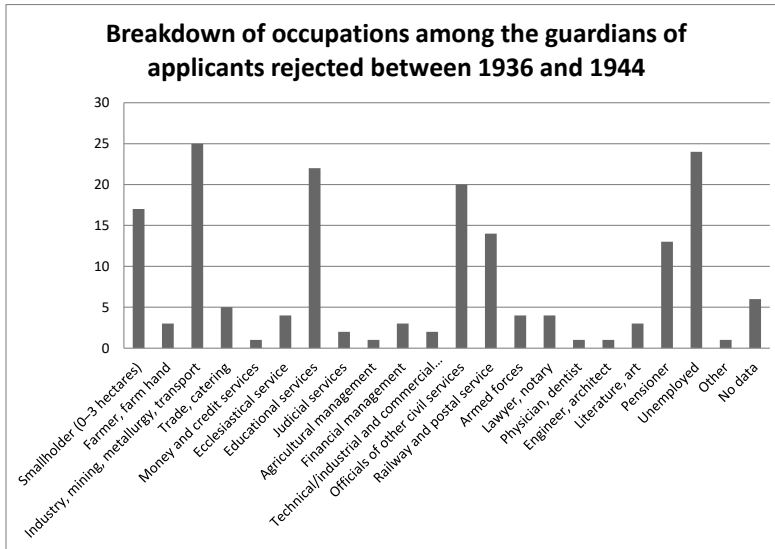


Figure 14 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1936 and 1944

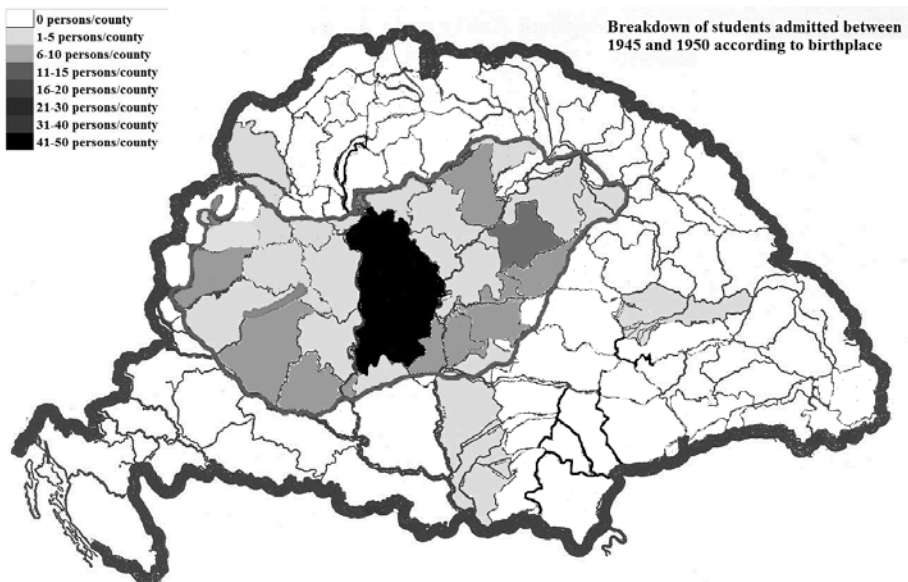


Figure 15 Regional breakdown of the place of birth of students admitted between 1945 and 1950

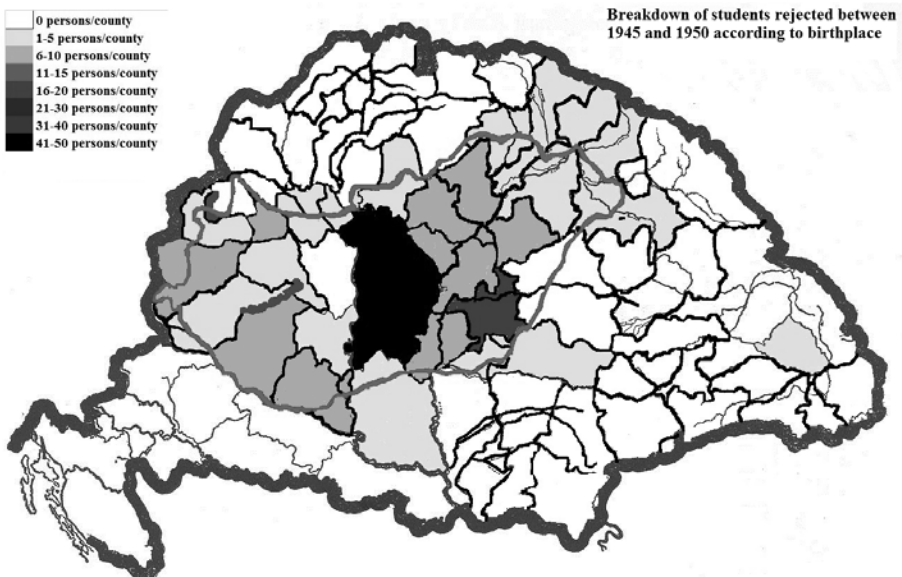


Figure 16 Regional breakdown of the place of birth of students rejected between 1945 and 1950

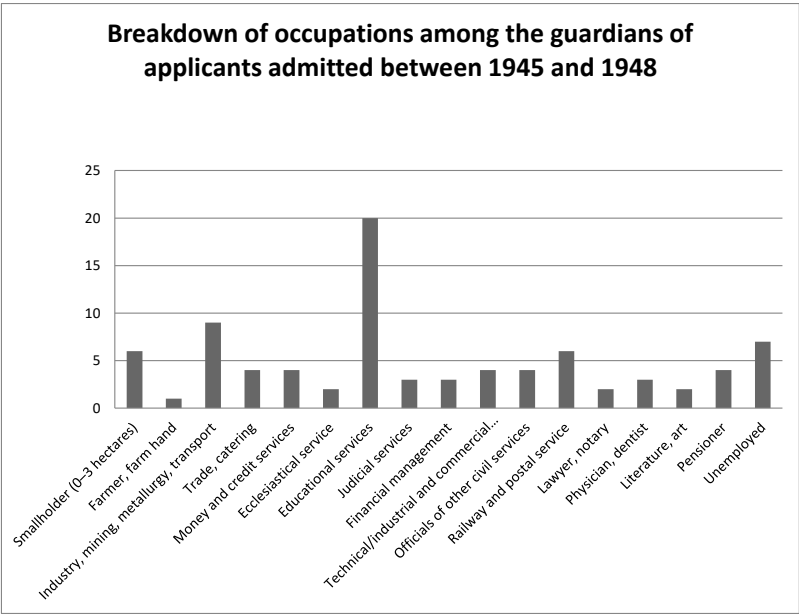


Figure 17 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants admitted between 1945 and 1948

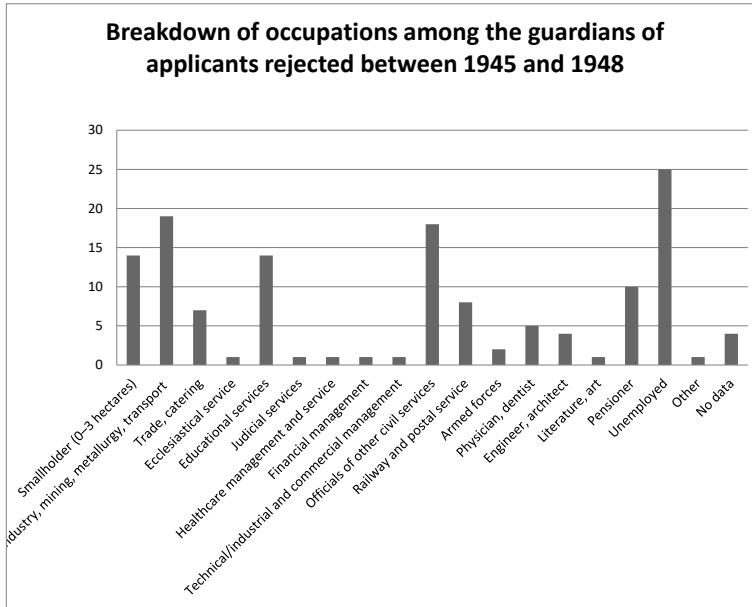


Figure 18 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1945 and 1948

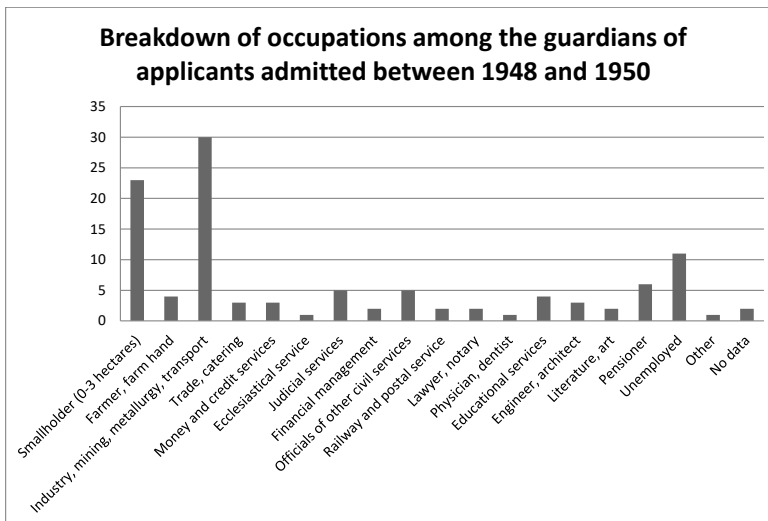


Figure 19 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants admitted between 1948 and 1950

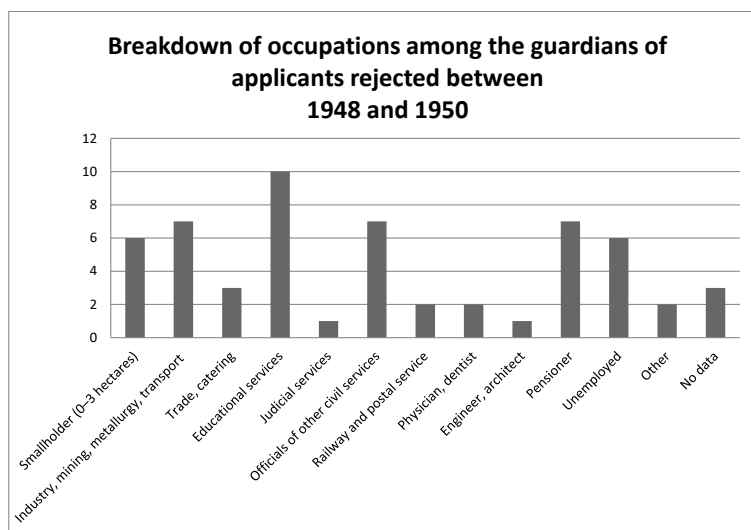


Figure 20 Breakdown of occupations among the guardians of applicants rejected between 1948 and 1950

15.17. Senior officials and teaching staff of the Báró Eötvös József Collegium, 1895–1950

Curators

1895–1919 Baron Loránd Eötvös
1920–1941 Count Pál Teleki

1927–1928 interim executive director
Miklós Szabó
1928–1935 Zoltán Gombocz
1935–15 July 1944 Miklós Szabó
July–October 1944 interim director Jenő
Tomasz
October 25–December 9, 1944

Directors

1895–1927 Géza Bartoniek (interim director until 12 October 1897; also temporarily appointed between 1921 and 1922)

acting director Béla Kolozsvári Medzuy
February–May 1945 Miklós Szabó
1945–1948 Dezső Keresztury
1948–1950 Tibor Lutter

Assistant directors
1929–1935 Miklós Szabó
1940–1950 Jenő Tomasz

Ordinary, appointed teachers

English language and literature
1935–1939 Sándor Fest
1939–1948 Miklós Szenczi
1948–1950 Tibor Lutter
1948–1950 Doris Elrick Mrs. József
Hatvany

Physics
1947–1949 Péter Faragó

French languages and literature history
1900–1914 Zoltán Gombocz
1915–1923 Sándor Eckhardt

1923–1936 Gyula Moravcsik
1926–1950 Jenő Tomasz
1945–1950 János Harmatta

Hungarian literature history
1895–1896 Frigyes Riedl
1896–1899 Jenő Péterfy
1908–1923 János Horváth
1925–1928 Gyula Farkas
1928–1935 János Koszó
1936–1950 Dezső Keresztury
1948–1949 István Király

Mathematics
1895–? József Suták

Hungarian
1895–1902 Móricz Szilasi
1900–1914 Zoltán Gombocz
1919–1935 Zoltán Gombocz
1924–1933 Miklós Zsirai
1933–1937 Dezső Pais

1945–1948 Dezső Pais

Art history
1941–1943 Zoltán Nagy
1947–1950 Lajos Fülepi

German language and literature
1906–1925 Frigyes Hoffmann
1928–1935 János Koszó
1942–1950 Károly Mollay

History
1895–1912 Sándor Mika
1919–1936 Pál Lukcsics
1937–1950 Domokos Kosáry

Geography
1923–1939 Ferenc Fodor
1939–1945 Béla Bulla
1945–1948 Jenő Major

Chemistry
1946–1947 Sándor Wolsky
1947–1948 Tibor Jermy

Classical philology
1914–1915 József Huszti
1945–1948 Teofil Zulauf
1948–1949 Árpád Szabó

Psychology
1946–1948 Ferenc Mérei

Hungarian
1914–1919 János Melich
1914–1919 Gyula Németh
1938–1939 Gyula Laziczius
1939–1944 László Hadrovics
1948–1949 László Deme

Hungarian literature history
1914–1915 Géza Laczkó
1923–1924 János Bartha

1945–1947 Géza Képes
 1945–1947 Gusztáv Makay
 1945–1950 József Waldapfel
 1949–1950 Pál Kardos

Mathematics

1933–1936 István Grynaeus
 1936–1945 Pál Veress
 1945–1949 György Hajós

Italian language and literature

1943–1950 József Szauder
 1937–1940 Francesco Nicosia
 1947–1948 János Takács

Foreign language lecturers

English lecturers

1928–1937 Barker Vernon Duckworth
 1938–1939, 1940 Neville Mastermann
 1940–1946 Sándor Harsányi
 1946–1947 G. Lowes
 1948–1949 George Frederick Cushing

Estonian lecturers

1935–1936, 1938–1939 Felix Oinas

Finnish lecturers

1932–1934 Lauri Hakulinen
 1942–1943 Lauri Kettunen
 1942–1944 Viljo Tervonen
 1944–1948 Ankeria Santieri

French lecturers

1895–1898 Emil Giradot
 1899–1903 Ernest Tharaud
 1903–1904 Henry Lebeau
 1904–1907 Lucien Bézard
 1907–1908 Jean Reynier
 1909–1911 Hubert Morand
 1911–1912 René Bichet
 1936–1942 László Gáldi

1939–1950 Ernő Kenéz
 1942–1949 René Bonnerjea
 1944–1948 Lipót Molnos
 1945–1950 László Gáldi
 1945–1950 Albert Szegő

Classical philology

1895–1902 Móricz Szilasi
 1902–1909 Géza Némethy
 1902–1918 Gyula Gyomlay
 1918–1923 József Huszti
 1906–1944 Miklós Szabó

Remunerated teachers

English language and literature

1915–? Sándor Fest
 1927–1928 Sándor Németh
 1928 Kálmán Tóth
 1928 Miklós Schmidt (Szenczi)
 1935–1937 Sándor Németh
 1937–1947 László Országgh
 1939–1940 József Eddy

Zoology

1937–1940 Adorján Kesselyák

Singing

1938–1940, 1942–1943
 György Kerényi

Estonian language and literature

1940–1941 Valter Soever

Philosophy

1939–1944 László Mátrai
 1945–1948 László Faragó
 1948–1949 József Szigeti

Finnish

1938–1939 Béla Kálmán
 1939–1941 György Lakó

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1946–1947 Péter Hajdú | Physical education |
| French language and literature | 1937–1941 Péter Bácsalmási |
| 1920–1921 Géza Bárczi | 1941–1947 Dénes Cseke |
| 1920–1921 Jenő Kastner | 1947–1948 Péter Bácsalmási |
| 1927–1939 Albert Szegő (Gyergyai) | History |
| 1928–1936 Endre Horváth | 1912–1941 Imre Madzsar |
| 1937–1942 René Bonnerjea | 1912–1913 Aurel Diegon |
| 1943–1944 Paul Lemaire | 1913–1914 Charles Baux |
| Art history | 1914 Maurice Taillander |
| 1943–1944 Dezső Derecsényi | 1921–1923 Jean Mistler d' Auroile |
| German literature history | 1923–1925 Aldo Dami |
| 1938–1943 Béla Pukánszky | 1923–1931 Aurélien Sauvageot |
| 1945–1948 György Dallos | 1925–1926 Gachot Francoise |
| 1945–1948 Zoltán Rákosi | 1931?–1935? Carrere |
| 1947–1948 Jenő Krammer | 1935–1942 Georges Deshusses |
| 1948–1949 Előd Halász | 1943–? Claude Diegon |
| 1948–1949 József Kiss | 1946–1947 Pierre Bouteiller |
| | 1947–1949 Guy Turbet-Delof |
| | 1949–1950? André Kaminski |
| Ethnography | German lecturers |
| 1940–1944 Gyula Ortutay | 1912–1914 Ernst Molden |
| Botany | 1912–1925 Hugo Kleinmayr |
| 1937–1947 Bálint Zólyomi | 1924–1926 Henrik Becker |
| Pedagogy | 1925–1944 Ernst Hæckel |
| 1946–1948 Lajos Prohászka | 1928–1930 Hans Göttling |
| Slovak language and literature | 1930–1935 Hans Jobs |
| 1939–1940 Zsolt Mérszáros | 1935–1943 Walther Schurig |
| | 1943–1944 Kurt Berger |
| | 1948–1949 Heinz Kühne |
| | Italian lecturers |
| Social science | 1922–1933 Italo Siciliano |
| 1945–1947 György Káldor | 1933–1936 Paolo Calabro |
| 1945–1948 Sándor Szalai | 1940–1943 Giacomo Baldini |
| Natural history | 1943–1944 Alberto Gianola |
| 1897–1934 Nándor Filarszky | |

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